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COLLECTION

OF

SCARCE AND VALUABLE

TRACTS,

ON THE MOST

INTERESTING AND ENTERTAINING SUBJECTS:

BUT CHIEFLY SUCH AS RELATE TO THE

HISTORY AND CONSTITUTION

OF

THESE KINGDOMS.

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SELECTED FROM AN INFINITE NUMBER IN PRINT AND MANUSCRIPT, IN THE ROYAL, COTTON, SION, AND OTHER PUBLIC, AS WELL AS PRIVATE, LIBRARIES;

PARTICULARLY

THAT OF THE LATE LORD SOMERS.

THE SECOND EDITION,

REVISED, AUGMENTED, AND ARRANGED,

BY

WALTER SCOTT, Esq.

VOLUME THIRD.

The bent and genius of the age is best known in a free country, by the pamphlets and papers that come daily out, as the sense of parties, and sometimes the voice of the nation. PREFACE TO KENNET'S REGISTER.

Judex qui aliquid statuit, una parte audita tantum et inaudita altera, licet æquum statuerit, haud æquus fuerit.

LD. COOK & JUST. INST.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. CADELL AND W. DAVIES, STRAND;
W. MILLER, ALBEMARLE-STREET;
R. H. EVANS, PALL-MALL; J. WHITE AND J. MURRAY, FLEET-STREET;
AND J. HARDING, ST JAMES'S-STREET.

1810.

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TRACTS

DURING

THE REIGN OF KING JAMES.

THIRD CLASS.

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS.

THE

SOMERS

COLLECTION OF TRACTS.

KING JAMES.

THIRD CLASS.

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS.

The Magnificent Entertainment given to King James, Queene Anne his Wife, and Henry Frederick, the Prince, upon the day of his Majesties triumphant passage (from the Tower) through his honourable Citie (and Chamber) of London being the 15. of March 1603; as well by the English as by the Strangers, with the Speeches and Songes delivered in the severall Pageants.

Mart. *Templa Deis, mores populis dedit, otia ferre,*
Astra suis, Cœlo sydera, serta Jovi.
THO. DEKKER.

Imprinted at London by T. C. for Tho. Man the Younger. 1604.

This splendid entertainment was given to King James shortly after his arrival in England. It is thus mentioned by Arthur Wilson:—"The king's first going abroad was privately to visit some of his houses, for naturally he did not love to be looked on; and those formalities of state, which set a lustre upon princes in the people's eyes, were but so many burthens to him; for his private recreations at home, and his hunting exercises abroad, both with the least disturbance, were his delights. While he remained in the Tower, he took pleasure in baiting lions; but when he came abroad, he was so troubled with swarms, that he feared to be baited by the people. And the Parliament now drawing on, which was summoned to be the 19th of March, the king, with the queen and prince, four days before, rode from the Tower to Whitehall, the city and suburbs being one great pageant, wherein he must give his ears leave to suck in their gilded oratory, though never so nauseous to the stomach. He was not like his predecessor, the late queen, of famous memory, that, with a well-pleased affection, met her people's acclamations, thinking most highly of herself when she was borne upon the wings of their humble supplications. He endured this day's brunt with patience, being assured he should never have such another, and

his triumphal riding to the Parliament that followed. But afterwards, in his public appearances, (especially in his sports) the accesses of the people made him so impatient, that he often dispersed them with frowns, that we may not say with curses. So various are the natures of princes, and their actions so remarkable, that he may pass for a good man, that will not pass for a good prince."—WILSON'S *History of James I.*

THE sorrow and amazement, that like an earthquake began to shake the distempered body of this iland, by reason of our late soveraigns departure, being wisely and miraculously prevented, and the feared wounds of a civill sword, as Alexanders fury was with musicke, being stopt from bursting forth, by the sound of trompets that proclaimed King James; all mens eyes were presently turned to the north, standing even stone stil in their circles, like the poynts of so many geometricall needles, through a fixed and adamantine desire to behold this 45 yeares wonder now brought forth by time; their tongues neglecting all language else, save that which spake zealous prayers, and unceasable wishes, for his most speedy and longed-for arrivall. Insomuch, that the night was thought unworthy to be crowned with sleepe, and the day not fit to be lookt upon by the sunne, which brought not some fresh tydings of his majesties more neare and neerer approach.

At the length, Expectation, who is ever waking, and that so long was great, grew neare the time of her delivery, Rumour coming all in a sweate to play the midwife, whose first comfortable words were, that this treasure of a kingdome, a man-ruler, hid so many yeares from us, was now brought to light, and at hand.

MARTIAL. *Et populi vox erat una, Venit.*

And that he was to be conducted through some utter part of this his citie, to his royall castle, the Tower, that in the age of a man, till this very minute, had not bene acquainted nor borne the name of a kings court. Which entrance of his, in this manner, being famed abroad, because his loving subjects, the citizens, would give a taste of their dutie and affection, the device following was suddeinly made up, as the first service to a more royall and serious ensuing entertainment; and this, as it was then proposed, should have been performed about the Barres beyond Bishops-gate.

The Device.

Saint George, Saint Andrew, the patrons of both kingdomes, having a long time lookt upon each other, with countenances rather of meere strangers, then of such neare neighbours, upon the present aspect of his majesties approach toward London, were, in his sight, to issue from two severall places on horsebacke, and in complete armour, their breasts and caparisons suited with the armes of England and Scotland, as they are now quartered, to testifie their leagued combination, and new-sworne brotherhood. These two armed knights, encountering one another on the way, were to ride hand in hand, till they met his majestie. But the strangenesse of this newly-begotten amitie, flying over the earth, it calls up the Genius of the Citie who, (not so much mazed, as wondring at the noveltie) intersepts their passage.

And most aptly, in our judgement, might this *domesticum numen*, the Genius of the place, lay just clayme to this preheminence of first bestowing salutations and welcomes

on his majestie, Genius being held, *inter fictos Deos*, to be god of hospitalitie and pleasure; and none but such a one was meet to receive so excellent and princely a guest.

Or, if not worthy for those two former respects, yet being *Deus generationis*, and having a power aswell over countries, hearbs, and trees, as over men, and the citie having now put on a regeneration, or new birth, the induction of such a person might, without a warrant from the court of critists, passe very currant.

To make a false florish here with the borrowed weapons of all the old maisters of the noble science of poesie, and to keepe a tyrannicall coyle, in anatomizing genius, from head to foote, only to shew how nimbly we can carve up the whole messe of the poets, were to play the executioner, and to lay our cities houshold god on the rack, to make him confesse how many paire of Latin sheets we have shaken and cut into shreds to make him a garment. Such feats of activitie are stale, and common among schollers, before whom it is protested we come not now, in a pageant, to play a maisters prize, for *nunc ego ventosæ plebis suffragia venor.*

The multitude is now to be our audience, whose heads would miserably runne a wool-gathering, if we do but offer to breake them with hard words. But suppose, by the way, contrary to the opinion of all doctors, that our Genius, in regard the place is feminine, and the person it selfe, drawne *figura humana, sed ambigua sexu*, should at this time be thrust into womans apparell: It is no schisme; be it so: our genius is then a female antique, and reverend both in yeares and habit; a chaplet of mingled flowres, interwoven with branches of the plane tree crowning her temples; her haire long and white; her vesture a loose roabe, changeable and powdered with starres; and being, on horsebacke likewise, thus furnished, this was the tune of her voyce:

Genius Loci.

Stay; wee conjure you, by that potent name,
Of which each letter's now a triple charme:
Stay, and deliver us, of whence you are,
And why you beare alone th' ostent of warre,
When all hands else reare olive boughs and palme:
And Halcyonean dayes assure all's calme.
When every tongue speakes musick; when each pen
Dul'd and dyde blacke in Galle, is white agen,
And dipt in nectar, which by Delphick fire
Being heated, melts into an Orphean quire.
When Troyes proud buildings shew like fairie-bowers,
And streets, like gardens, are perfumed with flowers;
And windowes glazde onely with wondring eyes,
In a kings looke such admiration lyes!
And when soft-handed Peace so sweetly thrives,
That bees in souldiers helmets build their hives:
When Joy a tip-toe stands on Fortunes wheele,
In silken robes; How dare you shine in steele?

Saint George.

Ladie, What are you, that so question us?

Genius.

I am the places Genius, whence now springs
A vine, whose yongest braunch shall produce kings;
This little world of men, this precious stone,
That sets out Europe, this, the glasse alone,
Where the neat sunne each morne himselfe attires,
And gildes it with his repercussive fires.
This jewell of the land, Englands right eye,
Alter of love, and spheare of majestie;
Greene Neptunes minion, bou't whose virgin-waste,
Isis is like a cristall girdle cast,
Of this are we the Genius; here have I
Slept, by the favour of a Deity,
Fortie-foure summers, and as many springs,
Not fraighted with the threats of forraine kings.
But held up in that gowned state I have,
By twice twelve fathers politique and grave;
Who, with a sheathed sword, and silken law,
Do keepe, within weake walles, millions in awe.

I charge you therefore say for what you come
What are you?

Both. Knights at arms.

S. George. Saint George.

S. Andrew. Saint Andrew,
For Scotlands honour, I.

S. George. For Englands, I.
Both sworne into a league of unitie.

Genius.

I clap my hands for joy, and seate you both
Next to my heart; in leaves of purest golde,
This most auspicious love shall be enrold.
Be joynde to us, and as to earth we bowe,
So, to these royall feet, bend your steelde brow.
In name of all these senators, on whom
Vertue builds more, than these of antique Rome
Shouting a cheerefull welcome; since no clyme,
Nor age that has gon o're the head of time,
Did e're cast up such joyes, nor the like summe
(But here) shall stand in the world yeares to come,
Dread king, our hearts make good what words do want,
To bid thee boldly enter Troynouant.

Mart. Rerum certa salus, terrarum gloria Cæsar!
Sospite quo, magnos credimus esse Deos:

Idem. Delexere prius pueri, juvenesque, senesque,
At nunc infantes te quoque Cæsar amant.

This should have been the first offering of the cities love; and his majestie not making his entrance, according to expectation, it was not utterly throwne from the altar, but layd by.

Mart. *Iam Crescunt media Pægmata celsa via.*

By this time imagine, that poets, who drawe speaking pictures, and painters, who make dumbe poesie, had their heads and hands full, the one for native and sweet invention; the other for lively illustration of what the former should devise; both of them emulously contending, but not striving, with the proprest and brightest colours of wit and art, to set out the beautie of the great triumphant day.

For more exact and formall managing of which businesse, a select number both of aldermen and commoners, like so many Roman Ædiles, were, *communi consilio*, chosen forth, to whose discretion, the charge, contrivings, projects, and all other dependences, owing to so troublesome a worke, was intirely, and judicially committed.

Many dayes were thriftily consumed, to molde the bodies of the tryumphes comely, and to the honour of the place; and at last, the stuffe whereof to frame them, was beaten out. The soule that should give life, and a tongue to this entertainment, being to breathe out of writers pens. The limmes of it to lye at the hard-handed mercy of mychanitiens.

In a moment therefore of time, are carpenters, joyners, carvers, and other artificers, sweating at their chizzels.

Vir. *Accingunt Omnes operi.*

Not a finger but had an office; he was held unworthy ever after to sucke the hony-dew of peace, that, against his coming, by whom our peace weares a triple wreathe, would offer to play the droane. The streets are surveyed; heigthes, breadths, and distances taken, as it were to make fortifications for the solemnities. Seaven pieces of ground, like so many fieldes for a battaile, are plotted foorth, upon which these arches of tryumph must shew themselves in their glorie: aloft, in the ende, they advance their proude foreheads.

Virg. *Circum pueri, innuptæque puellæ,*
Sacra canunt, funemque manu contingere gaudent.

Even children, might they have bin suffred, would gladly have spent their little strength about the engines that mounted up the frames; such a fire of love and joy was kindled in every breast.

The day, for whose sake these wonders of wood clymde thus into the clowdes, is now come; being so earely up by reason of artificiall lights which wakened it, that the sunne over slept himself, and rose not in many houres after, yet bringing with it, into the very bosome of the citie, a world of people. The streets seemde to be paved with men; stalles, in stead of rich wares, were set out with children; open casements, fild up with women.

All glasse windowes taken downe, but, in their places, sparkeled so many eyes, that had it not bene the day, the light which reflected from them, was sufficient to have made one; hee that should have compared the emptie and untroden walkes of London, which were to be seen in that late mortally-destroying deluge, with the thronged

streets now, might have believed, that upon this day, began a new creation, and that the citie was the onely work house wherein sundry nations were made.

A goodly and civil order was observed, in martialling all the companies according to their degrees: The first beginning at the upper end of Saint Marks Lane, and the last reaching above the Conduit in Fleet-street; the seats being double-raildè; upon the upper part whereon they leaned, the streamers, ensignes, and bannerets, of each particular company, decently fixed. And directly against them, even quite through the bodie of the citie, so hie as to Temple Barre, a single raile, in faire distance from the other, was likewise erected, to put off the multitude. Amongst whom, tongues, which in such consorts never lye still, though there were no musicke, yet, as the poet says:

Mart. *Vox diversa sonat, populorum est vox tamen una.*

Nothing that they speake could be made any thing, yet all that was spoken, sounded to this purpose, that still his majestie was coming. They have their longings: And behold, a farre off they spie him, richly mounted on a white jennet, under a rich canopy, sustained by eight barons of the Cinque Ports; the Tower serving that morning but for his withdrawing chamber, wherein hee made him ready; and from thence stept presently into his citie of London, which, for the time, might worthily borrow the name of his court royall; his passage alongst that court, offering it selfe for more state through seven gates, of which the first was erected at Fenchurch.

Thus presenting it selfe.

Fenchurch. It was an upright flat square, for it contained fiftie foote in the perpendiculer, and fiftie foot in the ground-lyne; the upper roofe thereof, one distinct gate, bore up the true moddells of the notable houses, turrets, and steeples, within the citie. The gate under which his majestie did passe, was 12 foot wide, and 18 foot hie; a posterne likewise, at one side of it, being foure foote wide, and 8 foote in hight; on either side of the gate, stood a great French terme, of stone, advanced upon woodden pedestalls; two half pilasters of rustick, standing over their heads. I could shoote more arrowes at this marke, and teach you, without the carpenters rule, how to measure all the proportions belonging to this fabrick. But an excellent hand being at this instant curiously describing all the seven, and bestowing on them their faire prospective limmes, your eye shall hereafter rather be delighted in beholding those pictures, than now be wearied in looking upon mine.

The Personages (as well mutes as speakers) in this Pageant, were these, viz.

1 The highest person was the Brittayne Monarchy.
2 At her feete, sate Divine Wisdome.
3 Beneath her, stood the Genius of the City, a man.
4 At his right hand was placed a personage, figuring the Counsell of the City.
5 Under all these lay a person representing Thamesis the river.

Sixe other persons, being daughters to Genius, were advanced above him, on a spreading ascent, of which the first was,

1 Gladnesse.

2 The second, Veneration.
3 The third, Promptitude.
4 The fourth, Vigilance.
5 The fift, Loving Affection.
6 The sixth, Unanimity.

Of all which personages, Genius and Thamesis were the only speakers; Thamesis being presented by one of the children of her majesties revels; Genius by M. Allin (servant to the young prince.) His gratulatory speach, which was delivered with excellent action, and a well tun'de audible voice, being to this effect:

That London may be prowd to behold this day; and therefore, in name of the lord maior and aldermen, the councell, commoners, and multitude, the heartiest welcome is tendered to his majesty, that ever was bestowed on any king, &c.

Which banquet being taken away with sound of musick, there, ready for that purpose, his majestie made his entrance into this his court royall. Under the battlements of the worke, in great capitals, was inscribed thus: The wayts and haultboys of London.

LONDINIVM.

And under that, in a smaller, but not different, caracter, was written,

CAMERA REGIA:

The Kings Chamber.

Too short a time, in their opinions that were glewed together so many houres, to behold him, did his majestie dwell upon this first place; yet too long it seemed to other happy spirits, that higher up in these Elizian fields awaiting for his presence; he sets on therefore, like the sunne in his zodiaque, bountifully dispersing his beames amongst particular nations: the brightnesse and warmth of which, was now spent first upon the Italians, and next upon the Belgians. The space of ground, on which their magnificent arches were builded, being not unworthy to bear the name of the great hall to this our court royall; wherein was to be heard and seene the sundrie languages and habits of strangers, which, under princes roofs, render excellent harmony.

In a paire of scales doe I weigh these two nations, and find them, neither in hearty love to his majestie, in advancement of the cities honor, nor in forwardnesse to glorifie these triumphs, to differ one grain.

To dispute which have done best, were to doubt that one had done well. Call their inventions therefore twynnes; or if they themselves doe not like that name, for happily they are emulous of one glory, yet thus may we speake of them.

Ovid. —— *Facies non omnibus una,*
Nec diversa tamen, qualem decet esse sororum.

Because, whatsoever *(fixus oculis)* beholds their proportions,

Virg. *Expleri mentem nequit, ardescitq. tuendo.*

The street, upon whose breast this Italian jewell was worne, was never worthy of that name which it carries, till this houre; for here did the kings eye meet a second object, that inticed him by tarrying to give honor to the place. And thus did the queintnesse of the engine seem to discover it selfe before him. Gracious Street.

The Italians Pageant.

The building tooke up the whole breadth of the street, of which the lower part was a square, garnished with foure great columnes. In the midst of which square, was cut out a fayre and spacious high gate, arched, being twenty-seven foot in the perpendicular lyne, and eighteene at the ground lyne; over the gate, in golden characters, these verses, in a long square, were inscribed:

Tu regere imperio populos Jacobe memento,
Hæ tibi erunt artes, paciq. imponere morem,
Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos.

And directly above this, was advanced the armes of the kingdome, the supporters fairly cut out to the life; over the lion, some pretty distance from it, was written

JACOBO REGI MAGN.

And above the head of the unicorne, at the like distance, this,

HENRICI VII. ABNEP.

In a large square, above all these, King Henry the Seventh was royally seated in his imperiall robes, to whome King James, mounted on horsebacke, approaches, and receyves a scepter, over both their heads these words being written,

HIC VIR, HIC EST.

Betweene two of the columnes, on the right hand, was fixed up a square table, wherein, in lively and excellent colours, was lim'd a woman, figuring Peace, her head securely leaning on her left hand, her body modestly bestowed, to the length upon the earth. In her other hand was held an olive branch, the ensigne of peace: her word was out of Virgil, being thus,

——*Deus nobis hæc otia fecit.*

Beneath that peece was another square table, reaching almost to the bases of the two columnes; in which 2 (seeming) sea personages, were drawne to the life, both of them lying, or rather leaning on the bosome of the earth, naked; the one a woman, her back only seene; the other a man, his hand stretching and fastning it selfe upon her shoulder. The word that this dead body spake was this,

I Decus, I Nostrum.

Upon the left-hand side of the gate, betweene the other two columnes, were also two square tables; in the one of which were two persons portrayed to the life, naked, and wilde in lookes, the words,

Expectate solo Trinobanti.

And over that, in another square, carrying the same proportion, stoode a woman upright, holding in her hand a shield, beneath whom was inscribed, in golden caracters,

——*Spes & fidissima rerum.*

And this was the shape and front of the first great square, whose top, being flat, was garnished with pilasters, and upon the roote was directed a great pedestal, on which stood a person carved out to the life (a woman), her left hand leaning on a sword, with the poynt downeward, and her right-hand reaching foorth a diadem, which shee seemed, by bowing of her knee and head, to bestowe upon his majestie.

On the foure corners of this upper part, stoode foure naked portraytures (in great), with artificiall trumpets in their hands.

In the arch of the gate, was drawne (at one side) a company of palme-trees, young, and as it were but newly springing; over whose branches two naked winged angels, flying, held foorth a scroll, which seemed to speak thus,

Spes altera.

On the contrarie side was a vine, spread it selfe into many branches, and winding about olive and palme trees; two naked angels winged hanging likewise in the ayre over them, and holding a scroll between them, fild with this inscription:

Uxor tua, sicut vitis abundans,
Et filii tui, sicut palmites olivarum.

If your imaginations (after the beholding of these objects) will suppose that his majestie is now gone to the other side of the Italian trophee, doe but cast your eyes backe, and there you shall finde just the same proportions which the fore-part, or brest of our arch, carrieth, with equal number of columnes, pedestals, pilasters, limed peeces, and carved statues. Over the gate, this distichon presents it selfe:

Nonne tuo imperio satis est Jacobe potiri?
Imperium in musas, æmule quæris? Habes.

Under which verses, a wreathe of lawrell seemed to be ready to be let fall on his majesties head, as he went under it, being held between two naked antique women, their bodies stretching (at the full length) to compasse over the arch of the gate; and above those verses, in a faire azure table, this inscription was advanced in golden capitals:

EXPECTATIONI ORBIS TERRARVM, REGIB. GENITO, NVMEROSISS. REGVM GENITORI FAELICISS. REGI MARTIGENARVM AUGVSTISS. REGI MVSARVM. GLORIOSISS.

Itali statuerunt lætitiæ et cultus
signum.

On the right-hand of this backe-part, between two of the columnes, was a square table, in which was drawn a woman, crowned with beautifull and fresh flowres, a caducæus in her hand: all the notes of a plenteous and lively spring being carried about her, the soul that gave life to this speaking picture was,

———*Omnis feret omnia tellus.*

Above this peece, in another square, was portrayed a tryton, his trumpet at his mouth, seeming to utter thus much:

Dum cœlum stellas.

Upon the left-hand of this back-part, in most excellent colours, antikely attired, stood the four kingdoms, England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, holding hands together; this being the language of them all:

Concordes stabili fatorum Numine.

The middle great square, that was advanced over the freeze of the gate, held Apollo, with all his ensignes and properties belonging unto him, as a sphere, bookes, a caducæus, an octoedron, with other geometricall bodies, and a harpe in his left-hand; his right-hand with a golden wand in it, poynting to the battle of Lepanto, fought by the Turks (of which his majestie hath written a poem), and, to doe him honour, Apollo himselfe doth here seem to take upon him to describe: his word,

Fortunate puer.

These were the mutes and properties that helpt to furnish out this great Italian theater, upon whose stage the sound of no voice was appointed to be heard but of one (and that in the presence of the Italians themselves), who, in two little opposite galleries, under and within the arch of the gate, very richly and neatly hung, delivered thus much Latine to his majestie:

The Italians Speach.

Salve, rex magne, salve. Salutem majestati tuæ Itali, fælicissimum adventum læti, fælices sub te futuri, precamur. Ecce hic omnes, exigui munere, pauculi numero: sed magni erga majestatem tuam animi, multi obsequii. At nec Atlas, qui cælum sustinet, nec ipsa cœli convexa, altitudinem attingant meritorum regis optimi; hoc est, ejus, quem de teipso expressisti doctissimo (Deus!) et admirabili penicillo: beatissimos populos, ubi et philosophus regnat, et rex philosophatur. Salve, rex nobilissime, salve, vive, rex potentissime, fæliciter. Regna, rex sapientissime, fæliciter, Itali optamus omnes, Itali clamamus omnes: Omnes, omnes.

Having hoysted up our sailes, and taken leave of this Italian shore, let our next place of casting anker be upon the land of the 17. provinces, where the Belgians (attired in the costly habits of their own native countrey, without the fantasticke mixtures of other nations), but more richly furnished with love, stand ready to receyve his majestie, who, according to their expectation, does most gratiously make himselfe and his royall traine their princely ghests. The house which these strangers have builded to entertaine him in is thus contriv'de.

The Pageant of the Dutch-Men, by the Royall Exchange.

The foundation of this was (as it were by fate) layd neere unto a royall place; for it was a royall and magnificent labour: it was bounded in with the houses on both sides the street, so prowdly (as all the rest also did) did this extend her body in bredth. The passage of state was a gate, large, ascending eighteene foot high, aptly proportioned to the other lymmes, and twelve foot wyde, arched; two lesser posternes were for common feet, cut out and opened on the sides of the other.

Within a small freeze, and kissing the very forhead of the gate, the ædifice spake thus:

Unicus a fato surgo non degener hæres.

Whilst lifting up your eye to an upper larger freeze, you may there be enriched with these golden capitalls:

JACOBO, ANGL. SCOT. FRANC. HIBERN. REGI OPT. PRINC. MAX. BELGAE ded.

But, bestowing your sight upon a large azure table, lyned quite through with caracters of gold, likewise you may for your paynes receive this inscription:

ORBIS RESTITVTOR. PACIS FVND. RELIG. PROPVG. D. JAC. P. F. REGI. P. P.
D. ANNAE REGIAE CONJVG. SOR. FIL. NEPTI, ET D. HENRICO. I. FIL. PRINC. JVVENT.
IN PVBL. VRBIS ET ORBIS LAETITIA, SECVLIQVE FAELICITAT. XVII. BELGIAE PROV. MERCATORES BENIGNE REGIA HAC IN VRBE EXCEPTI, ET
S. M. VESTRAE OB ANTIQ. SOCIALE FOEDVS, ET D. ELIZ. BENEFICENT. DEVOTI.
FAVSTA OMNIA ET FOELICIA AD IMPERII A ETERNITAT. PRECANTVR.

Above which (being the heart of the trophee) was a spacious square roome, left open, silke curtaines drawne before it, which (upon the approch of his majestie) being put by, 17. yong damsels (all of them sumptuously adorned, after their countrey fashion) sate, as it were, in so many chaires of state, and figuring in their persons the 17. provinces of Belgia, of which every one caried in a scutchion (excellently pencilde) the armes and coate of one.

Above the upper edge of this large square roome, and over the first battlement, in another front, advanced for the purpose, a square table was fastened upright, in which was drawne the lively picture of the king, in his imperial robes; a crowne on his head, the sword and scepter in his handes: upon his left-side stood a woman, her face fixed upon his, a burning hart in her right-hand, her left hanging by, a heron standing close unto her: upon his other side stood upright (with her countenance directed likewise upon him) another woman, winged; and in a freeze beneath them, which tooke up the full length of this square, this inscription set out it selfe in golden wordes:

——*Utroque satellite tutus.*

Suffer your eyes to be wearied no longer with gazing up so high at those sun-beams, but turne then aside to looke below through the little posternes, whose state sweld quickly up to a greatnes, by reason of 2. columnes that supported them on either side. In a table, over the right-hand portall, was in perfect colours, drawne a serpent pursude by a lion; betweene them adders and snakes, chasing one another, the lion scornfully casting his head backe, to behold the violence of a blacke storme that heaven powred downe to overtake them: the sound that came from all this was thus:

——*Sequitur gravis ira feroces.*

The opposite body to this (on the other side, and directly over the other portall, whose pompe did in like manner leane upon and uphold it selfe by two mayne columnes) was a square peece, in which were to be seene sheepe browzing, lambes nib-

bling, byrds flying in the ayre, with other arguments of a serene and untrobled season, whose happinesse was proclaymed in this manner:

——Venit alma cicuribus aura.

Directly above this, in a square table, were portrayed two kings, reverently and antiquely attyrde, who seemed to walke upon these golden lines:

Nascitur in nostro regum par nobile rege
Alter Jesiades, alter Amoniades.

From whome leade but your eye, in a straight line, to the other side (over the contrary posterne), and there, in a second upper picture, you may meete with two other kings, not fully so antique, but as rich in their ornaments; both of them, out of golden letters, composing these wordes:

Lucius ante alios, Edwardus, et inde JACOBUS
Sextus, et hic sanxit, sextus et ille fidem.

And these were the nerves by which this great triumphall body was knit together. In the inferiour parts of it, upon the shoulders whereof (which were garnished with rowes of pilasters, that supported lions rampant, bearing up banners), there stood another lesser square, the head of which wore a coronet of pilasters also; and above them, upon a pedestal, curiously closed in betweene the tayles of two dolphins, was advanced a woman, holding in one hand a golden warder, and poynting with the forefinger of the other hand up to heaven. She figured Divine Providence; for so at her feete was written,

Provida Mens Cœli.

Somewhat beneath which was to be seene an imperiall crowne, two scepters being fastened, crosse-wise, unto it, and delivering this speach:

——Sceptra hæc concredidit uni.

At the elbowes of this upper square, stood upon the foure corners of a great pedestall, foure pyramides, hollow, and so neatly contrived, that in the night time (for anger that the sunne would no longer look upon these earthly beauties) they gave light to themselves, and the whole place about them; the windowes, from whence these artificiall beames were throwne, being cut out in such a fashion, that, as Ovid, describing the palace of the sunne, says:

Clara micante auro, flammasq. imitante pyropo.

So did they shine afarre off, like crysolites, and sparkled like carbuncles: betweene those two pyramides, that were lifted up on the right-hand, stood Fortitude; her piller resting it self upon this golden line:

Perfero curarum pondus, discrimina temno.

Betweene the two pyramides, on the other side, Justice challenged her place, being knowne both by her habit and by her voyce, that spake thus:

Auspice me dextra solium regale perennat.

We have held his majestie too long from entring this third gate of his court royall: it is now hie time that those eyes, which, on the other side, ake with rolling up and downe for his gladsome presence, should injoy that happinese. Beholde, he is in an instance passed thorough; the objects that there offer themselves before him being these:

Our Belgick statue of triumph weares on her back as much riches as she carried upon her breast, being altogether as glorious in columnes, standing on tip-toe, on as loftie and as proude pyramides; her walkes encompast with as strong and as neate pilasters; the colours of her garments as bright, her adornements as many: for,

In the square field, next and lowest, over one of the portals, were the Dutch countrey people toyling at their husbandrie; women carding of their hemp, the men beating it, such excellent art being exprest in their faces, their stoopings, bendings, sweatings, &c. that nothing is wanting in them but life (which no colours can give) to make them be thought more than the workes of paynters.

Lift up your eyes a little above them, and behold their exchange; the countenaunces of the marchants there being so lively, that bargaines seem to come from their lippes.

But instead of other speach, this is onely to be had:

PIO INVICTO,

R. JACOBO,

QVOD FEL. EJVS AVSPICIIS VNIVERSVM BRIT. IMPERIVM PACAT. MARE TVTVM PORTVS APERIT.

Over the other portall, in a square (proportioned to the bignes of those other) men, women, and children (in Dutch habits) are busie at other workes; the men weaving, the women spinning, the children at their hand-loomes, &c.: above whose heads you may, with little labour, walke into the mart, where, as well the froe as the burger, are buying and selling; the praise of whose industrie (being worthy of it) stands publisht in gold, thus:

QVOD MVTVIS COMMERCIIS, ET ARTIFICVM, NAVTARUMQVE SOLERTIA CRESCAT, DESIDIA EXVLAT, MVTVAQVE AMICITIA CONSERVETVR.

Just in the midst of these foure squares, and directly over the gate, in a large table, whose feet are fastened to the freeze, is their fishing and shipping lively and sweetely set downe: the skipper (even though he be hard tugging at his net) loudly singing this:

Quod celeb: hoc emporium prudenti industria suos,
Quovis terrarum negotiatores emittat, exteros
Humaniter admittat, foris famam, domi divitia augeat.

Let us now clime up to the upper battlementes; where, at the right-hand, Time standes; at the left, in a direct line, his daughter Trueth: under her foot is written,

Sincera;

And under his,

Durant,
Sincera durant.

In the midst of these two, three other persons are rancked togeather, Art, Sedulitie, and Labour; beneath whom, in a freeze, roving along the whole breadth of that square, you may find these words in gold:

Artes, Perfecit, Sedulitate, Labor.

As on the foreside, so on this, and equall in heigth to that of Divine Providence, is the figure of a woman advanced; beneath whom, is an imperiall crown, with branches of olive fixed, crosse-wise, unto it, and gives you this word:

Sine cæde et sanguine.

And thus have we bestowed upon you all the dead cullours of the picture (wherein, notwithstanding, was left so much life) as can come from art. The speaking instrument was a boy, attyred all in white silk, a wreath of lawrell about his temples: from his voyce came this sound:

Sermo ad Regem.

Quæ tot sceptra tenes forti, rex maxime, dextra,
Provida mens summi Numinis illa dedit.
Aspice ridentem per gaudia Plebis Olympum,
Reddentem et plausus ad sua verba suos,
Tantus honos paucis, primi post secula mundi
Obtigit, et paucis tantum unus incubuit,
Nam regere imperiis populum fælicibus unum,
Arduares, magnis res tamen apta viris.
At non unanimes nutu compescere gentes
Non homines pensum, sed labor ille Dei,
Ille ideò ingentes qui temperet orbis habenas,
Adjungit longas ad tua fræna manus.
Et menti de mente sua prælucet, et artem
Regnandi, regnum qui dedit illa, docet.
Crescentes variis cumulat virtutibus annos,
Quas inter pietas, culmina summa tenet.
Hac proavos reddis patriæ, qui barbara gentis
Flexêre inducto Numine, corda feræ.
Hac animos tractas rigidos, subigisque rebelles,
Et leve persuades quod trahis ipse jugum,
Illi fida comes terram indignata profanam,
Aut nunc te tanto rege reversa Themis.
Assidat et robusta soror, ingentibus ausis
Pro populo carum tradere prompta caput.
Quin et regis amor, musæ et dilectus Apollo,
Regali gaudent subdere plectra manu.
Aurea et ubertas solerti nata labore,
Exhibet aggestas ruris et urbis opes.
Sunt hæc dona Poli, certa quæ prodita fama
Miratum ut veniat, venit uterque polus.
Venimus et Belgæ, patriis gens exul ab oris
Quos fovit tenero mater Eliza sinu.

Matri sacratum, patri duplicamus amorem,
Poscimus et simili posse favore frui.
Sic deum Panthaeci tibi proferat alitis ævum,
Sceptra per innumeros qui tibi tradit avos.
Sic regina tua pars altera, et altera proles,
Spes populi longum det, capiatq. decus.

Whilst the tongues of the strangers were imployed in extolling the gracious aspect of the king, and his princely behaviour towardes them, his majestie (by the quicknes of time, and the earnestnesse of expectation, whose eyes ran a thousand wayes to find him) had won more ground, and was gotten so far as to St Mildreds church, in the Poulterie; close to the side of which a scaffold was erected, where (at the cities cost, to delight the queene with her own country musicke) nine trumpets and a kettle-drum did very sprightly and actively sound the Danish march; whose cunning and quick stops by that time they had toucht the last ladyes eare in the traine, behold, the king was advanced up so hie as to Cheapeside, into which place (if Love himself had entered, and seene so many gallant gentlemen, so many ladyes, and beautifull creatures, in whose eyes glaunces, mixt with modest lookes, seemde to daunce courtly measures in their motion) he could not have chosen to have given the roome any other name then the Presence Chamber.

The stately entraunce into which was a faire gate, in height in 18. foot, in breadth 12; the thicknesse of the passage under it being 24. Two posternes stood wide open on the two sides, either of them being 4. foot wide, and 8. foot high. The two portals that jetted out before these posternes, had their sides open four severall wayes, and served as pedestalls (of rusticke) to support two pyramides, which stood upon four great balles, and four great lions: the pedestalls, balles, and pyramides, devouring, in their full upright heigth, from the ground line to the top, just 60. foot. But, burying this mechanicke body in silence, let us now take note in what fashion it stood attyred. Thus then it went appareled. Soper Lane.

The Device at Soper-lane End.

Within a large compartiment, mounted above the forehead of the gate, over the freeze, in capitalles, was inscribed this title:

NOVA FÆLIX ARABIA.

Under that shape of Arabia, this iland being figured: which two names of New and Happie, the countrey could by no merit in it selfe, challenge to be her due, but onely by meanes of that secret influence accompanying his majestie wheresoever he goes, and working such effectes.

The most worthy personage advanced in this place was Arabia Britannica, a woman attyred all in white, a rich mantle of greene cast about her, an imperiall crown on her head, and a scepter in one hand, a mound in the other, upon which she sadly leaned; a rich veyle (under the crowne) shadowing her eyes, by reason that her countenaunce (which, till his majesties approach, could by no worldly object be drawne to looke up) was pensively dejected: her ornamentes were markes of chastitie and youth; the crowne, mound, and scepter, badges of soveraigntie.

Directly under her, in a cant by her selfe, Fame stood upright; a woman in a watchet roabe, thickly set with open eyes and tongues, a payre of large golden winges at her backe, a trumpet in her hand, a mantle of sundry cullours traversing her body: all these ensignes desplaying but the propertie of her swiftnesse and aptnesse to disperse rumors.

In descent beneath her, being a spatious concave roome, were exalted five mounts, swelling up with different ascensions; upon which sate the five Sences drooping: viz.

1. *Auditus,* Hearing.
2. *Visus,* Sight.
3. *Tactus,* Feeling.
4. *Olfactus,* Smelling.
5. *Gustus,* Taste.

Appareled in roabes of distinct cullours, proper to their natures, and holding scutchions in their handes; upon which were drawne herogliphicall bodyes, to expresse their qualities.

Some prettie distaunce from them (and as it were in the midst before them) an artificiall laver or fount was erected, called the Fount of Arate (Vertue;) sundry pipes, like veines, branching from the body of it: the water receiving libertie but from one place, and that very slowly.

At the foot of this fount, two personages (in greater shapes then the rest) lay sleeping: upon their breasts stucke their names, *Detractio, Oblivio:* the one holdes an open cuppe, about whose brim a wreath of curled snakes were winding, intimating, that whatsoever his lippes toucht was poysoned; the other held a blacke cuppe covered, in token of an envious desire to drowne the worth and memorie of noble persons.

Upon an ascent, on the right hand of these, stood the three Charities or Graces, hand in hand, attyred like three sisters.

Aglia, *Thalia,* *Euphrosine,* } Figuring { Brightnesse, or majestie. Youthfulnes, or florishing. Chearfulnes, or gladnes.

They were all three virgins; their countenaunces laboring to smother an innated sweetnes and chearefulnes that appareled their cheekes, yet hardly to be hid: their garmentes were long roabes of sundry coloures, hanging loose: the one had a chaplet of sundrie flowers on her head, clustard heere and there with the fruites of the earth: the second a garland of eares of corne: the third, a wreath of vine-branches, mixt with grapes and olives.

Their haire hung downe over their shoulders loose, and of a bright colour, for that epithite is properly bestowed upon them by Homer, in his himne to Apollo.

PULCHRICOMÆ CHARITES.

The Bright Hayrde Graces.

They held in their handes pensild shieldes: upon the first, was drawne a rose: on the second, 3 dyce: on the third, a branch of mirtle.

Figuring { Pleasantnesse. Accord. Florishing.

In a direct line against them, stood the three Howres, to whom in this place, we give the names of Love, Justice, and Peace: they were attyred in loose roabes of light cullours, paynted with flowers: for so Ovid apparrels them.

Conveniunt pictis incinctæ vestibus Horæ.

Winges at their feete, expressing their swiftnesse, because they are lackies to the sunne: *Jungere equos Tytan velocibus imperat Horis.* Ovid.

Each of them helde two goblets; the one full of flowers (as ensigne of the Spring), the other full of rypened figges, the cognisance of Summer.

Upon the approch of his majestie (sad and solemne musicke having beaten the ayre all the time of his absence, and now ceasing) Fame speakes.

Fama.

Turne into ice mine eye-balls, whilst the sound
Flying through this brazen trump, may back rebound
To stop Fames hundred tongues, leaving them mute,
As in an untouched bell, or stringlesse lute,
For vertues fount, which late ran deep and cleare,
Drie, and melts all her body to a teare.
You Graces! and you Houres that each day runne
On the quick errands of the golden sunne,
O say! to vertues fount what has befell,
That thus her veines shrink up.

Charites Horæ.

Wee cannot tell.

Euphrosine.

Behold the five-folde guard of Sence which keepes
The sacred streame, sit drooping: neere them sleepe
Two horred monsters: Fame! summon each Sence,
To tell the cause of this strange accidence.

Heereupon Fame sounding her trumpet, Arabia Britannica lookes cheerefully up, the Sences are startled: Detraction and Oblivion throw off their iron slumber, busily bestowing all their powers to fil their cups at the fount, with their olde malitious intention to sucke it drie; but a strange and heavenly musicke suddainly striking through their eares, which causing a wildnes and quicke motion in their lookes, drew them to light upon the glorious presence of the king, they were suddainly thereby daunted and sunke downe; The fount in the same moment of tyme, flowing fresh and aboundantly through severall pipes, with milke, wine and balme, whilst a person (figuring Circumspection) that had watcht day and night, to give note to the world of this blessed tyme, which hee forsawe would happen, steps forth on a mounted stage extended 30 foote in length from the maine building, to deliver to his majestie the interpretation of this dumbe mysterie.

This presenter was a boy, one of the choristers, belonging to Paules.

His Speech.

Great Monarch of the West, whose glorious stem,
Doth now support a triple diadem,
Weying more than that of thy grand grandsire Brute,
Thou that maist make a king thy substitute,
And doest besides the red-rose and the white,
With the rich flower of France that garland dight,
Wearing above kings now, or those of olde,
A double crowne of lawrell and of gold,
O let my voyce passe through thy royall eare,
And whisper thus much, that we figure here
A new Arabia, in whose spiced nest
A Phœnix liv'd and died in the sunnes breast.
Her losse made Sight in teares to drowne her eyes,
The Eare grew deafe, Taste like a sick man lyes,
Finding no relish: every other Sence
Forgat his office, worth and excellence,
Whereby this fount of vertue gan to freeze,
Threatned to be drunke by two enemies,
Snakie Detraction and Oblivion,
But at thy glorious presence both are gone,
Thou being that sacred Phœnix, that doest rise,
From the ashes of the first: Beams from thine eyes
So vertually shining, that they bring
To Englands new Arabia, a new spring:
For joy whereof, Nimphes, Sences, Houres and Fame
Eccho loud hymnes to his imperiall name.

At the shuting up of this speech, his majestie (being readie to goe on) did most graciously feed the eyes of beholders with his presence, till a song was spent: which to a loude and excellent musick composed of violins and another rare artificiall instrument, wherein besides sundrie severall sounds effused (all at one time) were also sensibly distinguisht the chirpings of birds, was by two boyes (choristers of Paules) delivered in sweet and ravishing voyces.

Cant.

Troynovant is now no more a citie,
O great pitie! is't not pittie?
And yet her towers on tiptoe stand,
Like pageants built on fairie land,
And her marble armes,
Like to magicke charmes,
bind thousands fast unto her,
That for her wealth and beauty daily wooe her,
yet for all this, is't not a pittie?
Troynovant is now no more a citie.

2.

Troynovant is now a sommer arbour,
or the nest wherein doth harbor
The eagle of all birds that flie,
The soveraigne, for his piercing eye,
If you wisely marke,
'Tis besides a parke,
Where runnes (being newly borne)
With the fierce lyon the faire unicorne,
or else it is a wedding hall,
Where foure great kingdomes hold a festivall.

3.

Troynovant is now a bridall chamber,
whose roofe is gold, floore is of amber,
By vertue of that holy light,
That burnes in Hymens hand more bright,
Than the silver moone,
or the torch of noone,
Harke what the ecchoes say!
Brittaine till now nere kept a holiday:
for Jove dwels heere: And tis no pittie,
If Troynovant be now no more a cittie.

Nor let the scrue of any wresting comment upon these words,

Troynovant is now no more a cittie,

Enforce the authors invention away from his own cleare strength and harmlesse meaning: all the scope of this fiction stretching onely to this point, that London (to do honour to this day, wherein springs up all her happines) being ravished with unutterable joyes makes no account (for the present) of her ancient title to be called a citie, because alluring these tryumphes, she puts off her formall habite of trade and commerce, treading even thrift it selfe under foote, but now becomes a reveller and a courtier. So that, albeit in the end of the first stanza tis said,

Yet for all this, is't not pittie,
Troynovant is now no more a cittie.

By a figure called *Castigatio* or the mender, heere followes presently a reproofe; wherein tytles of sommer arbour; the eagles nest a weding hall, &c. are throwne upon her, the least of them being at this time by vertue of poeticall heraldrie, but especiallie in regard of the state that now upholds her, thought to be names of more honour, than that of her owne. And this short apologie doth our verse make for it selfe, in regard that some, (to whose settled judgement and authoritie the censure of these devises was referred) brought, though not bitterly, the life of those lines into question: But appealing with Machetas to Phillip, now these reasons have awaked him: let us follow King James, who having passed under this our third gate, is by this time, graciously receiv-

ing a gratulatorie oration from the mouth of Sir Henry Mountague, Recorder of the citie: a square low gallorie, set round about with pilasters, being for that purpose erected some 4. foote from the ground, and joyned to the front of the crosse in Cheap; where likewise stood al the Aldermen, the Chamberlain, Towne-clarke, and Counsell of the citie.

The Recorders Speech.

High Imperiall Majestie, it is not yet a yeere in dayes since with acclamation of the people, citizens, and nobles, auspitiouslie heere at this crosse was proclaimed your true succession to the crowne. If then it was joyous with hats, hands, and hearts, lift up to heaven to crie King James, what is it now to see King James? Come therefore, O worthiest of kings, as a glorious bridegroome through your royall chamber: But to come neerer, *Adest quem querimus.* Twentie and more are the soveraignes we have served since our conquest, but, conquerour of hearts, it is you and your posteritie, that we have vowed to love and wish to serve whilst London is a citie. In pledge whereof, my Lord Maior, the Aldermen and Commons of this citie, wishing a golden reigne unto you, present your greatnes with a little cup of gold.

At the end of the oration three cups of gold were given (in the name of the Lord Maior, and the whole body of the citie), to his majestie, the young prince, and the queene.

All which, but above all (being gifts of greater value) the loyall hearts of the citizens, being lovingly receaved; his grace was (at least it was appointed he should have beene) met on his way neere to the crosse, by Sylvanus drest up in greene ivie, a cornet in his hand, being attended on by foure other sylvans in ivie likewise, their bowes and quivers hanging on their shoulders, and winde instruments in their hands.

Upon sight of his majestie, they made a stand, Sylvanus breaking forth into this abrupt passion of joy.

Sylvanus.

Stay Sylvanus, and let the loudest voyce of musicke proclayme it, (even as high as heaven) that he is come.

Alter Apollo redit, Novus En, jam regnat Apollo.

Which acclamation of his was borne up into the ayre, and there mingled with the breath of their musicall instruments: whose sound being vanished to nothing, Thus goes our speaker on.

Sylvanus.

Most happie prince, pardon me, that being meane in habite, and wilde in apparance (for my richest livorie is but leaves, and my statliest dwelling but in the woodes), thus rudely with piping Sylvanus. These are my walkes: yet stand I heere not to cut off your way, but to give it a ful and a bounteous welcome, being a messenger sent from the lady Eirene my mistresse, to deliver an errand to the best of all these worthies your royall selfe. Many kingdomes hath the lady sought out to abide in, but from them all, hath she been most churlishly banished: not that her beautie did deserve such unkindnes, but that (like the eye of heaven) hers were too bright, and there were no eagles breeding in those nests, that could truly beholde them.

At last heere she arived, destinie subscribed to this warrant, that none but this land should be her inheritance. In contempt of which happines, Envie shootes his impoisoned stings at her heart, but his adders (being charmed) turne their daungerous heads upon his own bosome. Those that dwell far off, pine away with vexing to see her prosper, because all the acquaintance which they have of her, is this, that they know there is such a goodly creature as Eirene in the world, yet her face they know not: whilst all those that heere sleepe under the warmth of her wings, adore her by the sacred and cœlestiall name of Peace, for number being (as her blessings are) infinite.

Her daughter Euporia (well knowne by the name of Plentie), is at this present with her, (being indeede never from her side) under yonder arbour they sit, which after the daughters name is called, *Hortus Euporiæ* (Plenties Bower): Chast are they both, and both maydens in memorie of a virgine, to whome they were nurse children: for whose sake, because they were bound to her for their life, mee have they charged to lay at your imperiall feete, being your hereditarie due, the tribut of their love: And with it thus to say:

That they have languished many heavie moneths for your presence, which to them would have beene, and proud they are that it shall be so now, of the same operation and influence, that the sunne is to the springe, and the springe to the earth: hearing therefore what trebble preferment you have bestowed upon this day, wherein, besides the beames of a glorious sunne, two other cleare and gracious starres shine cheerfullie on these her homely buildings: Into which, because no dutie should be wanting, she hath given leave even to strangers, to be sharers in her happines, by suffering them to bid you likewise welcome. By mee, once hers, now your vassaile, shee entreates, and with a knee sinking lower than the ground on which you tread, do I humbly execute her pleasure, that ere you passe further you would deigne to walke into yonder garden: the Hesperides live not there, but the muses, and the muses no longer than under your protection. Thus farre am I sent to conduct you thither, prostrately begging this grace, since I dare not, as being unwoorthie, lackey by your royall side, in that, yet these my greene followers and my selfe may be joyfull fore-runners of your expected approch: Away Sylvanus.

And being, in this their returne, come neare to the arbour, they gave a signe with a short florish from all their cornets, that his majestie was at hand: whose princely eye whilest it was delighting it selfe with the quaint object before it, a sweete pleasure likewise courted his eare in the shape of musicke, sent from the voyces of nine boyes, all of them queristers of Paules, who in that place, presenting the nine muses, sang the dittie following, to their viols and other instruments.

But, least leaping too bluntly into the midst of our garden at first, we deface the beautie of it, let us send round about it, and survey the walles, allies, and quarters of it as they lye in order.

This being the fashion of it.

The passages through it were two gates, arched and grated arbor-wise, their heigth being 16. foote, their bredth 10. from the roofe, and so on the sides, downe to the ground; cowcumbers, pompions, grapes, and all other fruits growing in the land, hanging artificially in clusters: Betweene the two gates, a payre of stayres were mounted with some 20 assents: at the bottome of them, on two pillers, were fixed two Satiers carved out in wood; the sides of both the gates, being strengthened with four great French frames standing upon pedestals, taking up in their full heigth 20. foote.

The upper part also carried the proportion of an arbor, being closde with their round tops, the midst whereof was exalted above the other two, Fortune standing on the top

of it. The garnishments for the whole bower, being apples, peares, cheries, grapes, roses, lillies, and all other both fruits and flowers most artificially molded to the life. The whole frame of this sommer banqueting house, stood at the ground line, upon 4 foote; the perpendicular stretching it selfe to 45. Wee might that day have called it, The musicke roome, by reason of the chaunge of tunes, that danced round about it; for in one place were heard a noyse of cornets, in a second, a consort, the third, which sate in sight, a set of viols, to which the muses sang.

The principall persons advancde in this bower, were Eirene peace, and Euporia plenty, who sat together.

Eirene.

Peace: Was richly attired, her upper garment of carnation, hanging loose, a robe of white under it, powdered with starres and girt to her: her haire of a bright colour, long, and hanging at her back, but interwoven with white ribbands, and jewels: her browes were encompast with a wreath compounded of the olive, the lawrell, and the date tree: In one hand shee held a caducæus, or Mercuries rod, the god of eloquence: In the other, ripe eares of corne gilded: on her lap sate a dove: All these being ensignes, and furniture of peace.

Euporia.

Plenty: Her daughter sat of the left hand, in changable colours, a rich mantle of gold traversing her bodie, her haire large and loosely spreading over her shoulders: on her head a crowne of poppy and mustard seede; the antique badges of fertilitie and abundance. In her right hand a cornucopia, filde with flowers, fruits, &c.

Chrusos.

Directly under these, sate Chrusos, a person figuring gold; his dressing, a tinsell robe of the colour of gold.

Argurion.

And close by him, Argurion, silver, all in white tinsell; both of them crownde, and both their hands supported a globe between them, in token that they commanded over the world.

Pomona.

Pomona, the goddesse of garden fruits; sate at the one side of gold and silver; attirde in greene, a wreath of frutages circling her temples: her armes naked: haire beautifull, and long.

Ceres.

On the other side sate Ceres, crowned with ripened eares of wheate, in a loose straw-coloured robe.

In two large descents, a little belowe them, were placed at one end,

The nine Muses { Clio. Euterpe. Thalia. Melpomene. Terpsicore. Erato. Polymnia. Urania. Calliope. } With musicall instruments in their hands, to which they sung all the day.

At the other ende,

The 7 liberall Arts. { Grammer. Logique. Rhetorique. Musicke. Arithmetick. Geometry. Astrology. } Holding shieldes in their hands, expressing their several offices.

Upon the verie upper edge of a faire large freeze, running quite along the full breadth of the arbor, and just at their feete, were planted rankes of artificiall artichocks and roses.

To describe what apparell these arts, and muses wore, were a hard labour, and when it were done, all were but idle. Few taylors know how to cut out their garments: they have no wardrob at all: not a mercer, nor merchant, though they can all write and read verie excellently well, will suffer them to be great in their bookes. But, as in other countries, so in this of ours, they goe attirde in such thin clothes, that the winde everie minute is readie to blowe through them: happy was it for them, that they tooke up their lodging in a summer arbour, and that they had so much musicke to comfort them, their joies, of which they do not everie daie tast, being notwithstanding now infinitelie multiplied, in this, that where before they might have cryed out till they grew horse, and non would heare them, now they sing:

Aderitque vocatus Apollo.

Chorus in full voices answering it thus:

Ergo alacris Sylvas, et cætera rura voluptas
Panaque pastoresque tenet, Driadasque puellas,
Nec Lupus insidias pecori, nec retia Cervis
Ulla dolum meditantur, amat bonus otia Daphnis;
Ipsi lætitia voces ad sidera jactant
Intonsi montes: ipsa jam carmina Rupes,
Ipsa sonant Arbusta, Deus, Deus ille!

Sylvanus, as you may perceive by his office before, was but sent of an errand: there was another of a higher calling, a travailer, and one that had gon over much grownd, ap-

pointed to speake to his majesty, his name Vertumnus, the maister gardner, and husband to Pomona: To tell you what cloathes he had on his backe, were to do him wrong, for he had, to say truth, but one suite: homelie it was, yet meete and fit for a gardener: In steade of a hat, his browes were bound about with flowers, out of whose thicke heapes, here and there peeped a queene apple, a cherie, or a peare; this boone-grace he made of purpose to keep his face from heate, because he desired to looke lovelie; yet the sunne found him out, and by casting a continuall eye at him, whilst the old man was dressing his arbours, his cheekes grew tawnie; which colour, for the better grace, he himselfe interpreted blushing. A white head he had, and sunne-burnt hands: in the one he held a weeding hooke, in the other a grafting knife: and this was the tenor of his speech. That he was bound to give thanks to heaven, in that the arbour and trees which growing in that fruitfull Cynthian garden, began to droop and hang downe their greene heades, and to uncurle their crisped forelocks, as fearing and in some sort feeling the sharpenesse of Autumnian malice, are now on the sudden, by the devine influence, apparelled with a fresh and more lively verdure than ever they were before. The nine muses, that could expect no better entertainment than sad banishment, having now lovely and amiable faces: Arts, that were threatned to be trod under foot by barbarisme, now, (even at sight of his majestie, who is the Delian patron both of the muses and arts,) being likewise advanced to the most high preferment, whilst the very rurall and sylvane troopes danced for joy; the lady therefore of the place, Eirene, (his mistris,) in the name of the Prætor, Consuls and Senators of the city, who carefully pruine this garden, (weeding out al hurtful and idle branches that hinder the growth of the good,) and who are indeede, *Ergatai Pistoi*, faithfull laborers in this peice of ground, shee doth in al their names, (and he in behalfe of his lady,) offer themselves, this arbor, the bowers and walkes, yea her children, gold and silver, with the loving and loyall harts of all those, the sons of peace, standing about him, to be disposde after his royall pleasure. And so wishing his happy arrival at a more glorious bower, to which he is now going, yet welcoming him to this, and praying his majesty not to forget this poore arbor of his lady, musicke is commanded to cary all their praiers for his happy reigne, with a loud *Amen* of all his subjects as hie as heaven.

Cant.

Shine Titan shine.
Let thy sharp raies be hurld
Not on this under world,
For now tis none of thine.

These first 4 lines were sung by one alone, the single lines following, by a chorus in full voices.

Chor. No, no, tis none of thine.

2.

But in that spheare,
Where what thine armes infolde,
Turnes all to burnisht gold,
Spend thy guilt arrows there,

Chor. Doe, doe, shoot onelie there.

3.

Earth needes thee not:
Her childbed daies are done,
And shee another sunne,
Faire as thy selfe has got.

Chor. A new new sunne is got.

4.

O this is he!
Whose new beames make our Spring,
Men glad and birdes to sing;
Hymnes of praise, joy, and glee.

Chor. Sing, sing, O this is hee!

5.

That in the north
First rizing: shonne (so far)
Bright as the morning starre,
At his gaie comming forth.

Chor. See, see, he now comes forth.

6.

How soon joies varie?
Here staid he still! O then
Happie both place and men,
But here had list not tarrie.

Chor. O griefe! had list not tarrie.

7.

No, no, his beames
Must equall devide,
Their heate to Orbes beside,
Like nourishing silver streames,

Chor. Joies slide away like streames.

8.

Yet in this lies
Sweet hope: how far soever,

Hee bides, no cloudes can sever
His glorie from our eyes.

Chor. Drie, drie, your weeping eyes.

9.

And make heaven ring,
His welcomes showted loudelie,
For heaven it self lookes proudly,
That earth has such a king.

Chor. Earth has not such a king.

His majestie dwelt here a considerable long time, giving both good allowance to the song and musick, and liberally bestowing his eye on the workmanship of the place; from whence at the length departing, his next entrance was, as it were, into the closet, or rather the privy chamber to this our court-royall; through the windowes of which, he might behold the Cathedrall Temple of Saint Paule: upon whose lower battlements, an antheme was sung, by the quiristers of the church, to the musicke of loud instruments: which being finisht, a Latine oration was *viva voce* delivered to his grace, by one of Maister Mulcaster's schollers, at the dore of the free-schole, fownded by the Mercers.

Oratio habita, et ad Regem, et coram Rege præ schola Paulina.

Brevis ero, ne ingratus sim, Rex serenissime, licet, et planè, et plenè putem Regem tam prudentem, in tam profusa suorum letitia, ita se hodie patientia contra tædium armavisse, ne ullius tædii ipsum posset tædere. Ædificium hoc magno sumptu suo extructum Dominus Johannes Collettus ecclesiæ Paulinæ Decanus, sub Henrico septimo, majestatis tuæ prudentissimo abavo, erudiendæ pueritiæ consecravit, ut hujus scholæ infantia tuo in Regnum Anglicanum jure cœtanea existat. Tanta magnificentia conditum parique magnificentia dotatum fidelissima Mercerorum hujus urbis primaria semper, hodie etiam prætoriæ societati tuendum testamento moriens commendavit. Quæ societas, et demortui fundatoris spei, et nostræ educationis studio fidem suam sanctissime excoluit. Hic nos cum multis aliis erudimur, qui communi nomine totius pueritiæ Anglicanæ, a domino rege, licet sponte sua ad omnia optima satis incitato, humillime tamen contendimus, ut quemadmodum sua ætatis ratione, in omni re adultioribus prospicit, ita in summæ spei Principis Henrici gratiam tenerioribus, pariqué cum ipso ætate pueris, in scholarum cura velit etiam consulere. Virgæ enim obsequium sceptri obedientiam et parit et præit, inquit preceptor meus. Quique metu dedicit juvenis parere puerque, grandibus imperiis officiosus erit. Habent scholæ Anglicanæ multa, in quibus Regiam majestatis correctionem efflagitant, ne inde in academias implumes evolent unde in Rempublicam implumiores etiam è prima nuditate emittuntur. Quod malum a preceptore nostro accepimus: qui annos jam quatuor supra quinquaginta publice, privatimque erudiendæ pueritiæ præfuit, et hæc scholarum errata, cum aliquo etiam dolore suo, et passim, et sparsim deprehendit. Nostra hæc schola fundatorem Colettum hominem tam pium; tutores Merceros homines tam fidos consequuta, quam esset fœlix, si placeret, domino etiam, Regi, quod Regibus Angliæ, ad summam apud suos charitatem sæpissime profuit, huic Mercerorum principi societati, fratrem se, et concivem adscri-

bere. Quantum huic urbi ornamentum, quantum societati honestamentum, quantum scholæ nostræ emolumentum? Quantus etiam Regi ipsi honos inde accederet, mavult, qui hoc vult alias inter alia per otium Regi suo apperire, quam hodie cum tædio et præter aream eidem explicare. Omnipotens Deus Jesus Christus et cum eo, ac per eum noster, et Pater, et Deus serenissimum Regem Jacobum, honoratissimam Reginam Annam, nobilissimum Principem Henricum, relinquamque Regiæ stirpis ad omnia summam natam sobolem diu nobis ita incolumes tueatur, ut cum hujus vita secundissimum curriculum confeceritis, beatissimam vita cælestis æternitatem consequamini. Dixi.

Our next arch of triumph was erected above the conduit in Fleet-street, into which (as into the long and beauteous gallery of the citie) his majestie being entered; a farre off (as if it had been some swelling promontory, or rather some inchanted castle guarded by tenne thousand harmelesse spirits) did his eye encounter another tower of pleasure.

Presenting itselfe.

Fourescore and ten foote in height, and fiftie in breadth; the gate twentie foote in the perpendicular line, and fourteene in the ground-line; the two posternes were answerable to these that are set down before; over the posternes, viz. Up in proportionable measures, two turrets, with battlementes on the tops; the middest of the building was laid open to the world, and great reason it should be so, for the globe of the world was there seen to moove, being fild with all the degrees, and states that are in the land; and these were the mechanicall and dead limmes of this carved bodie. As touching these that had the use of motion in it, and for a mind durst have spoken, but that there was no stuffe fit for their mouthes.

The principall and worthiest was Astrea, (Justice) sitting aloft, as being newly descended from heaven, gloriously attirde; all her garments being thickely strewed with starres; a crowne of starres on her head; a silver veile covering her eyes. Having told you that her name was Justice, I hope you will not put me to describe what properties she held in her hands, sithence every painted cloath can inform you.

Directly under her, in a cant by herselfe, was Arate (Vertue) inthronde, her garments white, her head crowned, and under her Fortuna; her foote treading on the globe, that moovde beneath her; intimating, that his majesties fortune was above the world, but his vertues above his fortune.

Invidia.

Envy, unhandsomely attirde all in black, her haire of the same colour, filletted about with snakes, stoode in a darke and obscure place by her selfe, neere unto Vertue, but making shew of a fearfulnesse to approach her and the light; yet still and anon, casting her eyes, sometimes to the one side beneath, where on several Greeces sate the four cardinall vertues:

Viz. *Justitia.*, *Fortitudo.*, *Temperantia.*, *Prudentia.* — In habiliments, fitting to their natures.

And sometimes throwing a distorted and repining countenance to the other opposite seate, on which his majesties foure kingdomes were advanced.

Viz. { England. Scotland. France. Ireland. }

All of them in rich robes and mantles; crownes on their heads, and scepters with pensild scutchions in their hands, lined with the coats of the particuler kingdoms; for very madnesse, that she beheld these glorious objects, she stood feeding on the heads of adders.

The foure Elements in proper shapes, (artificially and aptly expressing their qualities) upon the approch of his majestie, went round in a proportionable and even circle, touching that cantle of the globe, (which was open) to the full view of his majestie: which being done, they bestowed themselves in such comely order, and stood so, as if the eronie had been held up on the tops of their fingers.

Upon distinct ascensions, (neatly raisde within the hollow wombe of the globe) were placed all the states of the land, from the nobleman to the ploughman, among whom there was not one word to be heard, for you must imagine, as Virgil saith:

Ægl. 4. *Magnus ab integro seclorum nascitur ordo.*
*Jam redit et * virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna.*

* Astræa.

That it was now the golden world, in which there were few parts.

All the tongues that went in this place, was the tongue of Zeale, whose personage was put on by W. Bourne, one of the servants to the young prince.

And thus went his Speach.

The populous globe of this our English Ile,
Seemde to moove backward, at the funerall pile
Of her dead female majestie. All states
From nobles downe to spirits of meaner fates,
Moovde opposite to nature and to peace,
As if these men had bin th' Antipodes;
But see, the vertue of a regall eye,
Th' attractive wonder of mans majestie.
Our globe is drawne in a right line agen,
And now appeare new faces, and new men.
The Elements, Earth, Water, Ayre, and Fire,
(Which ever clipt a naturall desire,
To combat each with other, being at first,
Created enemies to fight their worst,)
See at the peaceful presence of their king,
How quietly they moovde, without their sting:
Earth not devouring, Fire not defacing,
Water not drowning, and the Ayre not chasing:

But proping the queint fabrick that heere stands,
Without the violence of their wrathfull hands.
Mirror of times, lo where thy fortune sits,
Above the world, and all our humaine wits,
But thy hye vertue above that; what pen,
Or art, or braine can reach thy vertue then?
At whose immortall brightnes and true light,
Envies infectious eyes have lost their sight,
Her snakes (not daring to shoot forth their stings
Gainst such a glorious object) downe she flings
Their forkes of venome into her own maw,
Whilst her ranke teeth the glittering poisons chawe;
For tis the property of Envies blood,
To dry away at every kingdomes good,
Especially when she had eyes to view
These four maine vertues figurde all in you;
Justice in causes, Fortitude against foes,
Temprance in spleene, and Prudence in all those.
And then so rich an empyre, whose fayre brest
Contaynes four kingdomes by your entrance blest;
By Brute divided, but by you alone,
All are againe united and made *One*;
Whose fruitfull glories shine so far and even,
They touch not onely earth, but they kisse heaven:
From whence Astræa is descended hither,
Who with our last queenes spirit, fled up thither,
Fore-knowing on the earth, she could not rest,
Till you had lockt her in your rightful brest.
And therefore all estates, whose proper arts,
Live by the breath of majestie, had harts,
Burning in holy zeales immaculate fires,
With quenchles ardors, and unstaind desires,
To see what they now see, your powerful grace,
Reflecting joyes on every subjects face:
These paynted flames, and yellow burning stripes,
Upon this roab, being but as showes and types
Of that great zeale. And therefore in the name
Of this glad citie, whither no prince ever came,
More lov'd, more long'd for, lowely I intreate,
You'ld be to her as gracious as y'are great:
So with reverberate shoutes our globe shall ring,
The musicks close, being thus; God save our King.

If there be any glorie to be won by writing these lynes, I do freelie bestow it (as his due) on Tho. Middleton, in whose braine they were begotten, though they were delivered heere: *Que nos non fecimus ipsi, vix ea nostra voco.*

But having peiced up our wings now againe with our own feathers, suffer us a while to be pruning them, and to lay them smooth, whilst this song, which went foorth at the sound of hault-boyes, and other lowde instruments, flyes along with the trayne.

Cant.

Where are all these honors owing?
Why are seas of people flowing?
Tell mee, tell me rumor,
Though it be thy humor
More often to be lying,
Than from thy breath to have trueth flying:
Yet alter now that fashion,
And without the streame of passion,
Let thy voyce swim smooth and cleare,
When words want gilding, then they are most deer.

Behold where Jove and all the states
Of heav'n, through heav'ns seaven silver gates,
All in glory riding
(Backs of clowds bestriding)
The milky waie do cover,
With starry path being measur'd over,
The Deities convent,
In Joves high Court of Parliament:
Rumor thou doest lose thine aymes,
This is not Jove, but one as great, King James.

And now take we our flight up to Temple-bar, (the other end of this our gallery) where by this time, his majestie is upon the poynt of giving a gratious and princely fare-well to the Lord Maior, and the citie. But that his eye meeting a seaventh beautifull object, is invited by that, to delay a while his lamented departure.

The Building being set out thus.

The front or surface of it was proportioned in every respect like a temple, being dedicated to Janus, as by this inscription over the Janus head may appeare.

Jano Quadrifronti
Sacrum.

The height of the whole edifice, from the grownd line to the top, was 57. foot, the full bredth of it 18. foot: the thicknes of the passage 12.

The personages that were in this temple, are these:

1. The principall person, Peace.
2. By her stood, Wealth.
3. Beneath the feet of Peace, lay Mars, (War,) groveling.

4. And upon her right hand (but with some little desent) was seated Quiet, the first hand-maid of Peace.
5. She had lying at her feet, Tumult.
6. On the other side was the second hand-maid, Libertie, at whose feet lay a catte.
7. This person trod upon Servitude.
8. The third hand-maid was Safety.
9. Beneath her was Danger.
10. The fourth attendant was Fælicitie:
11. At her feet, Unhappines.

Within the temple was an altar, to which, upon the approch of the king, a Flamin appeares, and to him, the former Genius of the Citie.

The effect of whose speech was, that whereas the Flamin came to performe rites there, in honour of one Anna, a goddesse of the Romaines, the Genius vowes, that none shall do sacrifice there but himselfe, the offring that he makes being the heart of the citie, &c.

And thus have we, lowely and aloofe, followed our soveraigne through the seaven triumphal gates of this his court-royall, which name, as London received at the rysing of the sunne; so now at his going from her, even in a moment, she lost that honour; And being, like an actor on the stage, stript out of her borrowed majestie, she resignes her former shape and title of citie; nor is it quite lost, considering it went along with him, to whom it is due: For such vertue is begotten in princes, that their verie presence hath power to turne a village to a citie, and to make a citie appeare great as a kingdome. Behold how glorious a flower, happinesse, but how fading. The minutes, that lackey at the heels of time, run not faster away than do our joyes. What tongue could have exprest the raptures on which the soule of the citie was carried beyond it selfe, for the space of manie houres? What wealth could have allurde her to have closde her eies, at the comming of her king, and yet see, her bridegroome is but stept from her, and in a minute, (nay in shorter time, then a thought can be borne,) is she made a widdow. All her consolation being now, to repeate over by roate those honors, which, lately, she had perfectly by hart: and to tell of those joyes, which but even now, she reallie behelde; yet thus of her absent, beloved, do I hear her gladly and heartily speaking.

Virg. *In freta dum fluvii current: dum montibus umbræ,*
Lustrabunt convexa, polus dum sidera pascit,
Semper honos, nomenque tuum, laudesque manebunt.

The Pageant in the Strond.

The cite of Westminster and dutchy of Lancaster, perceiving what preparation their neighbor citie made to entertain her soveraigne; though in greatnes they could not match her, yet in greatnes of love and duetie, they gave testimonie, that both were equall. And in token they were so, hands and hearts went together: and in the Strond, erected up a monument of their affection.

The invention was a rayne-bow, the moone, sunne, and the seaven starres, called the Pleiades, being advanced between two pyramides: Electra, one of those seaven hanging in the aire, in figure of a comet, was the speaker, her words carrying this effect:

That as his majestie had left the citie of London, happy, by delivering it from the noyse of tumult: so he would crown this place with the like joyes; which being done, she reckons up a number of blessings, that will follow upon it.

The work of this was thought upon, begun and made perfect in xii. daies.

As touching those five which the citie builded, the arbor in Cheapside, and the temple of Janus at Temple-Bar, were both of them begun and finisht in sixe weeks. The rest were taken in hand, first in March last, after his majestie was proclaymed, upon which, at that time, they wrought till a moneth after St James his day following, and then gave over by reason of the sicknes: at this second setting upon them, six weeks more were spent.

The citie elected sixteene committies, to whom the mannaging of the whole busines was absolutely referred: of which number, four were aldermen, the other grave commoners.

There were also committies apoynted as overseers, and surveyors of the workes.

Artificum Operariorumque in hoc tam celebri apparatu, summa.
Summa.

The citie imployed in the framing, building, and setting up of their five arches, these officers and work-men:

A clarke that attended on the committies.
Two officers that gave summons for their meetings, &c.
A clarke of the workes.
Two master carpenters.
Painters.

Of which number, those that gave the maine direction, and undertook for the whole busines, were only these seaven:

William Friselfield.
George Mosse.
John Knight.
Paul Isacson.
Samuell Goodrick.
Richard Wood.
George Heron.

Carvers 24

Over whom, Stephen Harrison, joyner, was appoynted chief; who was the sole inventor of the architecture, and from whom all directions, for so much as belonged to carving, joyning, molding, and all other work in those five pageants of the citie, paynting excepted, were set down.

Joyners	80
Carpenters	60
Turners	6

Laborers to them . . .	6
Sawyers	12
Laborers during all the time, and for the day of the triumph	70

Besides these, there were other artificers, as:
Plommers, Smythes, Molders.

To the Reader.

Reader, you must understand, that a regard being had, that his majestie should not be wearied with teadious speeches: A great part of those which are in this booke set down, were left unspoken; so that thou doest here receive them as they should have been delivered, not as they were. Some errours wander up and downe in these sheetes, under the printer's warrant: which notwithstanding may by thy authoritie be brought in, and receive their due correction. As in F. 2. for, From his owne cleare strength, read, Cleare, straight, &c. And within fewe lines beneath that: insteede of, Because alluring this tryumph, read, Because that during these, &c. In the Cant. likewise, beginning thus, Shine Titan Shine, insteede of, O this is had, read, O this is he. And in the sixt staffe; for, Here stayd, Had still. But here *had* list not tary. Read for every *had*, he. Other faults pardon, these I think are the grosest.

The Mariage of Prince Frederick, and the Kings Daughter, the Lady Elizabeth, upon Shrove-Sunday last. With the Showes on Land and Water, before and after the Wedding, as also the Maskes and Revells in his Highnes Court, with the running at the Ring, by the Kings Majestie, the Palsegrave, Prince Charles, and divers others of the Nobilitie.

Now the second time Imprinted, with many new additions, of the same Tryumphes, performed by the Gentlemen of the Innes of Court, in the Kings Pallace of Whitehall.

At London, Printed by T. C. for W. Barley. 1613.

[The match between the Princess Elizabeth, and Frederick Prince Palatine, was unfortunate in its issue, not only to the noble pair, but to all Germany. Prince Henry is said to have promoted it with a view of one day heading an army in Germany, in behalf of his brother-in-law. Queen Anne of Denmark regarded it as a degradation, and used to call her daughter, in disdain of so inferior a marriage, Goody Palsgrave. Neither her opposition, however, nor the lamented death of Prince Henry interrupted the preparation for the nuptials, of which Arthur Wilson gives the following account:

" But the king, (though he could not but be troubled to lose so near a part of himself,) looked over all these mists, and, like the sun, dispelled all these clouds and vapours; commanding no man should appear in the Court in mourning; he would have nothing in his eye to bring so sad a

message to his heart. The jollity, feasting, and magnificence of Christmas must not be laid down. There were princes and nobles, that came out of Germany with the Prince Elector, that must see the glory of the English court; which was presented with so much eminency in gorgeous apparel, that the precedent mourning was but as a foil, the better to illustrate it.

" The Prince Elector Palatine, and Maurice Prince of Orange, were made Knights of the Garter, Lodowick Count of Orange being Maurice's deputy; and Prince Maurice took it as a great honour to be admitted into the fraternity of that order, and wore it constantly; till afterwards some villains at the Hague, that met the reward of their demerit, (one of them, a Frenchman, being groom of the princes chamber,) robbed a jeweller of Amsterdam, that brought jewels to the prince, this groom tempting him into his chamber to see some jewels, and there, with his confederates, they strangled the man with one of the prince's blue ribbons; which being after discovered, the prince would never suffer so fatal an instrument to come about his neck.

" In February following, the Prince Palatine, and that lovely Princess the Lady Elizabeth, were married on Bishop Valentine's day, in all the pomp and glory that so much grandeur could express. Her vestments were white, the emblem of innocency; her hair dishevelled, hanging down her back at length, an ornament of virginity; a crown of pure gold upon her head, the cognizance of majesty, being all over beset with precious gems, shining like a constellation; her train supported by twelve young ladies in white garments, so adorned with jewels, that her passage looked like the milky way. She was led to church by her brother Prince Charles, and the Earl of Northampton; the young batchelor on the right hand, and the old on the left. And while the Archbishop of Canterbury was solemnizing the marriage, some coruscations and lightnings of joy appeared in her countenance, that expressed more than an ordinary smile, being almost elated to a laughter; which could not clear the air of her fate, but was rather a forerunner of more sad and dire events: which shews how slippery nature is, to troul us along to those things that bring danger, yea, sometimes destruction with them.

" She returned from the chapel between the Duke of Lenox, and the Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral, two married men. The feastings, maskings, and other royal formalities, were as troublesome ('tis presumed,) to the lovers, as the relation of them here may be to the readers; for such splendour and gaiety are fitter to appear in princes courts, than in histories.

" The city of London, (that with high magnificence had feasted the Prince Palatine, and his noble retinue,) presented to the fair bride a chain of oriental pearl, by the hand of the Lord Mayor, and Aldermen, (in their scarlet and gold chain accoutrements,) of such a value, as was fit for them to give, and her to receive. And the people of the kingdom in general, being summoned to a contribution for the marriage of the king's daughter, did shew their affections by their bounty. And though it be the custom of our kings to pay their daughters portions with their subjects purses; yet a hundred years being almost past since such a precedent, it might have made them unwilling (if their obedience had not been full ripe,) to recal such obsolete things, as are only in practice now by the meanest of the people."—Wilson, *ad ann.* 1617.]

Being desirous to give satisfaction to certaine of my acquaintance in the countrey, most willing to understand the manner of the tryumphes holden at the royall marriage of his majesties daughter, Princesse Elizabeth.

I have made meanes for the true intelligences thereof, and I hope according to the content of the reader, I have set forth here a true discourse of the same.

First, Of the showes and fire-workes upon the waters before the mariage performed, upon Thursday night, being the eleventh of Februarie.

Then the imitation of a sea-fight upon Saturday following.

Also of the royall and princely passage of Prince Palsegrave with his renowned bride, to his highnes chappell at Whitehall, where, in the presence of his Majestie and the noble state, they were married, to make us rejoice, with a wished happines, with maskes and revells following, shewes of more royalty, then ever in this age was seene in the court of England.

Therefore let the reader hereof prepare himselfe, to entertaine them with extraordinarie joy, antl receive the good will of the writer, for a tribute to be paide as a dew to his countrey.

The manner of the Fire-workes shewed upon the Thames, upon the Thursday before the Wedding.

To begin these triumphant sports, his highnes, the queenes majestie, Prince Charles, Prince Frederick, with the Princes Elizabeth, his royall bride, and the rest of the nobilitie of England, upon Thursday the eleventh of Februarie, in the evening, being placed in the galleries and windowes about his highnes court of Whitehall, where, in the sight of thousands of people, many artificiall conclusions in fire-workes were upon the Thames performed, and that the pleasurable sights on the water might equall the sumptuous showes on the land, thus they proceeded:

First, For a welcome to the beholders, a peale of ordnance, like unto a terrible thunder, ratled in the ayer, and seemed as it were to shake the earth, and mounted so high into the element, that it dazzeled the beholders eyes to look after it.

Secondly, Followed a number more of the same fashion, spredding so strangely with sparkling blazes, that the skie seemed to be filled with fire, or that there had beene a combate of darting starres fighting in the ayre, and all the time these continued, certaine cannons planted in the fields adjoyning, made thundering musicke, to the great pleasure of the beholders.

After this, in a most curious manner, an artificiall fire-worke, with great wonder, was seene flying in the ayre, like unto a dragon, against which another fierie vision appeared, flaming like to Saint George on horsebacke, brought in by a burning inchanter, betweene which was then fought a most strange battell, continuing a quarter of an hower or more; the dragon being vanquished, seemed to rore like thunder, and withall burst in peeces, and so vanished; but the champion, with his flaming horse, for a litle time, made a shew of a tryumphant conquest, and so ceased.

After this, was heard another ratling sound of cannons, almost covering the ayre with fire and smoake, and forthwith appeared out of a hill of earth made upon the water, a very strange fire, flaming upright like unto a blazing starre. After which, flew forth a number of rackets so high in the ayre, that we could not chuse but approve by all reasons, that arte had exceeded nature, so artificially were they performed; and still, as the chambers and culverines plaide upon the earth, the fire-workes danced in the ayre, to the great delight of his highness and the princes.

Out of the same mount or hill of earth, flew another strange peece of artificiall fire-worke, which was in the likenes of a hunted hart, running upon the waters so swiftly, as it had bene chaced by many huntsmen.

After the same, issued out of the mount, a number of hunting-hounds, made of fire burning, pursuing the aforesaid harte up and downe the waters, making many rebounds and turnes with much strangenes, skipping in the ayre as it had bene a usuall hunting upon land.

These were the noble delights of princes, and prompt were the wits of men to contrive such princely pleasures.

Where kings commands be, Art it stretcht to the true depth, as the performance of these engineers have been approved.

But now again to our wished sports; when this fiery hunting extinguished, and that the elements a little cleared from fire and smoake, there came sayling up, as it were upon the seas, certaine ships and gallies, bravely rigd with top and top gallant, with their flagges and streamers waving like men of warr, which represented a Christian na-

vie opposed against the Turkes, where, after they had a while hovered, preparing as it were to make an incursion into the Turkish countrey, they were discovered by two towers or castles of defence, strongly furnished to intercept all such invading purposes; so sending forth the reports of a cannon, they were bravely answered with the like from the gallies, banding fire and powder one from another, as if the god of battles had beene there present.

Here was the manner of a sea-fight rightly performed; first, by assayling one another, all striving for victorie, and pursuing each other with fire and sword, the culverines merily plaid betwixt them, and made the ayre resound with thundering ecchoes, and at last, to represent the joyes of a victorie, the castles were sacked, burned, and ruinated, and the defenders of the same forced to escape with great danger.

During the time of all these triumphant exercises, there was not a man unbusied; but every one laboured, some on land, some on water, some one way, some another, to move his highnes, and the rest of his princely friends, a pleasing content, which he and the other princes, with a gracious acceptance, applauded, to the great comfort of the performers, and no litle joy to the beholders.

The next morning, being Fryday, his highnes, not intending to grace the following sports with his presence, gave cause of forbearance, with some rest to the engineers for their great toyle the night before.

Moreover, it was thought convenient, that a whole dayes preparation should be made, in providing against the Saturdayes pastimes, which moved a more longing desire in the harts of his subjects to see the same, which, at the time appointed, was in this manner accomplished.

The manner of a Sea-Fight, shewed upon the Thames, upon the Saturday before the Wedding.

Betweene the howers of two and three of the clock, the same day in the after noone, being Shrove-Saturday, the kings majestie, accompanied with the queene, and the rest of the princes and peers of estate, to adde the more glory to these pretended showes, placed themselves in great royaltie upon the privie staires of Whitehall, where, after a while expecting the beginning of the desired fire-workes, the lord admirall sent forth two or three gentlemen in a whirrie, with a flagge or banner to signifie the king, and the nobilities tarriance for the representations, which was answered with an intelligence by the report, from a great cannon, whereupon a certaine Venetian man of warr, and a ship called a Carvell, came proudly with their flagges and colours sayling up, in the sight of seventeene Turkish gallies, which lay hovering upon Lambeth side, betwixt whome was a most royall and praise-worthy imitation of a sea-fight, in such sort performed, as if the danger of such an enterprise had bene by true action attempted; all which explains the honours of martialists, and made his majestie, with many thousands of people of all sorts, and of many nations, eye-witnesses of the true manner of such like incounters. But not to be troublesome in my discourses, I will briefly explaine the incounters as they passed.

There was a barre, or kind of artificiall fence, made upon the river Thames, with barges and lighters chained together, to keep passengers, which otherwise, with much unrulines, would have hindered the pastimes, and much troubled the performers; but being thus hemde in, as it were upon the maine seas, the two Venetian shippes, as I said before, falling within danger of the Turkish gallies, indured a fresh encounter, and long most worthily defended themselves; but by reason of the number of the gallies, they were at last boarded, taken and carried as boot and prize under the commaund of a Turkish castle, which represented and bare the name of the castle Argeir, furnished

with 22 well-approved great peeces of ordinance, which was contrived and built upon Lambeth side, at a place named Stand Gates, invironed with craggie rocks, as the said castle is now scituate in Turkie.

After the gallies had taken those Venetian ships, and delivered them into the Turkish admiralls commaund, they had sight of another argosay or galliaza, which seemed to be of Spaine, which likewise, after a fierce conflict, they made prize of, and with much tryumph rendered the same up also to the Turkish admirall.

After this, upon a suddaine, there was a thundring of ordinance or chambers placed in Lambeth Marshe, whereupon the scouts and watches of the castle discovered an English navie, to the number of fifteene saile, of the kings pinnaces, making up towards the point, with their red crost streamers most gallantly waving in the ayre, to the great delight of all the beholders, which as then seemed to cover over the Thames in boates and barges.

Near upon this place stood a high built watch tower, or beacon of the Turkes, which at the first sight of the English navie was set on fire, as the manner is at all such incursions, which blazing light, as it seemed, gave notice to the castle, and caused a readiness in some for defence. In the meane time, the kings pinnaces and the Turkish gallies joynde, betwixt whome were showne many strange attempts, even as they had ventured their very lives for their countries safeties; they spared neither powder nor pollicie, to sacke one another, but on both sides bestird themselves so bravely, that his highnesse, with all the rest of his attendants, were therewith much delighted. At last the gallies being overcharged with long and forward incounters of the English navie, for refuge and shelter made now unto the castle, which began likewise to play bravely upon the English, and with their thundering ordinance, made as it were the ground to shake.

The kings navie to answere them was not backward in a performance, but made the ayre gloomie with fire and smoake rorering from their lowde-mouthed cannons.

The fight for a time continued fiercely, the victorie leaning to neither side, either of them attempting to assault and board each other, but at last the gallies being sore bruzed-beaten, began to yeeld, whereupon the English admirall fell down, and cast anker before the castle, and then spared not in the best manner to thunder off their ordinance, whereat the Turkes yeelded both castle and gallies, and submitted to the conquest of the English admirall, who fiered many of the said gallies, sacked the castle, and tooke prisoner the Turkes admirall, with divers bashawes and other great Turkes, and also recovered the Venetian and Spanish shippes, before taken by the gallies. After the performance of all these aforesaid, the English admirall, in a most tryumphant manner, carried as a prisoner the admirall of the gallies, attired in a red jacket with blue sleeves, according to the Turkish fashion, with the bashawes and the other Turkes guarded, to his highnes privie staires of Whitehall, where his grace, Prince Palsegrave, and his lady remained; which prisoners were lead by Sir Robert Mansfield to the lord admirall, and by him they were conveyed to the kings majestie, as a representation of pleasure, which to his highnes moved delight, and highly pleased all there present.

All these aforesaid pastimes were most nobly performed betweene the howres of three and sixe in the after noone, to the great content as well of foraigne nations as of our owne countrey people, whereof in one place, and at one time, hath bene seldome seen a greater number.

Also, for a farewell to this dayes pleasure, a traine of chambers were discharged in Saint Georges Field, of a long continuance, and of such an ecchoing thunder, that they even amazed the hearers. Thus ended Saturdayes shewes upon the waters, being the eve of this great marriage day.

The manner of the Marriage upon Shrove-Sunday, with the royall passage of Prince Fredericke and his Bride, to his Majesties Chappell at Whitehall.

But now to relate and make knowne the royall passage of the renowned bridegroome and his faire bride, for the satisfying of many thousands, as they entred into his highnes chappel at Whitehall, the next day being Sunday, even overcomes me with a rejoycing description.

The court being placed full of people of many estates, sortes and nations, and their eyes and hearts fixed to behold the pompious glory of this marriage, in great royaltie.

First came the Palsegrave, from the newe-built banquetting house, attired in a white satten sute, richly beset with pearle and gold, attended on by a number of young gallant courtiers, both English, and Scottish, and Dutch, all in rich manner, every one striving to exceed in sumptuous habilliaments, fitte for attendants of a princely bridegroome. After came the Lady Elizabeth, in her virgin robes, clothed in a gowne of white sattin, richly embrodered, lead between her royal brother Prince Charles, and the Earle of Northampton; upon her head a crown of refined golde, made imperiall, by the pearles and diamonds thereupon placed, which were so thicke beset, that they stood like shining pinnacles upon her amber-coloured haire, dependantly hanging plaighted downe over her shoulders to her waste; betweene every plaight a roll or liste of gold spangles, pearles, riche stones, and diamonds, and withall, many diamonds of inestimable value, imbrothred upon her sleeve, which even dazzled and amazed the eies of the beholders; her traine, in most sumptuous manner, caryed up by fourteene or fifteene ladies, attired in white satten gownes, adorned with many rich jewells.

After went a traine of noblemens daughters, in white vestements, gloriously set foorth; which virgin bride-maides attended upon the princesse, like a skye of celestial starres upon faire Phœbe. After them, came another traine of gallant young courtiers, flourishing in severall sutes, embrothered and pearled, who were knights, and the sonnes of great courtiers; after them, came foure herolds at armes, in their rich coats of heroldrie, and then followed many earles, lords, and barrons, as well of Scotland as England, in most noble manner, then the king of herolds, bearing upon his shoulder a mace of golde, and then followed the honourable lords of his highnes privie councell, which passed along after the traine towards the chapell, and then came foure reverend bishops of the land, in their church abilliaments; after them foure sargiants of the mace in great state, bearing upon their shoulders four rich enammelled maces.

Then followed the Right Honourable the Earle of Arundell, carrying the king's sword, and the great royaltie, the kings majestie himselfe, in a most sumptuous blacke sute, with a diamond in his hatte of a wonderfull great value; close unto him came the queene, attired in white sattin, beautified with much embrothery, and many diamonds. Upon her attended a number of marryed ladies, the countesses, and wives of earls and barrons, apparelled in most noble manner, which added glory unto this triumphant time and marriage.

These were the passages of our states of England, accompanying the princely bride and bridegroome to his highnes chappell, where, after the celebration of the marriage, contracted in the presence of the king, the queene, prince Charles, and the rest aforesaide, they returned into the banquetting house with great joy.

The Lady Elizabeth being thus made a wife, was led backe, not by two batchellors as before, but by the Duke of Lineux, and the Earle of Nottingham, in a most reverend manner, before the Palsegrave. At his returne from the chappell, went six of his owne country gallants, clad in crimson velvet, laide exceedingly thicke with gold lace, bearing in their hands sixe silver trumpets, who no sooner comming into the banquetting house, but they presented him with a melodious sound of the same, flourishing so de-

lightfully, that it greatly rejoyced the whole court, and caused thousands to say at that instant time, God give them joy, God give them joy.

Thus preparing for dinner, they passed away a certaine time, and after fell to dancing, masking, and revelling, according to the custome of such assemblies, which continued all the day, and part of the night, in great pleasure.

The order of the Mundayes showes, with the Kings running at the Ring with the Nobilitie of the Land.

The next day, being Shrove-Monday, by the king and nobilitie of England was spent in great honour, where their rich robes of estate seconded the day before, with many commendable graces; for the whole court so gloriously shined with imbrothered abilliaments, that it made even a smiling cheerefulness sit upon the countenance of many thousand beholders.

For the kings majestie in his owne person, accompanied with his brave spirited sonne Prince Charles of Great Brittaine, the royall bridegroom, Count Pallatine, the Duke of Lineux, with divers other of the earles and barrons of England and Scotland, together with the praise-worthy peers of the Netherland provinces, performed many famous races at the ring, an exercise of much renowne and honour, and the knightly sports, and the royall delights onely befitting the dignitie of kings and princes, and of the chiefest nobilitie.

First, about the rayles or lists in the Tylt-yard, adjoyning to Whitehall, were placed many herolds at armes, to beautifie the honourable atchiefements of these knightly potentates, all in new liveries, with their staves of office, to abate the too forward unrulines of many disordered people, which otherwise would have much troubled the turnaments; and as an ayde unto them, many of his highnes yeomen of the guard were attendant in the listes, and withall, most of the kings trumpetters, in their rich imbrothered coates, the pentioners and knights of his graces houshold, with his knightly followers.

The queenes majestie, with her daughter the Princes Elizabeth, attended on by many of the greatest ladies of the land, being placed in the gallaries and windowes of the banquetting house, in the presence of many thousands of his subjects, the king, mounted upon a steed of much swiftnes, was the first that began the honourable pastimes, and, like a most noble martialist, tooke the ring upon his speare three severall times together, whereat the trumpets still sounded, to the great joy of the beholders.

After him, the illustrious prince, Count Palatine, upon a horse of that brave courage which seemed to stand upon no ground, where, with a spirit of much forwardnes, he tooke the ring upon his speare twise together, so lightly, and so nimbly, that the whole assembly gave him high commendations.

After him, the brave young flower and hope of England, Prince Charles, mounted as it were upon a Spanish jennet, that takes his swiftnes from the nature of the winde, most couragiously, and with much agilitie of hand, tooke the ring clearly foure times in five courses, which was in the eye of the kings majestie, and the nobilitie there present, a sight of much admiration, and an exceeding comfort to all the land.

The Duke of Lineux, the Earle of Arundell, the Earle of Dorset, the Lord Haddindon, with divers other barrons of England and Scotland, afterward, in honour of this magnificent marriage, performed many worthy races, and many times tooke the ring with much strangenes, a pleasure so princely, that it even made the beholders hearts to leape with joy.

The queens majestie, with her daughter the princes, all the while standing in the windowes as eye-witnesses to these noble delights, smiled with much cheerfulnes, gra-

ciously thanking them all for their loves, but especially the new-married bride, in honour of whose marriage all these courtly pastimes were performed.

Of the Masks and Revells presented by the Gentlemen of the Inns of Court, upon the Munday night.

The proceeding night, sports were as sumptuous as the passed dayes, and in as gallant a manner performed; whereof, to satisfie the desirefull reader, I must thus speake of:

The gentlemen of the innes of court, in the best and rarest manner they could devise, prepared maskes and revells in the court, that night to be presented; and about the houres of eight or nine, they passed from the Roles in Chancery-Lane, to Whitehall, in as royall manner as ever gallants did to the court of England.

First, there rode some three-score brave spirited gentlemen, upon great bard-horses, most richly trapped with imbrothered furnitures, themselves attired in cloth of golde and tissue, most gloriously shining, lighted by a number of torches, to beautifie the showe with more eye-pleasing delights.

After them, some sixe-and-thirtie maskers, divided by twelves, in most strange anticke sutes, in a most admirable and stately manner. Likewise, upon costly trapped steedes, each of them having a blackamore page attending on horsebacke, with torch-lights burning in their hands.

After them followed three charriots of maskers and revellers, in garments of a mervellous fashion, so artificially disguised, that they moved much wonder. Upon them attended a number of footemen, bearing burning torches, and withall, many trumpets sounding melodiously, which was a sight both to eye and eare, of an exceeding glorie. These performed many delightfull dances in his highnes presence, and other pastimes of pleasure, to the great comfort of all the beholders, and to the high honours of this magnificent marriage.

Of the Tryumphs and Revells upon the next night following, being Shrove-Tuesday.

The next day being Shrove-Tuesday, a day of pleasure and jollitie by custome, but farre more delightfull by reason of this magnificent marriage, which moved many occasions of mirth in his highnes court; for every day, in severall attires, were the nobilitie of the land seene flourishing in the chamber of presence, and much was the cost spent in banquetting of forraigne estates, as well princes embassadors, as the peers and nobles attending upon the Palsegrave, which, upon this day, was as royally performed as upon the former.

The bountie of his majestie exceeded; for his highnes court was free for all people of fashion, as well citizens as others, and few came thither that departed without kind entertainement; for Liberalitie, with spredding armes, kept open houshold, whereby the time may well be recorded for a time of princes pleasures, by reason princes were the maintainers thereof.

The night proceeding, much expectation was made of a stage play to be acted in the great hall, by the kings players, where many hundred of people stood attending the same; but it hapned contrarie, for greater pleasures were preparing, which in this manner were performed, as upon the night before a most famous maske came to court, by the gentlemen and studients of the law, from the Roles Office, by land; so some three hundred gentlemen more, of the same estate and calling, by water, to equal them in statelines, came likewise up the Thames by water, with a maske, to Whitehall, at whose setting forth from Winchester-House in their barges, a peale of ordinance, placed on

the backeside, seemed as it were thunder; the barges were beautified with many flagges and streamers, lighted with a number of burning cressets and torches, attended on by drums and trumpets, which sounded all the way most melodiously. The gentlemen and maskers had most glorious and rich suits of cloth of gold and silver, with other robes of much delight and pleasure; the entertainments in court were gratious, and their performance as curious as the skill and art of wit could devise, at which the king and all the royall assembly there present, took high contentment.

The kings majestie, in the royaltie of his minde, and in regard of these rare devises of the gentlemen of the innes of court, being most of them sonnes to great states of the land, invited them all within few daies after, to a royall banquet, where not onely by his highnes, but by the Palsegrave and his bride, they had most kind and friendly thankes.

And now to conclude my discourse, the joyes hereof were declared in manie places, as well citie as court; for the belles of London rung generally in every church, and in every street bonfires blazed abundantly; there was neither cost nor paines spared by his highnes subjects, that any way might give signes of joy for the marriage of his princely daughter to her royall husband, whom God blesse with long happines, and throanes of angelles keep and defend. Amen.

Heav'n's Blessing and Earth's Joy; or a true Relation of the supposed Sea-Fights and Fire-Workes, as were accomplished, before the royall Celebration of the all beloved Marriage of the two peerelesse Paragons of Christendome, Fredericke and Elizabeth. By John Taylor, Water-Poet.

Dedicated to the illustrious Lampe of true Worth, the noble, ingenious, judicious, and understanding Gentleman, Sir James Murray, Knight.

Unto the prospect of your wisedomes eyes,
I consecrate these epithalamies;
Not that I think them worthy of your view,
But for in love my thoughts are bound to you:
I doe confesse myselfe unworthy farre
To write in such high causes as these are,
Which Homer, Virgil, nor the fluent Tully,
In fitting tearmes could scarce expresse them fully:
But since the muses did their bountie show,
And on me did poore poesie bestow,
I hold it best to play the thankefull man,
To spend their gifts the best wayes that I can,
And, not like pedling bastards of the muses,
That, like to lawyers, live on times abuses.
Thus unto you I give it as it is,
Desiring pardon where there's ought amisse.

Your worships,
Ever to be commanded in all integritie,
JOHN TAYLOR.

This Tract is added to complete the account of the festivities at the ill-fated marriage of the Princess Elizabeth with the Elector Palatine. The description of the Sea-fight may interest naval antiquaries, and was a very appropriate subject for honest John Taylor, well known by the title of the Water Poet. He retained his veneration for the Stuart family long after their more courtly panegyrists had found other subjects of flattery; and when, in his old age, he kept an alehouse in Long Acre, he ventured to set up the sign of the Mourning Crown; but, as this gave offence to the saints of the Commonwealth, he was forced to substitute his own head, with this motto:

"There's many a head stands for a sign,
Then, gentle reader, why not mine?"

The Fight betweene the Ships and Galleyes.

I did not write nor publish this description of fire and water tryumphs, to the intent that they should only reade the relation that were spectators of them; for to such, perhaps, it will relish somewhat tedious, like a tale that is too often told: but I did write these things, that those who are farre remoted, not only in his majesties dominions, but also in forraine territories, may have an understanding of the glorious pompe and magnificent domination of our high and mighty monarch King James: and further, to demonstrate the skils and knowledges that our warlike nation hath in engines, fireworkes, and other military discipline, that they thereby may be knowne, that, howsoever warre seeme to sleepe, yet (upon any ground or lawfull occasion) the command of our dread soveraigne can rouze her to the terrour of all malignant opposers of his royall state and dignity. But to the purpose.

In the representation of this sea-fight, there were 16 ships, 16 galleyes, and 6 frigots; of the which navy, the ships were Christians, and the gallies were supposed Turkes, all being artificially rigged and trimmed, well manned, and furnished with great ordinance and musquetiers. One of the Christian fleet was a great vessell, or a supposed Venetian Argosey, and another was a tall ship, as it were appointed for the safe convoy of the Argosey. And, for the avoyding of the troublesomnesse of boats and wherries, and other perturbatious multitudes, there was a lists or bounds made with lighters, hoyes, and other great boates, to the number of 250, or thereabouts: the one end of the lists was as high (almost) as Lambeth-bridge, and the other end as low as the Temple staires, and so fastened to the south shore, or the upper end of the banke on the Southwarke side, in the forme of a halfe moon or cemicircle, so that boats might passe up and downe the river betwixt London side and the lighters any way; the aforesaid Turkish gallies lying all at an anchor over against Westminster, in a haven or harbor made artificially with masts and other provision, 60 yards into the river, which harbour or haven was belonging to a supposed Turkish or Barbarian castle of Tunis, Algiers, or some other Mahometan fortification, where the gallies might scowt out for purchase, and retire in againe for safeguard at their pleasure. About two of the clocke on Saturday the 13. of February, the aforesaid Argosy, and the Venetian ship her convoy, sets forward from the Temple, and driving up with the wind and tide till they came as high as Yorke-house, where 4 gallies met and encountred with them; where upon a suddaine there was friendly exchanging of small shot and great ordinance on all sides, to the great delectation of all the beholders: the drums, trumpets, fifes, weights, guns, shouts, and acclamations of the mariners, souldiers, and spectators, with such reverberating echoes of joy to and fro, that there wanted nothing in this fight, but that which was fit to be wanting, which was ships sunke and torne to peeces, men groaning, rent and dismembred, some slaine, some drowned, some maimed, all expecting confusion. This was the man-

ner of the happy and famous battell of Lepanto, fought betwixt the Turks and the Christians in the year of grace 1571; or in this bloudy manner was the memorable battell betwixt us and the invincible (as it was thought) Spanish Armado, in the yeare 1588: but in the end (in this friendly fight) the ship and Argosey were encompassed round by the gallyes, and surprised and taken; whereupon the whole fleet made towards them to rescue them, and revenge their received injuries.

Then there was a beacon fiered by the Turkes, which gave warning to the castle and the gallyes, of the comming of the Christian fleet: then all the ships and gallyes met in friendly opposition, and imaginary hurly-burly battalions: then the lofty instruments of wars clamorous encouragements sounded; the thundring artillery roared, the musquetiers innumberlesse volleyes discharged on all sides, the smoake, as it were eclipsing Titans refulgent beames, filling all the ayre with a confused cloudy mist: the castle, and the land adjacent, continually discharging great shot in aboundance at the ships, and the ships at them againe; so that after this delightful battaile had doubtfully lasted three houres, to the great contentment of all the beholders, the victory inclining to neither side, all being opposed foes and combined friends: all victors, all tryumphers, none to be vanquished, and therefore no conquerors; the drummes, trumpets, flutes, and guns, filling the ayre with repurcussive acclamations: upon which, for a catastrophe or period to these delightfull royalties, command was given that the retreat should be sounded on both sides; and thus these princely recreations were accomplished and finished.

These things could not conveniently bee printed in order as they were done, by reason of the diversitie of them.

For heere I was faine to describe the fight of the ships and gallyes first, which was performed last; for the fire-workes were performed on Thursday night the 11. of February, and the fight was upon the Saterday following.

At the which fire-workes, the master-gunner of England, on the shore, did performe many skilfull and ingenious exploits with great bumbards, shooting up many artificial bals of fire into the ayre, which flew up into one whole mighty fierie-ball, and, in their falling, dispearsed into divers streames like raine-bowes, in many innumerable fires. After all which was discharged a great peale of chambers, to the contentment of the royall spectators, and the great credit of the performers.

The true Description of such Part of the Fire-Workes as were devised and accomplished by Mr John Nodes, Gunner and Servant to the Kings most excellent Majestie.

The imperiall and beauteous lady queene of the feminine territories, of the man-hating Amazonians, with whose bright eye-dazeling coruscance, and whose refulgent feature, the blacke-sould, hell-commanding magitian Mango (a Tartarian borne) was so insnared and captivated for her love, and to be assured to enjoy her, he would set all hell in an uprore, and pluck Don Belzebub by the beard; assuredly perswading himselfe that without her he could not live, and for her he would attempt any thing: but she having vowed herselfe ever to bee one of Vestaes votaries, alwayes kept Cupid at the armes end; and bad madam Venus make much of stump-footed Vulcan, and keep at home like a good huswife, for she had no entertainment for her.

Whereupon this hellish necromancer Mango (being thus repulst) converts all his love to outrageous rigour, and immediately, with his charmes, exorcismes, and potent execrable incantations, he raises a strong impregnable pavilion, in the which he immures and encloses this beautifull Amazonian queene with attendant ladies, where (though they lived in captivitie and bondage) yet they had variety of games and pleasant

sports allowed by the magician, in hope that time would worke an alteration in her faire flinty breast. And, for her sure guard in his absence, he had erected by magic, another strong tower, as a watch-house, wherein he had placed a fiery dragon, and an invincible giant (of whome I will speake in another place hereafter.)

Now to the aforesaid pavilion, wearied with toyle and travaile, the great unresistable champion of the world, and the uncontrolable patron Saint George comes; and seeing so bright and lucent a goddesse (according as his necessitie required) demanded entertainement, whereby he might be refreshed after his laborious achivements and honourable endeavours.

The curteous queene (although she cared not for the society of men) seeing his outward or externall feature and warlike accouterments, did presently resolve with herselfe, that so faire an outside could not be a habitation for fowle trechery, and with most debonayre gesture, admits his entrance into the pavilion, where, after he had feasted a while, shee relates unto him the true manner and occasion of her unfortunate thraldome. Saint George (ever taking pleasure in most dangerous attempts, holding it his chiefest glory to helpe wronged ladies) vowes, that, as soone as Phœbus rowzed himselfe from the antipodes, he would quell the burning dragon, conquer the big-boned giant, subvert the inchanted castle, and enfranchise the queene with her followers, or else die in the enterprise thereof. After which promise of his, the queene, to passe away the time, delights him with these pastimes following, being all fire-workes.

First, the pavilion is beleagured, or invironed round about with fiers; going out of which many fiery balls flies up into the ayre, with numbers of smaller fiers ascending, that cemicirled Cinthea is (as it were) eclipsed by the flashes, and the starres are hudwinkt with the burning exhalations.

Secondly, is seene a royall hunting of bucks and hounds and huntsmen, flying and chasing one another round about the pavilion (as if Diana had lately transformed Acteon, and his ignorant dogges ready to prey on his carkes), from whence continually, as flying, many fiers dispersed every way; the lower part of the pavilion alwaies burning round about, giving many blowes and great reports, with many fiers flying aloft into the ayre.

Thirdly, there doth march round about the pavilion artificiall men, which shall cast out fires (as before) as it were in skirmish; another part of the pavilion is all in a combustious flame, where rackets, crackers, breakers, and such like, gives blowes and reports without number.

Fourthly, the Queene of Amazonia, with all her traine of virgin ladies, with fires, marcheth round, as the men did before, with the fire flying dispersedly divers wayes; the whilst another part of the pavilion is fired; with many blowes and reports and fiers, flying aloft in the ayre, from whence it comes downe againe in streaming flakes of flashing fire.

Fifthly, aloft, within the turret, shall runne (whirling round a fiery globe, with the turret and all on fire, with more greater blowes then before had been heard, and divers and sundry other sorts of fires then any of the former) proceeding from thence, and flying into the ayre in great aboundance.

All which things being performed, and the undanted knight Saint George taking his leave of the Amazonian queene Lucida, he mounts upon his steed, and adventurously rides towards the inchanted tower of Brumond.

Now these disports being ended, wherein St Georges entertainment was only expressed with the queenes relation of her bondage, this brave champion was seene to ride over the bridge to combat with the aforesaid monsters, the dragon and giant; all which was expressed in the next devise of Mr Thomas Butler: and so I end with my hearty invocations to the Almighty to send the bride and bridegroome the yeares of

Methushalah, the fortitude of Joshua, the wealth of Cressus, and, last of all, an endlesse crowne of immortalitie in the highest heavens.

A true Description of the Platforme of a Part of the Fire-Workes, devised and made by Mr Thomas Butler, Gunner, and Servant to the Kings Royall Majestie.

This inchanted castle or tower of Brumond is in height 40 foote, and 30 square, betweene which and the pavilion of the Amazonian queen is a long bridge, on the which bridge the valiant and heroick champion Saint George being mounted, makes towards the castle of Brumond, which being perceived by the watchfull dragon (who was left by Mango, the conjurer, as a centinell) is encountered by him; whereas Saint George (being armed at all points, but especially with an unrebated courage) having in his helmet a burning flaming feather, and in one hand a burning launce, and in the other a fiery sword, with which weapons hee assailes the dreadfull dragon with such fury and monster-quelling stroakes, as if the Ciclops had been forging and beating thunderbolts on Vulcans anvile: where in conclusion, after a terrible and long-endured combate, with his launce he gores the hell-hound under the wing, that he presently, after most hideous roring and belching of fire, is vanquished and slaine: at which the terrible-shaped giant rises (who having sate as a spectator of this bloudy battell upon a stump of a tree at the castle gate) and addresses himselfe towards Saint George, meaning to revenge the death of the dragon, and to swallow his enemy for a modicum; but at their first encounter, the blowes on both sides fell like thunder claps, enforcing lightnings and fierie exhalations to sparkle from whence their powerfull stroakes lighted; at last the monster, gaping wide as an arch in London bridge, runs furiously, intending to swallow his adversary at a bit, which Saint George seeing, upon the suddaine thrust his sword into his greedy throat and overthrew him: at which the monster yels, and rores forth such a terrible noyse, as if the center of the earth had crackt, that with the uncouth din thereof, the neighbouring hills, woods and valleys, seemed to tremble like an earthquake.

The gyant lying at the mercy of Saint George, entreats him to spare his life, and he wil shew him the way how hee shall conquer the castle and bring the inchanter to his everlasting downfall.

Upon which promise Saint George and the gyant walke into the castle together, where he tels Saint George that there is an inchanted fountain, and whosoever can attaine to drinke of it, shall be he, whom the fates have ordained to bee the conclusion of the castles glory.

In the meane space whilst these things were doing, the magitian Mango, having intelligence of the dangerous estate of his castle, and fearing the losse of his lady, suddainely mounts him on a flying invisible divell, and in a moment alights within the castle, upon whom St George makes a present conquest. The castle hath on the top thereof a fierie fountaine, which burns and sends up rackets into the ayre, some great and some lesse, and fire dispearsed many wayes in great abundance with innumerable lights round about.

Secondly, the magitian is taken with his conjuring scepter in his hand, and bound to a pillar by St George, and burned with store of lights (as before), with fires and rackets ascending in the ayre.

Thirdly, the foure squares of the tower are fired, and abundance of lights with rackets flying into the ayre, with fiers dispearsed, and scattered divers and sundrie wayes, and with reports and blowes, some great, and some lese; according to their making.

Fourthly, the foure turrets are fired with fire, and innumerable lights, with abound ance of rackets flying too and fro in the ayre, giving divers reports, as before.

Then the maine castle is fiered, and upon two of the corner turrets are two globes fiered, and betwixt each globe at two other corner turrets, are 2 men, catching as it were at the globes, still burning and turning till all be extinguished with fire: alwayes rackets flying, and reports thwacking, and lights burning.

THOMAS BUTLER.

William Bettis his Invention, of such Part of the Fire-Workes as were performed by him at the Royall Celebration: which he had contrived in such sort, that if the weather had beene rainy or windy, yet his designements should have beene accomplished.

A castle with divers fire-workes, representing and assuming divers variable shapes, and imaginary formes; which continued the space of an houre or thereabouts: the nature and quality of which fire-worke, was performed as followeth:

1. First, there was seene 13 great fires, to flye to and fro round about the castle, whereby it seemed to bee beleaguer'd and circumvolv'd with fires, which yielded a most pleasing object to all the spectators.

2. Secondly, a flight of great store of rackets was seene to ascend into the ayre, and descend againe, which in their descending were extinguished.

3. Thirdly, the whole castle was all on fire, wherein was seene many things very delightfull.

4. Fourthly, was seene many buttons flye dispearsed divers wayes from the castle, with great cracks, and blowes, and reports in great number.

5. Next that was seene a stag or hart, hunted and chased by dogs, all their bodies being artificially made and proportioned in one flame of fire, where the following hounds were plainely seene to pull downe and vanquish the stagge which they before had chased.

6. Sixthly, there was seene a great flight of rackets, with two or three fires a peece.

7. Seaventhly, were seene two or three hundreth fires flying from the castle, and then flying to and fro, in and out, many wayes altogether.

8. Next which was seene a great flight of rackets, with many great fires, some of the said fires breaking into many parts, divers wayes dispersed in aboundance, which fires were seene to fall burning into the water.

9. Ninthly, was seene many rackets flying into the ayre in great aboundance, giving many blowes, cracks, or reports, numberlesse.

10. Tenthly, was seene divers other rackets flying aloft into the ayre, which rackets did assimulate the shapes and proportions of men, women, fowles, beasts, fishes, and other formes and figures. Last of all, was heard 100 blowes and reports as loud as the report of a reasonable chamber is able to give, and so with fires, lights, rackets and such like, (to the delight of all the beholders, and the great credit of the inventor of this fire-worke) all was extinguished and concluded.

WILLIAM BETTIS.

Master John Tindale, Gunner and Servant to the Kings Royall Majestie, the true Description of such Part of the Fire-Workes as were by him devised and performed at this Royall Tryumphs.

A castle old and very ruinous, called the tower of Envy, scituated and erected on a

rocke (all ragged and horrid to behold) called the Rocke of Ruine, encompassed round, and drenched in a troublous sea, called the Sea of Disquiet. The captaine of this castles name was Discord; with his lieutenant Lawlesse, antient Hatred, serjeant Malice, corporall Contention, with his lansprezado Hell-hound. The rocke or foundation of this castle being all replenished with adders, snakes, toads, serpents, scorpions, and such venemous vermin, from whose throates were belched many fires, with crackers, rackets, blowes and reports in great number.

To the subversion of these malevolent edifices there came three ships, the one of them beeing called Goodwill, in whom Loyaltie was captain, and Zeale was master.

The second ship was named the True-love, in whom Trust was captaine, and Perseverance was master.

The third ship was called Assurance, in whom Circumspection was captaine, and Providence the master.

These three ships and captaines, with their valiant and confident associates, assaults this castle of Envy, where, after halfe an houres fight or thereabouts, by the invincible prowesse of the assailants, the hell-borne defendants were vanquished, their castle utterly razed, demolished and subverted, with rackets, breakers, blowes, and reports innumerable.

JOHN TINDALL.

The Description of such Part of the Fire-Workes as were devised and accomplished by Master William Fishenden, Gunner and Servant to his Majestie.

A Piramide or loftie platforme, in the forme of a triangled spire, with a globe fixed on the top therof, the whole work turning and burning the space almost of halfe an houre, or neere thereabouts, from whence proceeded many rackets, fires, blowes and reports, in great numbers, to the great delight and contentment of the King, the Queene, the Prince and Princess Elizabeth, the Prince Palatine, and divers others the nobility, the gentry, and commons of this kingdome.

FINIS.

The Foot out of the Snare: with a Detection of Sundry late Practices and Impostures of the Priests and Jesuits in England. Whereunto is added a Catalogue of such Bookes as in this Authors knowledge have been vented within two yeeres last past in London, by the Priests and their agents. As also a Catalogue of the Romish Priests and Jesuites now resident about London. The second Edition, much Inlarged. By John Gee, Master of Arts, of Exon Colledge in Oxford.

London, Printed by H. L. for Robert Milbourne, 1624. 4to, 116 pages.

This curious Tract is now for the first time added to the Collection, and ought regularly to have been placed among the Ecclesiastical Tracts, though the subject is in some degree of a Miscellaneous nature. The mutual hatred between the Protestants and Catholics, was never more

envenomed than during the reign of James I. The doubtful conduct of the king, his inclination to the Spanish match on the one hand, his recollection of the gun-powder treason on the other, kept awake the hopes and fears of both parties. Every artifice was used by the clergy of both persuasions to enlarge the pale of their church, in which the Papists were most active and perhaps most successful. Frequent deserters, whom love of change, or desire of advantage, drew from one party to the other, failed not to give their defection consequence, by betraying the secrets of those whom they abandoned. The Author of the following Treatise was of this number, and his history is thus given by Anthony a Wood.

"John Gee, the son of a minister of Devon, but whether of John or George Gee, whom I have before mentioned in Edward Gee, under the year 1618, I cannot justly say, was entered into Brazen-nose College in 1613, aged 16, where making no long stay, he entered himself a batler among his countrymen of Exeter College; and having holy orders conferred on him, after he had taken one degree in arts, became beneficed at Newton, near to Winwick in Lancashire; of which last place, Mr Josias Horne being then parson, Gee had oftentimes conferences with him concerning matters of religion; but they savouring much of a mind inclining to Popery, Mr Horne and the neighbouring ministers concluded among themselves, that he had changed his religion before he had left that place. Thence taking his rambles, he retired to London, and became acquainted with the noted persons of the R. Cath. persuasion that then lived there. But at length, being moved to leave them and his opinions newly embraced, by the urgent letters of his father, and by the valid reasons concerning the vanity (as he termed it) of that religion, by Dr Abbot Archbishop of Canterbury, (who sent for him, upon notice received that he had been at the doleful even-song in the Black-friers in London, 26. Oct. 1623), became a bitter enemy to the Romanists, and studied to do them what mischief he could, by these books following:

"The Foot out of the Snare: with a Detection of Sundrie late Practices and Impostures of the Priests and Jesuites in England, &c. London, 1624, *qu.*

"A Gentle Excuse to Mr George Musket, for styling himself Jesuit.—These two, which go, and are joined together, were printed four times in the said year 1624, because all copies, or most of them, were bought up by the Roman Catholics before they were dispersed, for fear their lodgings, and so consequently themselves, should be found out and discovered, by the catalogues of all such priests Jesuites, Popish physicians, chirurgeons, with the names of the streets, lane, &c. in London, where they mostly lived, which were printed at the end of the Gentle Excuse before mentioned.—Our author Gee hath also written and published,

"Hold Fast: Sermon at Paul's Cross, on Rev. iii. 11. London, 1624, *qu.*

"New Shreds of the Old Snare; containing the Apparitions of Two Female Ghosts, the Copies of divers Letters, &c. especially Indulgencies purchased at Rome, &c. London, 1624, *qu.* For the publishing of which books, and for his mutability of mind, he was much blamed by both parties, especially by those of the Roman persuasion, as I have been several times informed by a grave Bachelor of Div. Mr Rich. Washbourne, Chantor of Ch. Ch. in Oxon, who had been his contemporary in Exeter College. Which person having known Gee well, and what he was, as to his life and conversation, blamed the writer of this book much, for honouring the memory of such a *sorry fellow* as he was, in *Hist. et Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* He was afterwards beneficed at Tenterden in Kent, where he died and was buried, but when, I cannot yet tell, leaving then behind him a young brother named Orlando Gee, afterwards a Knight."

To the Most Reverend Father in God, the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury his Grace, and to the rest of the Reverend Lords Temporall, and the Right Honourable the Lords Spirituall, as also to the most Worthy and Religious Knights and Burgesses of the House of Commons, all now assembled in this happy Parliament; J. G. an unworthy Minister of the Church, presumeth to dedicate this evidence of his repentance, and declaration of his best endeavours for the Church of England.

It is the safetie of a ship to have good pilots; the strength of a palace, to have sure pillars; the securitie of the body to have cleere eyes; and safe-guard of sheepe, to have vigilant shepheards: So it is the safety of a countrey, and safegard of a kingdome, to have many wise and watchfull counsellors. We never had greater reason to blesse

God, then in contemplation of the present time, in the perfect vision of so many principall planets now met together in happy conjunction: such a king, such a prince, such honourable senators, such assistants. "The eare that heareth you, blesseth you: and the eye that seeth you, gives witnesse to you. The blessing of her that was ready to perish is come upon you." Under your shadow we are much refreshed. The God of blessing dispose of your counsaile. "Wee waite for you, as for the raine: and our mouthes are opened wide, as for the latter raine." *Ita quisque audit, movetur.* Job 29. 11. v. 13. v. 23. *Quintil. lib. 11. cap. 3.*

I need not, neither were it lesse then boldnesse and presumption in me, right honourable, to suggest unto you, of what weight and consequence those affaires are, which his Majesty hath been graciously pleased to referre to your joynt consideration and advice: neither need I repeat, how deeply you are all interessed herein: you reverend bishops, by your sacred profession; you the noble baronage of this realme, by your military honour, alwaies prest and ready for the defence of religion and of this kingdom, against open invaders, or secret underminers; and you the representative body of the Commons, in regard of the libertie of the subject; but most of all, the free course of the gospel without impeachment: by whom is not onely represented, but also actuated, the desire and zeale of the body of this kingdom; being a people true-harted, and fervent toward God in the puritie of his worship; towards our soveraigne, in the stedfastnesse of obedience; and towards the lawes, in wishes and hopes that they shall stream forth *motu naturali*, in their owne course, without diversion or obstruction.

But you being at this time imployed about so weighty affaires, how may I, the meanest of the sonnes of my mother, presume to interrupt you? "Are there not the chariots of Israel, and the horsemen of the same? Doe the Lords battailes want supply? whence should it be expected but from them?" But I may say with Epictetus: "Your hand ever holdeth an equall balance, and your sun shineth alike on the poore and riche." It may be, one scout may upon occasion heare and know what an whole army hath no present notice of. 2 King. 13. 14.

True it is, (and why should I now be ashamed to manifest it to such an assembly?) an evill and scandalous report is gone forth of me, in regard I was the man that was present at the Jesuite Drury his sermon at the Black-Fryers.[1] I was the same day in the fore-noone at the sermon at Pauls-crosse: and lighting upon some Popish company at dinner, they were much magnifying the said Drury, who was to preach to them in the afternoone. The ample report which they afforded him, preferring him far beyond any of the preachers of our church, and depressing and vilifying the sermons at Pauls Crosse, in regard of him, whetted my desire to heare his said sermon: to which I was conducted by one Medcalfe a priest. This being heard of by my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury his grace, hee sent for mee within few daies after; and being before him, found mee inclining to their side. I layd open myselfe unto him, and confessed I had some scruples in religion. Whereupon it pleased his grace to afford me his holy counsell and monition: which had that good effect, that albeit my foot was stept into the Babylonian

[1] Wilson gives the following account of an accident which then befel, which, forgetting the caution concerning those on whom the Tower of Siloam fell, he interprets into a Divine judgment: "But thus the Jesuits ranged up and down, seeking whom they might devour, and their insolency being greater, and more notorious at this time than at others, the mischief that fell to them in this height of their pride and greatness, is very remarkable: For at a sermon in Black-friers, where Father Drurie, a Jesuite, vented his pestilent doctrine to an auditorie of near three hundred people, the floor of the chamber (being an upper room) fell down and killed the preacher, and almost (if not) a full hundred of his auditory outright, maiming and bruising most of the rest; many of them lying a long time under the rubbish, crying for help, and, with much difficulty recovered their broken limbs. Thus many times we might immediately see the hand of God, (who is the Lord of life and death) though through wilful stupidity, (because we must judge modestly) we look upon these accidents, by mediate and second causes, thinking an old house can destroy so many lives, without the permission of that Supreme authority that orders all things both in heaven and earth."

pit, yet I often meditated of his fatherly admonitions. Som other speeches I received from his domestique chaplains, D. Goad and D. Featly: for which I shall be bound ever to pray for them: their words left *aculeos et stimulos; Vade et nè pecca amplius, &c.* piercing me the more, being recorded in a publicke narration: which my checking conscience did justly take for an inditement to convict me, and a trumpet to reduce me. Like the prodigall, I now returne home with a *peccavi* in my heart, mouth, and pen, to God and our blessed mother the Church of England; to both I say, *Peccavi contra cœlum et te.*

Jo. 5. 14.

The reason why I presumed to present these lines to your view, and offer them to your hands, seemeth to me just, because sincere; and excusable, because in som sort necessary, in that the vastnes of my fault requireth it, and forasmuch as from my acquaintance on the left side, I can expect little lesse than indignation and machinations against mee by them; whom, partly by my relinquishment of them, but much more by disclosing some of their proceedings, I am like to provoke in a high degree: it behoveth me therefore to chuse such refuge, as may protect mee against their malice. I have touched, in a manner, nothing else but the behaviour of the priests; whereto, I might have added somewhat of my owne knowledge, concerning the insinuations and incroachments used by those of that stamp, who professe physick: Who, whatsoever they doe unto the bodies, infuse into the mindes of many the kings subjects, bitter distempers; whereby those patients tongues distaste the wholesome food of our church, and their hearts are stricken with antipathy against our present state. But these things I thought fitter for your wisdomes to cure, then for my weaknesse to declare; my intent in this treatise, having been to act the part of unmasking the vailed fraud of the Jesuits and priests: wherein if you somtimes dislike the stile, condemn not me for a botcher; for their stories I alter not a stitch, but give you them lapt up in their own clouts.

Since my booke came forth, Master Musket a Priest sent me word, I must expect a knock. Others have vowed to doe me a mischief.

If the forme and phrase I use in other places, bee distastfull, as either too sharp, or too light and ironicall for one of my profession; let my matter bee my advocate, that draweth mee thereunto, trusting that I may be excused, if I sometime light my candle at the torch of Elias, when he sindged and smoaked out Baals priests from the nest of the sanctuary. I jest but at their jesting, that have made a jest of God, and of his blessed saints in heaven, by casting upon their most pure and glorious faces, the cloud, nay, the dirt and dung of ugly, unsavoury, ridiculous fables; whereat the sounder Christians are scandalized, wherewith the weaker are deluded and captivated in superstition, and the very Jewes and heathen are driven further off from listning unto the true and sacred mysteries of Christian religion. For surely, no small mischiefe or danger is it unto truth, to have her precious garment eeked out with patches of falsehood, and upon pretence of imbellishment, to bee daubed over with the copper-embrodery of cogging impostures.

1 King. 18.

In regard of my own particular; hereby I hope, I shall regaine that good opinion which I have lost, and no longer be censured by my friends and others, as at all wavering, inclining and warping toward their side; yet withall, you have the character of mine hart, toward the publicke good of our church and commonwealth. I say no more, but God give you understanding in all things. "Ride on with your honours; and, because of the word of truth, bee courageous and stout Nehemiah's. Such a man as I flee?" Nehem. 6. 11. The deaw of Gods grace be upon you and your children. And thus, with my uncessant prayers for you, I rest,

Psal. 44.

The most humble servant of you all, to be commanded in the Lord,

JOHN GEE.

The Foot out of the Snare; with a Detection of sundry late Practices and Impostures of the Priests and Jesuites in England.

Saint Augustine reports, that even in the primitive church, and in those better times, the devill was become both *leo apertè sæviens, et draco occultè insidians*; by open and outrageous cruelty, hee shewed himselfe a lion; and, by his secret poisoning of religion, a dragon. Yet his malicious power was curbed, and himself bound in chains for a thousand yeers; so that, notwithstanding all his subtilty, truth, like a palme-tree, flourished; and Christ's crosse, like Aarons rod, did blossom, and bring forth much fruit. But now the old serpent is let loose, and of late yeers hath acted both the lion and the dragon without restraint, both by policy and puisance, studying to extinguish the light of the truth. Neither have his attempts been effectlesse; for, what by Magogs sword in the east, and Gogs usurped keyes in the west, hee hath driven truth, like a dove, into the holes of the rocks, and banished faith in many places from among men. Aug. *de Civit. Dei. l.* 1.

In reformed churches, (especially in our Church of England) Gods mercy hath supported his truth, even amidst the slacknes and carelesnes of the professors themselves; whil'st yet some, like Dinah the daughter of Jacob, have lost their virginity, I meane *primam et puram fidem*, their first faith, by going abroad, and have returned home impure. Some, like Salomons outlandish women, have brought in outlandish religion. Many at home, in stead of the voice of the Faithfull, Come, let us goe up into the house of the Lord, say among themselves, Let us go up to Bethel, and transgresse; to Gilgal, and multiply transgressions. So that our countrey, which ought to be even and uniforme, is now made like a piece of arras, full of strange formes and divers colours. But what is the reason? Besides the drowzinesse of many luke-warme Protestants, there is a vigilant tribe (I mean the emissaries of Rome, and factors for the papacy, who are like unto Dan, and are as an adder in the path, which bites the horse, and makes the rider to fall backward. They make them, whom they can get to work upon by their perswasions, to become retrograde, with the Church of Ephesus, to leave their first love, and become apostates in matters of orthodox Christianity. Easily can they steale away the hearts of the weaker sort, and secretly do they creep into houses, leading captive simple women loaden with sinnes, and led away with divers lusts. Gen. 3. 4. 2. 1 Kings, 11. 4. Psal. 1. 22. 1. Gen. 49. Apoc. 2. 2 Sam. 15. 6. 2 Tim. 3. 6.

Strange indeed is it to consider, how that wolfe-bred and wolfe-breeding Romulus doth daily send over his ravening brood of Jesuites and priests, to make havock and spoil of the harmelesse and heedelesse flock of Christ. *Astant, et instant, ut Hannibal ad portas;* nay, like Brennus and his Gaules, they have not onely besieged our suburbs, but almost invaded our capitol. Plut. *vid.*

> *Galli per dumos aderant, arcemq. tenebant,*
> *Defensi tenebris et dono noctis opacæ.* Virgil.

The Gaules came stealing in by night through the thickets; so these bats, in the twilight of our security, creep upon us, *defensi tenebris*. They finde perhaps, among us, a still night of negligence and drowzinesse; but they bring on a greater night, by the thick cloud and fog of superstitions and forgeries, wherein they enwrap themselves, and would ensnare us; who, if they should go on to the height of their hopes, what may wee expect, but *ut notent et designent oculis ad cædem unumquemq. nostrum*, &c.? Did they not long since, like the sonnes of Belial, not onely cast off the yoke of obedience, with a *Nolumus hunc regnare*, Luke, xix. 14., but even clothe themselves in the robes of rebellion, with a *Venite et occidamus*, Luke, xx. 14? Witnesse one intention of theirs, which must never be forgotten. And therefore, not without just cause, have they Cic. *Orat.* 2 *con.* Catelin. Gunpowder Treason.

been of late put in minde of a second reflecting tragedy, which met so right with them, that well were it, if they could apply it to themselves, according to the sense of our Saviour's words (which have been by divers of my friends rung in mine eares, and I trust
Jo. 5. 14. I shall still ponder of and remember them) *Vade, et nè pecca ampliùs nè deterius contingat tibi;* Sinne no more, lest a worse thing happen unto thee. And sure, for my owne particular, I make such application, and will ever consider, that I had a faire warning
Ictus Piscator sapit. to come out from among them; *non tam pede, quàm pectore; non tam gradibus, quàm affectibus;* not so much in motion, as in affection, leaving them to their superstitious devotions, and never more partaking with them in any their abominations.

Seneca. But, *omne beneficium petit officium:* as in morality every benefit is obligatory, and bindes to some thankfull duty; so more especially in divinity, the wonderfull works of God, extended to all in general, or to any one man in particular, in regard of speciall protection, doo binde to a duty of thanksgiving.

Though I have long runne upon the score, and hitherto yeelded to ingratitude, that crafty Sinon, to keep the doore of my lips, so that I have neither discharged my
Luke 17. 18. conscience toward God nor man, yet wil I at last, with the alone leper, return to give praise. And surely, of those that escaped the danger of the Blackfriers, an accident for which I have been much noted, and often pointed at, none hath greater cause to offer the calves of his lips a gratefull sacrifice unto the Almighty, then my selfe. For, as my escape was not the easiest, so my offence the greatest; whereof, one moveth me to compunction, the other to gratulation. Being in the midst of the roome that fell, and though that *omnes circumstantes*, all (in a maner) that stood about me, perished in that calamity, and I involved in the downfall, and falling, being covered with the heaps of rubbish and dead carcases, yet it pleased God to hasten my escape, beyond my owne expectation, and humane understanding. Surely, when I record this common downfall, which wounded others unto death, and mee but unto affright, I cannot but strike my brest, and look up into heaven, or rather with the publican, down to the earth, and say, What was there, or is there in mee, miserable man, that the hand of God should strike so many on my right hand and left, and yet overpasse mee? Surely I
Gen. 19. Gen. 6. was no Lot. to escape out of burning Sodom; no Noah, to bee preserved in a generall deluge. If the load of sinne pressed them down that fell, (alas! farre be it from me to have uncharitable conceit of their persons) that waight should have sunk mee then deeper than any of them; not onely to the ground, but under ground, to hell it selfe. But our good God is master of his owne work, and free Lord of his owne mercies. Hee bestoweth them where there can bee no plea of merit. Hee spared to crop mee in the strength of my youth, in the midst of my wandring vanities, in the act of my bold curiosity. He hath prolonged my daies, that my heart may be inlarged in thankfulnesse
Psal. 119. to his glorious name; that my feet might be inlarged, to walk the way of his commandements; that my eyes and understanding might be opened, to take a full view of humane frauds, adulterating his truth, and so to abhor them. Doth not he that hath plucked my feet out of the snare, and delivered me from this sudden death, (against which our church hath taught me to pray) deserve now to be praised, *toto voto, tota vitâ, toto pectore, toto homine*,
Aug. in al my life, with al my soule, and with all my selfe? Yes sure, I will ever take the cup of salvation, and call upon his name. I will not cease to pay my vowes unto him, in despight of our spirituall adversarie, or any his advocates. It becommeth well the just to bee thankfull; and therefore I penned and published this writing, as a monument of my thankfulnesse.

For others that escaped, I wish they would not so presumptuously tempt God, as some of them, whom I have heard repine, because they had not a share in this slaughter. And what is the reason forsooth? Because ever since that accident befel, at all the places about the city of London, where priests are harbored, which are not fewe (there beeing at this present, to my knowledge, beside those I know not, more than two hundred of

them within the city and suburbes) after every masse of theirs, the priest or clarke starteth up presently upon the benediction, and calleth aloud unto the people to say three *Paternosters*, and three *Ave-maries* for the souls of those that died at Blackfriers. So that they think it cannot otherwise chuse, but that their souls must be by this time in heaven. And sure so think I, or else they will never come thither. For ἄφαρτι, *à modo*, forthwith blessed are the dead that dye in the Lord; they rest from their labours, &c. *Bona mors justi, propter requiem; melior, propter novitatem; optima, propter securitatem*, saith St Bernard. Death is to bee desired, in regard of the rest, repose, and tranquillity, wherewith it is immediately accompanied; but in the priests erected purgatory, *durante commoratione*, there is nothing but torture and torment to bee expected.

Revel.

Bern. Epist. 103.

Suarez to. 3. in 3 p. disp. 14.

I cannot but, by the way, tel you of one that very narrowly escaped the danger of Blackfriers, and accompanied me that night to my lodging; his name was Parker, one that had been long a trader and factor to and fro for Papists heere in England, beyond the seas. Hee told me by the way, that nothing grieved him more, then that hee had not beene one of those that dyed by the aforesaid mischance. What should make him so prodigall of his life, I know not; but sure, not long after, the hand of God did cut the thred of his daies; for the weeke following, he beeing the man that must carry the newes over the seas to Doway, and going then to take priestly orders, (there beeing need of a supply, F. Drury, F. Redyate, and one F. Moore, beeing so unexpectedly, as they tearme it, martyred) at London Bridge, at his very first setting forward, M. Parker was drowned, with a kinswoman of his, bound for Brussels, there to take on her the habit of a nunne. I will not comment on these disasters, knowing that God reserves to himselfe three things; the revenge of injuries, the glory of deeds, the judgement of secrets. *Quæ Deus occulta esse voluit, non sunt scrutanda; quæ autem manifesta fecit, non sunt negligenda; ne etenim in illis illicite curiosi, et in his damnabiliter inveniamur ingrati.*

The inverted proverb is, Hee that was borne to be drowned, &c.

Prosp. *de provid.*

I will judge of my owne cause, and conclude, that the mercy of God was of longer extent to me, then any other. None had provoked him, or tempted him more; and therefore, where sinne abounded, there the mercy of God hath abounded much more. He is *multus ad ignoscendum;* and, because of sinners, he shall be called mercifull. But why should I have entered into the house of Rimmon, or have partaken with the abomination of the children of Ammon? Why should I, that knew my owne father's courts, have gon into the house of a stranger? Curiosity, in these kindes, cannot excuse. Bee not deceived, God will not bee mocked. It is dangerous with Ecebolius to bee troden under foot as unsavory salt. How great is his glory, how infinite his power, how comfortable his grace, who could say unto his Father, "Those that thou gavest me, have I kept, and none of them is lost, but the childe of perdition! Holy Father, keepe them in thy name, even them whom thou hast given me, that they may be one, as I am."

Psal.

Euseb.

John 17. 12.

And let me here admonish all such as are facile to yeeld unto Popish perswasion, and are ready to take up the old saying of the Chaldees, *Homo quidam ex Judæis venit Sacerdos, neutiquam decipiet nos:* Such a priest will not deceive us. Sure, none sooner, though they winde as close as ivy about a tree, and so insinuate, as they suck no small advantage. They perswade, that their houses are the houses of Cloe; their housholds the households of Onesiphorus. But trust you no such undermining Jesuites; beleeve you not any of those oyly-mouthed Absolons, though they speak plausible things, to steale away your hearts from Gods truth, and the kings obedience, crying as loud, The church of Rome, as ever the Jewes did, *Templum Domini, Templum Domini*, the temple of the Lord. Let them not, with their golden calves reared at Dan and Bethel, keepe you from going to serve God at Jerusalem. Let them not bring you out of love with your David, your Governour, and true Father, or with our orthodox and reverend Church of England, your mother. Let them not intrench you with their false and lying fables; the most of which you cannot bee so absurd and dull, but to conceive and confesse,

Mel. can. in loc. com.

2 Tim. 4. 19.

Jer. 7. 14.

1 King 12. 28.

that they are forgeries, and meere fopperies. Weigh but some of them in the balance of your understanding, which, in this poore work of mine, out of their moderne authors, I have truly collected, quoted, and recited; and you will finde, that according to the old plain verse,

Qui leviter credit, deceptus sæpè recedit.

That which they study, is but imposture and legerdemaine. They will perchance tell you of their strict orders, that they are religious men, of the society of Jesus, Benedictins, Franciscans, Augustinians, Bernardines, Antonians, Joannites, Carthusians, Præmonstratentians, Cistertains, and the like; that they have distinct habits and customes, differing one from another; that they professe perpetuall chastity, obedience, and wilfull poverty, and live for the most part a solitary life, and thence called μόναχοι, Monks. Oh beleeve them not; they have Esaus hands, though Jacobs voice: notwithstanding all their faire pretexts and shewes, they are but as tinkling cymbals, and greenebay trees, whereunto David compares the wicked. The Pope dispenseth with any thing heere, while they be in our kingdome. Their penury is turned into plenty; their chastity becomes charity for the relieving collapsed ladies wants; their friers coat is a gold-laced suit, to hide their juggling knavery, and keepe them unknowne, when they are drunke in good company; which is not seldome with them, as my self have seene in sufficient overflowing measure, having been their companion sometime *ad hilaritatem;* but, I protest, never *ad ebrietatem.* But thinking a fair outside at the altar shal mend all, to tempt you to their idolatry, they will shew you their bishops and priests offering up the sacrifice of the masse, attired in holy vestures, commanded (as they say) by a sacred synod, which, for their perfection, are borrowed out of the Law of Moses.

Gen. 25. 22.

Psal. 37.

I am not so singularly conceited and fantastick, as to think that it is not expedient for a minister of the Christian church, by his decent habit, to bee distinguished from the people, and adorned with some sacred significant robe, in the function and action of presenting public prayers unto God, or executing the sacred mysteries instituted by our Saviour, to indure *ad consummationem mundi.* But to invent and multiply undecent and theatricall habits, burthensome in number, superfluous in signification, and superstitious in opinion of sanctity, this may be the proper dower of mother Rome, rather then the beauty of the Kings daughter, who is all glorious within. What a wardrope of habiliments and idle complements, doth the superstitious massing priest beare about him! the amice, the long albe, the girdle, the stole, the maniple, the castula, the napkin or sudary, common to inferior priests; besides the sandals, the purple coat, with wide sleeves, the gloves, the ring, the pall or cope, the crozier staffe, a chaire standing neere the altar; the last sort of which are more proper to the bishops. The Pope (by the donation of the Emperor Constantine the Great) weareth, in the celebration of the masse, all the robes used by the emperors of Rome; as the scarlet coat, the short purple cloake, the scepter, and the triple diadem, and with these he is arrayed in the vestry. Sure I am, that our Saviour and his apostles, when they preached and baptized, had other kinde of accoutrements.

Psal. 45.

Vid. Damian à Goes de morib. gent. lib. 2. cap. 12.

They boast much of their propitiatory sacrifice of the masse, which the doctors of their church hold fit to bee said in no other language than in Latine; yea, Rabanus averreth, that it is no lesse than sacriledge, to think of changing it into another tongue, which the people can understand. Now, their common answer for the peoples not understanding their publick prayers, hath beene, That the priest, who pronounceth them, doth understand them; but many of their priests cannot themselves interpret those very prayers which they powre forth for the people. The masse-book, as it is Latin to the vulgar people, so it is Greek to the priest: and how prayers, understood neither

Raban. *lib. 2. de cler. instit. cap. 9.*

by the one nor the other, should be other than a dead sacrifice, I cannot understand, even by their own tenets. S. Paul, 1 Cor. xiv. 16, speaking of one *qui supplet locum idiotæ*, surely intended, that in the church there should bee at least one who should be of an higher forme then *idiota;* but, for ought I see, some of their priests must be content in their masse to act two parts in one, both of the guide, and of the idiote. For I am sure, some of them whom I have met withall in this kingdome, when I have spoken Latine to them, they have not beene able to distinguish whether it were Irish or Welsh. One of their wooden doctors I will name, called Courtney, whom I met with- D. Courtney his divinity.
all in Lancashire; he was very busie talking, that none could be saved without hearing masse; and that Christ and his apostles went up and downe saying masse in all villages and countries. And I asked him, How he proved that? He could name no scripture or author, but told me, He had read it in a book; and perceiving me smile, said, It was in the Revelation of Saint John. Hearing his answer to this, I asked him another question, which was, What might be meant by the words so often used together in the masse, *Kirie Eleison, Christe Elesion, Kirie Eleison.* He told me, the word *Kirie* signified the Host; and *Eleison*, Christ. No marvell now, that they maintaine ignorance to bee the mother of devotion, the old proverb beeing still true, That they have golden chalices, but woodden priests. Talking another time in London with another brother of his, one Father Medcalf, who lyes at a tobacco shop in Shoo-lane, I asked him, why M. Medcalf his answer.
he could not pray without a picture? He replied, How can you understand what manner of man Christ is, but by seeing him? or any saint, but by their picture? or how can you pray without a picture, but your minde will be carried some other way? Then thought I upon that sentence of Fulgentius, *Ita facile possit Christum comprehendere,* Fulgent.
quem tota terra nequit apprehendere. So easy was it with him to comprehend Christ, whom the whole world cannot apprehend. To goe on with their absurdities: One F. Leech, a Jesuite, who wrote the book called Evangelicall Counsailes, told mee, F. Leech his doctrine.
beeing with him in Christmas last, That if any but heare masse, and after hearing, bee sprinkled with holy water, and kisse the priests garment, he could not commit that day any mortall sinne, *si maximè velit*, though he would never so fain. Which indeed, though very grosse and absurd, is no less than some of their writers avouch. Barst. *in l. intit.* The propitiator, p. 74. *Vid.* Fitz-Sim. *in fin, citat. in. divers. loc.*

Oh, how doo they lead along poor silly soules into the gulfe of destruction, by telling them such and such sinnes are but venial; drunkennesse, lying, cursing, filthy speaking, breach of the Sabbath, swearing, and (upon occasion) for-swearing, but venial sinnes! whereas, no sins are lesser than the point of those thornes that pierced the head of Christ: *pro quibus abluendis, sanguis Christi effusus;* for the washing away of which, Christ shed drops of bloud in the garden, and opened the spouts of bloud on the crosse. Our sinnes, in scripture, are compared unto sands, which are very small, considering them severally, and yet the greatest shippe is swallowed up of them quickly. Every sinne, in its owne nature, hath the sting of a viper, and doth wound as mortally; yea, the least sinne, legally considered, is damnable; though evangelically, the greatest of all is pardonable. *Inexcusabilis est omnis peccator, vel reatu originis,* saith Saint Augustine. And, *Parentes ante fecerunt damnatum, quàm natum,* saith Bernard. And so I conclude with Elias Cretensis, his words: *Ex peccati fumo ortæ sunt lachrymæ.* A learned gentleman, one Master Ley, will give you in print a catalogue very shortly of their veniall sinnes; his book intituled, the Christian *Nomenclator.* Lactantius. Augustine. Bernard. Cretens. *in.* Naz. *orat.* 4.

Lying, in some cases, the Papists hold not onely to be no sinne, but to be lawfull; and a man may forsweare himself before authority sometimes, nay, ought to doo so, under pain of damnation. Witnes their notes upon the Rhemists Testament, and diverse their books. According to the rule of the Parthians, they will keep faith with none, *nisi quantum expedit*, but as it serves their turn. As for oaths, to the most of them, they are no other than collars for munkies; which, upon dispensation of superiours, they slip off their necks at their pleasure, especially if they be such state Papists as have been inspired with Jesuiticall equivocations, and mentall evasions; whom a reverend father of our church doth blazon out by their true epithets and ensignes of their family, Annot. in 23. c. Act Apost. *Dam. à Goes de mor. Gent.*

D. King, Bishop of London in his Sermon upon the fift of November.

stiling them ἀσπόνδους, ἀσόργους, ἀμφιβίους, διγλώττους, διψύχους, the falsest cozeners of the world; οἷς οὐτὲ βωμὸς μένει, πίστις, οὐτὲ ὅρκος, with whom no bond of nature, consanguinity, allegeance, alliance, affiance, wedlock, oath, sacrament, standeth good, if they list to dissolve it.

Psal. 82. 6.

Dii terræ, talem terris avertite pestem:

O yee gods of the earth, purge this region of the air, as much as in you lieth, of these pestilent exhalations. This I the rather observe out of his writing, because it seems to me to be spoken not onely morally, at large, upon generall experience of their dealing, but also (in sort) prophetically, as by a kinde of fore-instinct; implying, that himself, though not in life, yet in death, should not be free from this their audacious forgery.

I mean, the monstrous ly tearmed by them, The Bishop of London his Legacy.

Let mee proceed to a further survey of their doctrine and religion, and acquaint you with what I finde true by my owne experience. Sure I am, that the Papists, by divers their impostures, have more dishonoured Christ, than ever he was by any sect or profession whatsoever; for, have not their best doctors, Bellarmine, Valentia, Vasquez, with others, been the very patrons of damnable idolatry, *suam perditionem sentientes,* feeling themselves to perish, and yet would not bee reclaimed; Bellarmine and Valentia maintaining, that there is a proper worship due to images; Vasquez implying, that the devill, in some cases, may be adored! And howsbever, of late yeers, some of them will a little refine their doctrine concerning image-worship, by distinctions and metaphysicall notions, yet the practice of the people among them (to my knowledge) is no lesse than *Idolomania;* that practice, I say, not private, or forbidden by their guides; but fostered, increased, and kindled by those that pretend to be the fathers and pastors of their soules. Read Davies his Catechisme, and a book of theirs, called The Manuall of Controversies; and see whether they doo not allow of falling down to images, of kissing them, as they doo the pax in the masse.

Aug. Epist. 48. *ad* Vinc. Bell. *tract. et. cont. de Imag.* Vasq. l. 3. *de adorat. disp. 1. c. 5.*

Davies Catec. p. 217.

What shall I say of their much mumbling of masses, and jumbling of beads? If there be twenty priests in a house, they must all say masse before noon, though there be nobody by, though they sacrifice to the wals. They must have beads, to pray by number, or else their prayers want weight. They are commanded to say sometimes in one day an hundred-and-fifty Paternosters, as many Ave-maries, forty Creeds; and, if they misse but one of the right number, all is vaine and effectlesse: nay the confessors hold it to be a mortall sinne, if, among so many prayers appointed to be said for penance, one onely be omitted.

Goddard, in his Treatise of Confession, p. 40.

As concerning their processions, praying to the dead, invocation of saints, adoration of the consecrated host, administration of the sacrament under one kind, sprinkling of holy water, tinkling of a bell at the elevation, kissing the ground where the priest hath stood, worshipping of reliques, repeating the name Jesus nine times together, with nines upon nines, often crossing the forehead, the mouth, and the brest, their necessary wetting of their fingers in the holy pot before they go toward the altar, their kneeling down to every priest they meet, their ambling thrice about a crosse, their pilgrimages, dirges, severall sorts of letanies, in which the saints only are invocated, and other like trash, which are the very Diana of the Romish religion, what foundation have they in holy scripture? Are they built upon the rock Christ? No; but upon the sands of humane brains; being invented, and obtruded upon the people, to advance the benefit and honour of their clergy. Such are they, of whom speaketh one of their owne writers: *An non audis dicentes grata multitudini, flectentes, fingentes, ac refingentes religionem ad nutum et cupiditates dominorum et cœtuum; quorum gloriam, nisi suam, pluris faciunt quam gloriam Dei?* Do you not heare them, how they speak plausibly to the itching eares of the multitude, inflecting, fashioning, and re-fashioning their religion according to

Ebber. *in præf. in com. Philip. super Christ. ad Cor.*

the will and wantonnesse of them, whose glory, next unto their owne, they preferre before the glory of God?

But shall not their owne disciples one day speak unto them, according to that of Saint Augustine, *Quare nos decepistis? Quare tanta mala et falsa dixistis? Et erubescunt humanæ infirmitati, et non erubescunt invictissimæ veritati.* Why did you seduce us? Why did you tell us so many false things; more regarding the weaknesse of men, than the invinciblenesse of truth? Yes sure; *Necesse est, cùm dies judicii venerit, &c.*, saith Saint Cyprian: To your charge, the losse of so many soules, for which Christ gave his life, will one day bee laid, and a strict account exacted. Many waving babes were carried away with the blast of your deceits, beaten and broken against the rock of error; many, I say, whom Saint Paul tearmeth *Parvulos fluctuantes*, unconstant yong ones; not so much swelling with pride, as deceived and tossed with the waves of your imposture. But, my beloved countrymen, let not such vipers eat out your hearts; let not the *ignis fatuus* of their preposterous zeale mislead you; but discover the hypocrites, and send them home to Rome, where they were hatched. For, they that dare thus dally with God, no marvell, though they bee bold with your soules, consciences, your children, and your estates, and all that belong to you. Many a poor gentleman, that cannot rule his wife, I doubt, is fain to weare their mark *in capite;* and somewhat they must have *in marsupio*, though the other lie for it *in carcere.* They must bee fed with the daintiest cheere, the best wine, the best beer, the chiefest fruits that can bee got; when oft times, the poor husband is fain to slink away hungry to his rest.

Aug. ser. 22. de verb. Apost.

Cyp. l. 1. ep. 3.

In the end they prove *Plagiarii*, stealing away their children, and sending them beyond the seas, to their utter ruine and overthrowe. This is too common a practice.—Some friends of mine in Lancashire, and elsewhere, have felt the smart thereof. I think it will not be amisse to insert, how they dealt with a yong man heer in London, who is grand-childe to the Archbishop of York, about the end of February last. They perswaded him, what a fine life it would be to live beyond the seas; and withall told him, that, if hee would go over to one of their colledges, hee should want no maintenance: and, for that he was not fully grounded in their religion, hee was referred to one to conferre withall. It fortuned, that hee came to that man that must indoctrinate him while I was by. I, smelling their knavery, could not rest quiet, till I had found out the yong man, and inquired his businesse with the priests, with whom I had seen him often conversant; who presently told mee their project, and acquainted me, that he must suddenly take his journey to St Omers. But, my self discovering unto him divers of their cheats and tricks, and assuring him, that he should find the case altered if he went out of England, the yong man, being very ingenuous, was deterred, and, I hope, will have no more familiarity with them. Some of the priests agents dealt in the same sort with a very pretty modest youth, one Henry Sylvester, sonne to the no lesse worthy than famous poet, Josuah Sylvester, the translator of Du Bartas; who, being a scholar at Suttons Hospital neer London, was drawn to such places as the priests often frequent, and there had books bestowed on him. They inveigled and wrought so farre with him, that he consented to be sent beyond the seas: and away they had packed him, but that their plot was in time discovered. Many others have they of late daies seduced: but I hope, their kingdom is now almost at an end.

One M. Dutton, a Lancashire gentleman.

The priests practice with a yong man in London.

As for you who have occasion to live neer the wals of these adversaries, and it may bee, sometimes, of necessity, must converse and have some commerce with them, take heed you be not corrupted by them. Have no fellowship with the unfruitfull works of darknes, though with the workers. Bee like unto the river Arethusa, which passeth thorow the Sicilian sea, and yet takes no saltnes. Live blamelesse in the midst of a perverse and crooked generation.

Virg. Ecl. ult. Phil. 2. 15.

And let mee now speak unto you who are my brethren of the ministery, and should (in regard of your office and example) be as angels in the firmament of the church: perSoz. eccle. hist. ceive you not how heresie begins to spread, as that of Arrius in the daies of Athanasius? *Serpit ut gangrena*, it creeps as a gangrene: and yet mourn not you for our Sion in her widow-hood, nor pray for the peace of Jerusalem? Behold you not the ranke of our hollow-harted neuteralists, who think the time is come, to pull downe our culver-house, our little church? How often hast thou heard them, O God, (though they whisJud. 5. 28. pered unto themselves,) say of the enemies of our peace, Why are the wheeles of his chariot so long a-coming? *Expectârunt diem:* they have long looked for a day. I hope they will but expect, till their very eyes drop out of their heads. Again, understand you not, how laborious and vigilant our adversaries now are, forbearing no time, sparing no paines, to captivate and destroy? Witnesse the swarmes of their books, which you may heare humming up and downe in every corner both of city and countrey. I speak it with griefe; and in this respect, *cor meum, tanquam cera liquescens:* my heart is as melting wax. I verily beleeve, they have vented more of their pamphlets within this twelve month, then they did in many yeers before. They have printing-presses and book-sellers almost in every corner. And how doo they by this meanes put their poore disciples upon the tenters, selling that book for forty or fifty shillings, which they might affoord for eight or ten; and that for ten which they might afford for one: For instance, I refer you to the catalogue in the later end of this book. I speak this by the way, to discover their extorting policy, who make a treasury for themselves by these meanes, and raise no small summes of money. You are those whom God hath set up as lamps in his sanctuary, to give light to those that sit in darknesse, and in the shadow of death, to guide their feet into the way of truth. Hide not your glory under a Rev. 3. 11. bushell: let not your beauty be eclipsed: but, (as the Spirit to the angell of Philadel-Ephes. 6. 14. phia,) Hold that which you have: Stand with your loines girt: Be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might: and remember, that *Vincenti dabitur*, To him that over-Revel. 3. commeth, shall it bee given. *Nec paranti ad prælium, nec pugnanti ad sanguinem, multò* Bern. *minùs tergiversanti ad peccatum, sed vincenti ad victoriam;* Not to him that prepares to fight, nor to him that resists to bloud, much lesse to him that shewes his back in cowardice, but to him that overcomes to conquest. And hence, St Hieromes penne, like a Euseb. eccle. lance, was charged against Vigilantius and others. St Augustine, in his disputations, hist. l. 3. c. 22. spake hot words, coles of juniper, against the Arrians, the Pelagians, the Donatists, and the Manichees. Be you as vigilant and severe: *Res postulat*, the times require it. And therefore beginne to blame the Church of Ephesus, for imbracing the doctrine of the Nicolaitans; and the Church of Smyrna, for imbracing the doctrine of Balaam; and the Church of Thyatira, for imbracing the doctrine of Jezabel: and shame not to tell the Lady of Rome, that, notwithstanding all her paintings and complexions upon her face, the cup of fornication is in her hand. Peter spake as much unto Simon the sorApoc. 17. Acts, 8. 23. cerer, that he was in the gall of bitternesse, and bond of iniquity; Paul unto Elymas, Acts, 13. 10. O full of mischiefe, and enemy of all righteousnes; Polycarpus to Marcion, calling him *Diaboli primogenitum*, the divels first-borne.

Strabo. Strabo describes a certain fountain to be in Arabia, beyond Jordan, which poisoneth all beasts that drink therof: for which cause it is ordained, that the heardsmen shal make restitution for such beasts as perish by drinking of it; unlesse they proove, by violence they approached. In like sort, there is a well of abomination: many wilde asses runne thereunto to quench their thirst; and yet they that taste thereof perish. The pastors of Christs flock, who have Peter's pasce for their charge, if they keep not their hold, that is, hold their sheep within their fold, their soule shall answer for the same;

except it shall appeare, they drank the deadly waters of sinne through their owne wilfulnesse, rather than the others negligence.

The shepheard cannot steppe aside, but the wolfe is ready to seize upon his flock. There are many wolves; so tearmed, not so much in regard of the composition of their bodies, as the disposition of their mindes; for they shall come unto you in sheeps clothing: but beleeve them not; for inwardly they are ravening. There are subtile serpents, that still wait for their booty: Their poyson is like the poyson of a serpent, Psal. 58. 4; or, as the Apostle, Their tongue is full of deadly poyson. *Inficit, interficit:* the infection thereof doth not onely beginne of late to spread, but hath left many for dead, that there is little hope of their reviving; *Non ægroti, sed defuncti,* beeing not diseased, but deceased. They are no sooner feverous, but their physician holds them to a dyet-drink: they shall not have the water of the sanctuary, that would coole them; but Marah, the harsh, bitter, and ill-brewed drink of balefull errours, to destroy them. Psal. 58. 4. James 3. 8.

I have read of one Exagon, an ambassadour to Rome, being at the consuls command cast into a tunne of snakes, that they licked him with their tongues, and did him no harme: but these snakes, though they were sent us from Rome, bring such poyson with them, *non in caudâ, sed in linguâ,* not in their taile, but in their tongues, that with their very breath they can infect and infest. How many soules have they so killed in our land!

Aspidis et morsu læsum dormire fatentur
In mortem, antidotum nec valuisse ferunt.

It behooveth us to bee in our generation, as wise as these serpents, though as harmlesse as doves. Against the incantations of such syrens, let us ring the musicall bells of Aaron, and sing the sweet songs of Sion, that is, arme our selves with the παροπλία of God, treasured up in the scriptures: so shall not the locusts of the wildernesse, with their scorpion-like tayles, (who now swarme in such abundance,) hurt any of our little ones with the deadly sting of their contagious error: but, having the seale of God in their fore-heads, they shall be able to resist all such as cease not to persecute the spouse of Christ, and to make warre with her seed. Mat. 10. 16.

Now for the better discovery of the impious tricks and devices of the priests and jesuites, and that all who meet with any of their moderne bookes, (whereof I told you there is such plenty,) may hoot at them for most abominable impostors and lyers: Let mee intreat you to reade a few of such tales as I have culled and collected out of their books lately sent over, the most of them according to the frontispice printed at Doway; and you would think, any solid wit could not be miscarried by them, but rather admire the poore shifts they are driven unto for the keeping of their weather-beaten cause aflote. So palpably doe they proceed beyond the bounds of modesty and reason, *ut nemo eorum obtestationibus et jactationibus quicquam credat, nam eos mentiri et dupliciter mentiri certissimum est,* saith Luther. Let none beleeve their protestations and vaunts: for it is most certaine, they lie, and that lowdly. If they will needs be *architecti mendaciorum,* still hammering untruths, I would advise them to lay probable foundations, and chuse such materials as are more malleable. Luth. defens. verb. cœnæ. Fol. 381. 382.

To begin then with one tale of theirs, and it is a pretty young sucking lie, alleaged by one Henry Fitz-Simons, jesuite, in his book called, The Justification and Exposition of the Sacrifice of the Masse. Lib. i. p. 131. Fitz-Simons, lib. 1. page 131.

"In Diep, (saith he,) a town of France, a woman of the Protestant religion, dandling her infant that never before could speak; the childe distinctly pronounced, To masse, to masse. The mother, warned so admirably, went instantly with her infant In all the tales I use their own words.

in her armes to church, and found therein a learned man preaching of religion. His sermon being ended, she felt herself so sufficiently resolved, that, renouncing her heresie, she forthwith became Catholick."

It pleaseth God indeed to use the weak, sometimes to confound the strong; to imploy the child, to convert the parent; and to indoctrine the innocent, to refute the insolent: but that he should shew any such miracle, for the justification and ratifying of that most impious and idolatrous sacrifice of the masse, is beyond the lists of reason, I may well say, the bounds of Christian faith, to beleeve. But, for want of better argument, you shall hear what other tales have flowed from the froth of their understanding, to delude the ignorant, and confirme this said sacrifice.

Fitz-Sim. lib. 2. part 2. page 402.

"A mariner beeing supposed to be drowned, a bishop of his countrey caused masse to bee said for him. The mariner at that time had been some twenty dayes without food, born up and down upon the keel of a boat, and then ready for famine to die. In the houre, (as after was knowne,) of the oblation for him, a man appeared, and delivered him a portion of bread: whereby suddenly he had full force and vigor; and shortly after, by a ship sailing by, he was rescued."

Fitz-Sim. qui supra. lib. 2. part 6. page 402.

R. L. P. in lib. intit. The most divine sacrifice, fol. 36.

"There was a gentle-woman neere Naples in Italy, whose husband was a captain: and she, having tidings that he was slain in a battell, caused weekly masses to be said for him. It fell out, that this captain was imprisoned: and after, by good testimony it appeared, that at the very same time masses were saying for him, his chaines and fetters fell from him, and could not be fastned."

Let mee help to prompt this tale-teller with another of the same cut.

"A frier that had more minde to fill his owne purse, than to empty purgatory, did very zealously and resolutely, in his sermon before his offering, avouch and warrant his auditorie, that whosoever came up with money to the altar, and would think of any his dearest friend, whom he thought to be a prisoner in purgatory, should obtain this grace by that indulgence, that at the very instant of the monies throwne in, and clinking in the bason, the soule should leap out of purgatory."

R. L. P. in lib. prædict. fol. 37.

The aforesaid author reporteth of another prisoner, supposed also to bee dead, whose brother, (beeing an abbot,) saying masse for him, his bands fell alwaies, and could not restraine him, whereat his enemies at length wearied, gave him libertie to redeeme himselfe.

Quorsum hæc? Why doe they take such paines, and imploy their braines upon these inventions, namely, to hook in the people, and bring greist to their mill, that their masses may goe readily away for ready money?

But these former inventions are but slight work, posted over by some prentice of the coyning trade. Behold heere following a more worthy master-piece, wherein a chiefe architect and a more nimble interpreter of the puppets, is brought in for an actor.

"A gentle-woman of England, in one of the yeers of jubile, travelled to Rome, where beeing arrived, shee repaired to Father Parsons, who was her confessor; and he administring unto her the blessed sacrament, (which, in the forme of a little wafer, hee put into her mouth,) observed shee was long chewing, and could not swallow the same: whereupon he asked her, whether shee knew what it was she received? Shee answered, Yes, a wafer. At which answer of hers, Father Parsons being much offended, he thrust his finger into her mouth, and thence drew out a piece of red flesh, which after was nailed up against a post in a vespery or private chappell within our Lady-Church: and though this were done about some twenty yeeres since or more, yet doth that piece of flesh there remaine to bee seene, very fresh and red as ever it was. Witnesse, J. Markes jesuite, in a book of his written of late, and intituled, The Examination of the New Religion, p. 128."

'Yea, heere is a knocking and long lasting lie, worthy to be nailed upon a post or pillory, like the eare of a rogue or a railing Moore.

This Moore lately lost his eares in Cheapside, for blasphemous and atheisticall raylling against the reformed religion.

Father Parsons was but a slender juggler, that could not, without putting his finger into her mouth, suborne red for white. I doubt that hee that invented this tale, had sometimes beene at the shop of Cowbuck the smith,[1] (held by some to be the putative father of Parsons,) and there had seene the bottome hoofe of a horse-foot nailed against the posts, (which use to be the triumphant trophies of farriers,) and therfore thought hee should meet with some that would beleeve, a piece of raw flesh could be as solid and lasting. But I doe not read that this woman was ever possest with that beliefe, as to adore the foresaid post, with the forged appendix: and I am glad to finde, even in the weaker sex, more truth in calling a spade, a spade, then plain dealing in her maister, that would mock her and others by a trick of leigerdemaine: and therefore the tale-maker was heere defective. For, to shew the acceptation and effect of this miracle, he should have added, that the woman, yea, and some wise men too, adored not onely the flesh, but even the naile with which it was crucified, or rather postified. This my new coyned words fits their new found fable.

"A letter was sent unto Father Parsons at Rome, signifying unto him, that a kinsmans house of his heer in England, had been, for the space of forty yeers together, molested by divels; but by one sacrifice or masse offered by Father Parsons, it was delivered: and his kinred who lived there, having been all their life-time before zealous Protestants, have all of them since become Catholicks." Jo. Marks in lib. prædict. page 130.

I beleeve, many houses in England, within these forty yeeres, especially those that pertained to the friends and wel-wishers of Parsons and his fellowes, have beene much haunted with sprites, not of the kinde of fairies, but of those of whom ingenious Chaucer speaks; that where the limiter exorcising priest went up and downe within his station, there were no divels nor hobgoblins to molest, especially the weaker sex in the night-time: the reason he gives is demonstrative: for, Chaucer.

> In every grove, and under every tree,
> There n' is none other Incubus but hee.

But this difference I observe between the antient priests of a coorse thread, and these refined seraphicall masters of the jesuiticall loome: they drove away spirits only by their presence: but these can dart out a masse from over sea, some thousand mîles off, and with it blowe away all the divels that dance in such or such an inchanted castle in England; whereupon all the Protestants that dwell within kenning, must needs turne Romanists: *Teste me ipso*, quoth the divell.

"There was a man in Corduba, within the confines of Spain, aged fourscore yeers and odde; who, for the space of thirty yeers, had been in a dead palsie, and bed-red, and then had a burning desire to heare masse, and to have the bishops blessing; and so caused himselfe, by his servants, to be transported to St Stephens Church. The masse heard, and hee born back to his house, within fewe daies he, (to all mens admiration,) became whole and sound, and was as lusty as a man but of twenty yeeres. He lived eighteen yeers after: during which space, hee came every day thankfully to the said church, to acknowledge the miracle." Kellis. in a treatise of his, called, Gods Blessing, page 71.

[1] Robert Parsons, a learned Jesuit, but of a fiery disposition, was born at Stowey, near Bridgewater, in Somerset. His father was one Cowbuck, a smith, but the Protestants pretended that the Popish priest of Stowey had a better title to the paternity. *Athenæ. Oxon.* Vol. I. p. 355. He was sent by the Pope into England in 1580, in company with Campion, to disperse the Bull against Queen Elizabeth among her Catholic subjects.—See Vol. I. of this Collection, p. 196.

At Corduba in Spain? A palsie, and yet fourscore and eighteen yeers? I am glad it is so farre off: I hope they will have mee excused, for travelling so farre to enquire the truth. And yet, in another respect, I should wish to live in that aire, where masses grow so medicinall, that they prolong a mans life, till hee and all his friends be weary of him: like the Iles of Arren in Ireland, which will not let the candle of our life bee blowne out, though it bee in the snuffe: whereof a blundering frier wrote, *Ubi tam diu vivunt homines, ita quòd habeant tædium de suo vivere.*

" Leo Tuscus, a confessor, martyr, and Pope, upon a certain time was tempted by a woman, who would needs kisse him; but the holy man by no means consented to such immodesty; yet, with much struggling, shee kissed his hand, whether he would or no. Whereupon he commanded it to be cut off, because no corrupt flesh should remain about him. Which when the people perceived, they earnestly intercessed our Lady for him, and she most mercifully restored it again: and then he said masse as before, and acknowledged our Lady his Saviour."

In lib. intit. The lives of the martyrs, transl. by Kinsman.

Our Lady his Saviour? O blind Bayardly presumption! The blessed Virgin acknowledged her sonne, the Sonne of God, to be not onely our, but even her owne Saviour. But these audacious coblers of lyes dare mend *magnificat*, yea, and outface the scripture, in setting up the mother for a new Saviour.

But, O austerity and rigour! did a Pope, upon so petty a cause, act the valorous Mutius Scævola, and destroy his owne hand? Surely, if our sacrificing priests and jesuites should execute so severe a law upon themselves, the king would have in this city many subjects not onely inwardly lame in their obedience, but also outwardly lame in their lims. I knowe two priests in London, who are very unable at this time to doo the king any service in the warres; for which, they have a necessary excuse, though not legall, having imployed themselves in other hot wars already: so that now they are fitter for an hospitall than the camp. And yet when the time of their lying-in is expired, they will creep out of the shell again, and looke as bold as their brethren, laying it on with masses. Yet, mee thinks, they should use very favourably their judicall power in confession, who themselves have had so much need of indulgence. To say nothing of a Catholique maid, supposed to have been, with others, oppressed in the ruine at the Black-friers, whose office hath been to carry bands and shirts unto the priests chambers: but, whatsoever her ill luck hath been, she hath met with some infectious blasting vapours, which now sequester her from all company; being posted off by her ghostly father unto the physicians.

F. Hi. F. Me.

But to leave these noisome corners, and to returne to the more pleasing path of our old wonder-working tales; he had need be a good chirurgion, who could cement a broken piece, especially a hand wholy cut off. But this is like unto the tale of Saint Dominick, whose legs cut off at the knees, by praying unto our Lady, they were, without the help of any artist, graffed on again; or, like that of Saint Denis, who, for a mile or two, carried his head in his hand; or, not unlike the story of Saint Winifred, of whom they report, her head once cut off, sprung and grew on again; but lopt off a second time, where it fell, there arose a fine silver stream, or a pleasant fountain of running water, which at this day (as they vaunt) cureth the diseased; and the drops of bloud which Saint Winifred there lost, are yet to be seen. The place of this beheading, and where the miracle is more extant, is at Holiwel, in Wales, not many miles off the city of Chester; whither, once every yeer, about mid-summer, many superstitious Papists, of Lancashire, Staffordshire, and other more remote countries, go in pilgrimage, especially those of the feminine and softer sex, who keep there their rendevous, meeting with divers priests, their acquaintance, who make it their chief synod or convention for consultation, and promoting the Catholique cause, as they call it; yea, and account it their chiefest harvest for commodity and profit, in regard of the crop they then reap by absolutions and indulgences. Let me adde, that they were so bold, about mid-sum-

Read, concerning S. Dominick, a book written by J. Heigham, intit. The Life of S Katharine of Siena.

mer the last yeere, 1623, that they intruded themselves divers times into the church or publick chappell of Holiwell, and there said masse, without contradiction. It is not unlike they will easily presume to the same liberty heer in England, which they have used of late in Ireland; where they disturbed the minister at a funerall, erected one or two frieries, with open profession, in their monasticall habits, and have intruded titular bishops to supplant the church-government there in force: as we see in like manner old M. Bishop, sometimes prisoner in the Gatehouse, now perking up and flanting with the vain, aeriall, fantastick bubble of Episcopall title, far fetcht, and yet lightly given, hath rambled up and down Staffordshire, Buckinghamshire, and other places, under the name of the Bishop of Chalcedon, catching the ignorant, vulgar, and devoted Romanists, with the pomp of his pontificall attire, and that empty name of a bishoprick; whereunto he hath as much right, as he hath lands there.

The bold attempts of the Papists in Ireland.

The Bishop of Chalcedon.

I commend the thriftinesse of the Popes Holinesse, in erecting bishopricks with such small cost. The title stands him in nothing but a piece of parchment, with a bosse of lead, signed *sub annulo Piscatoris*. As for jurisdiction and revenues, there needs nothing, but to send into England this new puppet of his owne making. The honest, liberall, Pope-holy, Lay-Catholiques of England, many of them, especially the more ignorant, and therefore dotingly devout, are so mad of these trumperies, and so sick of their money, that his benedictions, beads, rings, reliques, *agnus Dei*, and the like, will be good merchandize, better (perhaps) than Virginian tobacco, and feeding as much as that fume. Physicians say, and experience shews, that for a consumption, asses milk is not the worst cure; and sure, to feed afresh the declining and starving fopperies of Popery in this land, what better nourishment than those no small summes which are daily squeezed from many simple burden-bearing animals, whose radicall moysture of their purses is daily exhausted by the horse-leeches of Rome?

The name of Rome is able to these weak and bleared eyes to imbelish any thing, to gild over and make acceptable any pills, though being nothing else but sheeps trittles. A bundle of beads worth three pence, if sanctified from Rome, shall strain out of Catholick purses so many pounds. The preaching, the liturgie of the Church of England, is but dry meat, and hath no foison in it, because it is not basted by the cookery of the Popes court. The catechizing of children heer is unfruitful, because not performed by the sublimated, pedanticall instructers, the Jesuites; such reverend fathers as Ledesme, Vause, Davies, Cox, Cortin. The confirmation of our children by our English bishops, though done in decent form, and with convenient praier, yet (forsooth) hath no sacred influence, because our bishops have no crozier staffe, no holy-water, no unctions, no chrisme, no binding of foreheads for seven daies, no deligate authoritie *à* DOMINO DEO NOSTRO PAPA. But, if an Eutopian, Chalcedonian, New-nothing-puffe-paste Titulado, come with faculties in his budget from Rome, where hee was miraculously created *ex nihilo*, then what gadding, what gazing, what prostration, to receive but one drop of that sacred deaw! The least flash of light from the snuffe of a Roman lamp, out-shines and eclipseth all the twinkling petty sparks of the Church of England. Strange it is, that any of our nation should so basely degenerate, as to captivate their wits, wils and spirits, to such a foraine idoll gull, composed of palpable fiction and diabolical fascination; whose enchanted chalice of heathenish drugges and Lamian superstition, hath the power of Circes and Medæas cup, to metamorphize men into bayards and asses. The silly, doting Indian nation, fall down and perform divine adoration to a rag of red cloth. The fond and brainesick Papists of our nation doo little lesse, when they adore the very cope and vestments (belonging to bishops and inferior priests) where they lie alone, falling down to them, and kissing them.

Damanus à Goes, *de mor. Gent. l.* 1.

But to view their new-intruding hierarchy a little neerer: Me thinks, the ministers of the province of Canterbury, now meeting in convocation, are very forgetfull, in suffering themselves to be destitute of a worthy member, the new-stampt Archdeacon of

The new Archdeacons of London and Lancashire.

London, M. Collington; who, by the experience he hath had in exercising jurisdiction over his fellow priests, as also in conventing the laicks, is able, if hee were called by authority to the synod, to give very good advice for reformation, or deformation of the Church of England, and laying it under the Popes sacred foot. The like defect also is in the province of York, by the absence of the Archdeacon of Lancaster, M. Clifton. No doubt, these two new chips, cloven out of the old block of Rome, are the onely sound timber to build up our church, or rather to make worm-woodden images, for besotted laicks to adore. I now hasten to acquaint you with another of their tales, and it is a crafty one.

Thomas Lee, *in Tract. de Invocat. et adorat. Sanctor.* Cap. 14. p. 212.

"A poore old man in Rome, lost his upper garment; and being unable to buy another, he came to the shrine of the twenty martyrs, and prayed alowd unto them to help him to rayments. At his departure, hee met with one at the very church dore, a priest, who delivered unto him, from the Pope, a purse, that had in it to the value of some twenty pound in silver. The poore man amazed, and not knowing what he meant, having never before in all his life-time had the carriage of so much money; the priest told him, our holy father, the Pope, commanded me to deliver it unto the next man I met going into the church-dore, who shall have need of it, and bid him still pray to the martyrs. The poore man returned joyfully to his home, and ever after visited the place once a-day."

Risum teneatis, Amici?

I see no reason why this should come into the legend of strange narrations, for that the Popes eares might easily bee so long, by the priests information, without any inspiration from heaven, as to take notice of the poore mans desire, who (belike) was not so cold for want of his coat, as hee was warme with zeale, to cry aloud for a new. But this by the way. I learne the Popes price of martyrs, namely, that they are worth pounds a-piece. Well might the Pope have rated them at a higher value, when as he yeerely, nay daily, getteth farre more in their names, by bartering their pretended supererogations of martyrs and saints.

Richard Stanihurst, in the Preface of his book, intituled, The Principles of Catholique Religion.

"In the yeere of our Lord 1612, one Lucia, an Italian virgin, came to a town called Multavia, in Bohemia, where is taught the Waldensian doctrine, first preached to them by one John Hus, and by him generally received, whereby the traditions of the Romane Church are at this day there utterly neglected. This virgin understanding of divers their strange opinions, that they denied purgatory, prayer for the dead, benedictions, and hallowings of water, the observing of fasting daies, and the like; she spake somewhat disgracefully of their religion; whereupon, shee was adjudged and appointed by the magistrate, to be burned in a field neere unto the towne where shee then remained. But the maid not willing to bee led by them unto the place of execution, they began to tie ropes about her, and so to force her along; but she often crossing herselfe, and invocating the Blessed Virgin, Mother of God, could not bee remooved by the strength of ropes, or oxen, or any power they used.

"At length shee vanished from them, and by a miracle was brought unto a nunnery, about an hundred miles off that place, where, to this day, shee liveth to praise God for her deliverance."

Hee that made this tale, had a chimæra in his brain.

Desinet in piscem mulier formosa supernè.

Vid. Livium.

Hee had heard of an old fable of the Gentiles, of the image of Cybele, that was to bee brought into the city of Rome, but by no means would it stirre, though drawne with ropes, till there came a vestall virgin, that with her girdle drew it after her. This botcher patcheth such a one together, and fittens; that in stead of an immoveable image drawne by a virgin, here is a virgin that could not be drawne like the image. And so hee got a piece of bread and cheese, and came away.

A tale to some such purpose, is repeated of one Clarence, a sacred virgin, by the said author, the one as well to bee beleeved as the other: yet of both I say to the relator, Stanihurst. *ut sup.*

Cui tua non odium, vel cui portenta cachinnum
Non moveant posthac, is mihi prodigium est.

"One George Sephocard, a Scottish Protestant, happened to travaile into France, with a brother of his, where, seeing them one day goe in procession, this George scoffed at them, but accordingly he was rewarded; for presently he fell to a pitifull screeching, and so died. The night after his death, John Sephocard, his brother and companion into that country, had a pitifull vision. He thought he saw a thousand divels in hideous and ugly shapes, tormenting his dead brother. But he, having had a faire warning thereby, changed his former religion and course of life, and became Catholick." F. Baker in his Watchword, p. 20.

Heere is a procession of lies, one after another, *ordine longo*. But yet, that a man should smile at their procession, is not strange; nor that he should die, no marvell; nor that another should dream, no great wonder; but they had best take heede, how they apply these narrations of unexpected deaths, lest the story of Blackfriers be aswell inverted upon them.

"Oswald Mulser, in the county of Tiroll, near Oënipont, would not be contented but with a priestly host; hee received it no sooner into his mouth, but hee beganne to sink into the ground, which swallowed him alive." Fitz-Simon in Justification and Exposition of the Sacrifice of the Masse, p. 100.

This is a meere fiction, intended for the magnifying of the priesthood; it is the steme of their impious policy, *ad terrorem incutiendum, et fucum faciendum populo;* to gull, terrifie, and amaze the simple ignorant people, and for bringing them into admiration of their priesthood, the sanctity of their attire, and the divine potencie of their sacrifice; by this means to inchant and bewitch their innocent simple soules, and so to offer them up for a prey to their great idol at Rome. Surely our Saviour Christ ate of the same he gave to his disciples: but our sublimated priests will have finer bread then is made of wheat. I marvel none of our people in England sink into the ground, for daring to eate of the same bread with the minister.

"Francis Xavier, apostle of the East Indies, and Jesuite, as often as hee extraordinarily travelled in the Indies, so often did a crucifixe in Spaine, in his parents house, sweat. At length, when the B. Bauiere dyed, the aforesaid crucifixe, during a yeere after, did every Friday sweat bloud." Hen. Fitz-Simon in Lib. prædict. p. 123.

He had read, belike, the verse of the poet:

In templis sudavit ebur, pecudesque loquutæ infandum.

Or it may very well savour of some Ignatian fraud, as Anno 36 of Henry the Eighth, a priest did pronounce at Pauls crosse, and there confessed in publick, that he himselfe saying masse, pricked his finger, and bebloudied the corporas with the altar-clothes, purposing to make the people beleeve, that the host had bled miraculously.

"One Epachius, a priest, on Christmas Eve, being at mattens, resorted often to his owne house to drink, even after midnight, whereby hee was made incapable to receive the blessed sacrament on Christmas-day, as having, in the beginning thereof, at midnight, broken the fast. The chiefe of the towne beeing allied to him, not knowing of such his intemperance, desired him to sing masse. He, as he was presumptuous, undertook to celebrate. But as he received the heavenly host, suddenly he beganne to ney like a horse, to tumble and wallow on the ground, to foame at the mouth, and to deliver up the blessed sacrament, which he was not able to swallow; upon the disgorging of which, it was seene to be carried away visibly in the aire. The priest beeing in *Surius in vita S. Godefridi, l. 3. c. 12.*

this plight, he was by his kindred borne out of the church, remaining subject to the falling sicknesse all his life."

It seemes to me no more strange now to heare of a drunken priest, of the Jesuiticall fraternity, than when I read *Petrus Cluniacensis Abbas*, his book: in which hee reports, of some forty and odde Benedictin Monks, and Dominican Friers, that were most famous and notorious letchers; and Bredenbachius hath a catalogue of others, who were conjurers: *Thomas à Cantriprato*, of divers others, who were very wicked and carnall, one of which had his mouth and nose putrified, that none could abide to look on him; another of which, a fire from heaven consumed his hands and armes to his cubits, during his being at the altar. *Petrus Damianus*, a Jesuite, reporteth of six other priests that were Sodomites; one of which was hideously deformed with a canker; another devoured of a wilde beast, and the rest miserably ended their daies. All this is storied by their own writers.

Lib. 2. c. 2.

Lib. 1. collat. sacr. c. 13. et 45. Th. à Cantip. l. 2. de proprietat. Apum, part. 6. cap. 40.

Pet. Dam. spec. exempt. D. 1. F. 77.

Severall miracles have been done in England and elsewhere, saith F. Richard Conway, the Jesuite, by the honouring of saints reliques; which Protestants (saith he) will not heed.

Rich. Conway in Apol. p. 281.

"One M. Anderton, a Lancashire gentleman, was cured of the stone, by the relicks he had of F. Campian, the blessed saint; and beeing afterwards of another disease laid out for dead *(ut ei jam pollices ligarentur)* that his thumbs were bound, by the help of the said martyr, his flesh being laid on his body, he was raised to life."

This is like unto divers the blasphemous fables which you shal finde in the Revelations of Saint Bridget, lib. 4.; or like that of Vegas the Frier, in comment. in cap. 6. Apoc. Aug. de vera relig. Gregor. hom. 29. in Evang. Paul. Bombin. in vit. Mart. Campian.

What prodigies are these! What horrible impieties! Are they not *Antichristi* and *Pseudo-christi*, that breathe out these damnable forgeries? that shame not to affirm, that the bones of a traytor can raise a dead man, as did Elizeus his bones? or that the flesh of Campian could perform that which was so much admired in our Saviour himselfe, when he was amongst us in the flesh? How can they but blush at these things? When Father Campian came an apostle into England, there was an earthquake (say they) and so there might well bee. Nay, the great bell of Westminster toll'd of itselfe. But that I thinke is a lowd-ringing lye. When Father Campain was arraigned, Judge Aleph his finger burst out a bleeding through his glove, Thames overflowed, and divers other observations have our imposturizing renagadoes. But those saltlesse gulleries are no whit answerable to this their villainous and prophane fiction. If M. Anderton were thus strangely raised, it is marvell his friends in Lancashire speake not of it, with many of whom I conversed, and am sure (had it bin true) would have recited this tale in their discourse. Again, if reliques bee thus powerfull, I wonder they had not tryed, and brought some of them for the reviving of their priests, or any other of them that were killed at the Blackfriers; or why made they not use of some of them for the curing of Lady Blackstones, and such as were, by the mischance at the Blackfriers, sore wounded?

Campians saintship (sure) came but from Tiburn.[1] And yet what admirable vertue doe our Papists conceive to bee in the poore reliques of Story, Felton, Sommervile, Arden, Parry, Lopez, Garnet, Campian, and the rest of that saint-traitorly crue? The very paring of their nails doth help to doo miracles. Their pictures are so sanctified, that they are hung over the altars. And I much marvell, there were never strange wonders performed by the wood of the tree at Tiburn, considering it hath beene blessed by some of their sacred bodies, and bedewed with their last spritefull breath. But did you never heare of Campians girdle that hee wore? Then reade one Edmunds, his book of miracles, and that will tell you strange newes: *Hierosolyma (inquit) bene novit, ad quem pertinuit: Tiburnus non ignorat, qui locus erat ubi Pater ipse Campianus martyrio coronatus erat*: Jerusalem (quoth hee) knowes the girdle; for it girded about the se-

Campians girdle.

[1] For the history of Campion, and the particulars of his execution, see Vol. I. p. 210. He came with Parsons to publish the Bull against Elizabeth, but was not so fortunate as to escape the search made after him.

pulchre of our Saviour. Tiburne knowes it, the place where Father Campian received his crowne of martyrdome; yea, saith he further, and the divels knowe it, who detest all such manner of geere, and whom it hath vexed so sore, that it hath put them to extreme torments. This girdle cured lepers, the blinde, the dumb, all manner of diseases. If the girdle that imbraced onely his bare apparell, could doo such miracles, what then should I think of the rope that imbraced Father Campian's holy neck? yet I heare of no wonders done by that. The besotted Ægyptians, that kissed, with earnest devotion, the asse upon which the idoll Isis sate; and the lymphaticall priests of Baal, that lanced their owne flesh before an idoll of wood, had as much religion, and I think more wit, than our moderne reliquesauers have. God hath given them over to the spirit of illusion, to beleeve unsavory lies. Hee that sits in the heavens, laughs them to scorne. Psal. Almighty God, with his angels and saints, will have them (these mis-shapen monsters) in derision.

"A virgin, a kinswoman of mine, saith Conway, an English priest, was freed from the divell, by anointing herselfe with oyle, into which another priest that prayed for her, had mingled his teares." Conway in *Apol.* p. 290.

I think of late daies, our Romish priests have wept too little, and laught too much: and that is the reason we are pestred with more fiends, than friends. But when the long vacation is passed, and legall terme come in, we shall, I hope, have fewer of them come over. This covey of night-birds may shrowd themselves warme under the gentle wings of their holy father at Rome. I am sure, as yet they play the bats and moles with some of our countrymen, either trenching themselves in the mines of their labyrinths at home, or masking in their gold and silver abroad, in the fashion of brave gallants and ruffians. If, about Bloomesbury or Holborne, thou meet a good snug fellow in a gold-laced suit, a cloke lined thorow with velvet, one that hath good store of coin in his purse, rings on his fingers, a watch in his pocket, which he will valew at above 20 pounds, a very broad-laced band, a stilletto by his side, a man at his heeles, willing (upon small acquaintance) to intrude into thy company, and still desiring further to insinuate with thee; then take heed of a Jesuite, of the prouder sort of priests. This man hath vowed poverty. Feare not to trust him with thy wife; he hath vowed also chastity.

How to kenne or smell a priest.

One of them had such a watch, which he prized higher in my hearing.

But are priests teares so precious, that they are an antidote against the poison of divels? Oh yes; who knowes not that there is admirable power in a priests breath, his gloves, his hose, his girdle, his shirts, to scortch the divell; in his albe, his amice, his maniple, and his stole, to whip and plague the divell? Or hath none read of the dreadfull power of holy-water, hallowed candles, frankincense, brimstone, the book of exorcismes, and the holy potion, to scald, broile, and to sizle the devill? of the dreadfull power of the crosse, and sacrament of the altar, to torment the divell, and to make him roare? If any think these strange, I referre him to a book written by D. Harsenet, now Bishop of Norwich, the title whereof I have set in the margent; and you shall finde, that one Father Edmunds, *alias* Weston, F. Dibdale, F. Thomson, F. Stemp, F. Tyrell, F. Dryland, F. Tulice, F. Sherwood, F. Winkefield, F. Mud, F. Dakins, and F. Ballard, priests and Jesuites, have stoutly and strongly confirmed all this long since. If the book cannot easily be gotten, I wish it might be imprinted again, for that the priests exorcising power is there fully discovered; and I have heard, that the most of these books which were formerly printed, were bought up by Papists, who (no question) took so much delight in reading them, that they burned as many as they could possibly get of them. But, to acquaint you with the strange power of a Catholique priests breath: Pliny, in his Naturall Story, tells us of a certaine people, that do *anhelitu oris enecare homines*, kill men with the breath that comes from their mouthes. And Leno, in the comedy, is noted to be of so strong a breath, that he had almost blowne downe the young gallant that stood in his way: but the poets tell us, that Avernus, or

A declaration of egregious Popish impostures, to withdraw the hearts of his majesties subjects from their allegiance, and from the truth of Christian religion, *vid.* c. 14, 15, 16, 18, and 20.

I think they do so with this book of mine: for the first impression, consisting of 1500, is vanished in a week.

and now I sweat under the presse again.

hel, hath a more deadly breathing than all; so, as if a bird doo by chance flee over the Stygian floud, shee is quelled with the smell, and fals down stark dead. Now, the company of priests, for potency of breath doo put downe Leno, hell, the divell and all; for, the divell, who can well enough indure the lothsome odors and evaporations of hell, is not able to endure the vapour issuing from the mouth of a priest, but had rather go to hell than abide his smell. And hence it is (I think) that, in their baptizing of children, the priest breathes and spets into the mouth of the child; which (no doubt) is very soveraigne, especially if the priests lungs bee but a little ulcerated or pockified. One William Trayford, and Sarah Williams (as you shall reade in Bishop Harsnet's book, p. 71.) beeing possessed, Trayfords divell rebounded at the dint of the priests breath, and was glad to get him out at Trayford's right eare, like a mouse, rather than he would come out jump against the priests mouth. Sarah Williams lay past all sense in a transe, beeing utterly bereaved of all her senses at once: the priest no sooner came neer her, but she discerned him by the smell. Was not this a jolly rank smell? Yea; but this is but a flea-biting to the priests gloves, his hose, his girdle, his shirts, which had in them a dreadfull power to burne out a divell, nay, all the devils in the parties aforesaid possessed. Which divels, because the priests knew so well their names, shall not heer go uncited: Lustie Dick, Killico, Hob, Corner-cap, Puffe, Purre, Frateretto, Fliberdigibbet, Haberdicut, Cocabatto, Maho, Kellicocam, Wilkin, Smolkin, Lusty Jolly Jenkin, Portericho, Pudding of Thame, Pour-dieu, Bonjour, Motubizanto, Nur, Bernon, Delicate.[a] The chief of these divels, when one of the priests gloves was put upon the possessed's hands, durst not abide, but was scared, and went straight away. One of the great divels was slipt, ere he was aware, into Sarrah Williams legge; where, finding himself caught within the priests hose, which shee had on, he plunges and tumbles like a salmon taken in a net, and cries, *Harroho,* out alas! pull off, pull off; ease the poore divell of his pain (oh, a goodly ginne to catch a woodcock withall.) O but let me tell you of another trick, though not so cleanly as I could wish. One Fid (landresse to the divels incarnate) was washing a buck of foule clothes; amongst which was one of the priest-exorcists shirts. The divell comes sneaking behinde her, trips up her heeles, and pitcheth her on her hip. And wot you why the divell played her this unmannerly trick? Because she was washing out a foule shirt of one of the priests, which afterward served to whip the divell out of one of the possessed. There are yet other anti-dæmoniacks of speciall account, which, in the divell-hunting sport, are in stead of little beagles to fill up the cry. And there are the Amice, the Albe, and the holy Stole; very scorpions and whips indeed; and therefore beware, divell. F. Edmunds no sooner laid the amice upon Sarah Williams face, but a spirit puffed at it, and could not endure to let it alone. The sacred stole was but wound about anothers neck that was possessed, and it so pent and begirt the divell, that he stared, fumed and fomed, as he had been stark mad; and, in the end, was squeezed out with pure violence, as water out of a squirt. An heroicall combate was performed between Maho, one of the divels, and the priest, during seven houres long. Maho the divell stood upon his guard, would not come in. He was summoned by the priest, first, with *Salve Regina* and *Ave Maria;* then with Mengus club, with his whip,[b] with holy-water. Maho stood out, till the priest prepared himself to afflict him with the maniple; and then he came in, and yeelded to parley or dialogue with the priest in a milde and temperate

Ovid. Virgil. Homer.

Mengus the canonist giveth us a rule, that if the divell be stubborn, and will not obey the formidable exorcism of the priest, then that the priest shall *os suum quamproximè ad energumenum admovere.*

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[a] Some of these epithets, which the priests and the impostors whom they had tutored, bestowed upon the possessing Dæmons, serve to adorn the gibberish of Edgar, while personating the character of Mad Tom. So strong was the belief in possession, that all the ordinary effects of Epilepsy, Hypochondria, or mental derangement, were, without hesitation, referred to the agency of the devil. Even the miseries of the strolling Bedlamite was not sufficient to attract compassion, unless he was persecuted by the foul fiend. It has been reasonably supposed, that the Dæmonologie of the reigning monarch went no little way in propagating a delusion which often led to the most horrible consequences.

[b] A Book of Exorcisms, called *Flagellum Dæmonum.*

voice. See the puissance of the Catholique Romish Church, whose silliest rag hath power to change the divels roaring note, and to cause him to speak in a milde moderate key. *Latet anguis in herbâ*: a man would little suspect, when he meets with the amice, the stole, and the maniple, wound up in a little casket, that there were such black hel-metall within them, to excoriate and lancinate a divell.

All these tricks and many more were acted at Denham, in Buckinghamshire, about the yeere 1590.

But I conclude: *Nisi næniis, tricis et puppis usa esset Roma, pœnas jam diu dedisset:* If it were not for puppets, apes-faces, and gawds, with which Rome allures, masks, and disguises the poor silly people, she had long since sung the dolefull song mentioned in holy writ; *Desolatione magna desolata est, et turpitudo ejus gentibus revelata;* that is, she had been clean desolate, and her turpitude had been opened to the eyes of all the world. As for all the tricks and juggling shifts (so often discovered) which the priests these exorcists do use; the exorcist driving the divell within the lists of the possessed body, with come aloft, jack-an-apes, from one part to another; to what end doo all these their dealings tend, but to this project, that the standers-by may be persuaded of some point of Popery, or of the priests power over the divels?

If any Christian in these daies hath been truely and really possessed by the divell, and if the Romish priests have truely such a scourging power to whip out divels, why use they it not effectually when most need is? For example: There was one M. Blewet, a man of great revenues, and one M. Fowell, a man no lesse famoused, both of which either were or seemed to be indivelled. How often had they beene exorcized in this kingdom, by Francis Kemp, by Philip Woodward, by F. Edmunds, by F. Campian, by F. Sherwin, by F. Hil, by F. Walpool, and divers others, but especially F. Collington, and F. Warmington, who often promised they would make the divel speak in M. Blewet, and M. Fowell? But as those two had many sweating combates heere in England, so had they tormentings at Loretto, Sichem, Lile, Lovaine, Doway, and elsewhere beyond the seas; and all the consolation which they found, was to returne worse, and farther from hope of deliverance, then when they went. The Popish sanctuaries rather added strength to the divels. And yet our Popish Thrasonicall priests will brag and boast that they can tosse a divell like a tennis-ball, or a dog in a blanket; whereat they are very nimble, especially in a possesed woman, in whose body they can canvas a divell by contrectation and certaine inchanting nips, making him ferret up and downe, from tongue to toe, from toe back againe to finger. Oh the formidable magicall power of sacred anointed hands, not onely infusing chastity but also sanctity by their touch!

I could heere set foorth another theatre of their exorcising plots and attempts, to weet their practising with Grace Sowrebuts of Salmisburie, in the county of Lancaster; whom one Thomson *alias* Southworth, a priest, caused to accuse Jennet Bierly, Helen Bierly, and Jane Southworth, (the one of them her grandmother) of witchcraft, of the killing of the childe of Thomas Walshman, with a naile in the navil, the boyling, eating and oyling, thereby to transforme themselves into divers shapes: all which, at the Assises holden at Lancaster, prooved to be false; and the said Grace Sowrebuts confessed, that she was persuaded and counselled to accuse the said parties of witchcraft, by M. Thomson, alias, M. Christopher Southworth, a priest, who complotted this, to gaine to himselfe some credit by exorcizing, or unwitching her. This confession of Grace Sowrebuts, with the examination of others, who discovered the priests impious dealings, was taken before William Leigh, batchelor in Divinity, and Edward Chisnall, Esquire, two of his majesties Justices of Peace in that county.[1] Sure, these juggling exorcismes are but ordinary with priests and Jesuites: but such a malicious

This was done about 14 yeeres ago.

The examinations were put since in print by Thomas Pots, Esquire.

[1] The whole proceedings in this remarkable case are printed at length in "The Wonderful Discovery of Witches in the County of Lancaster, &c. being the next Tract in this Collection. Besides the accusations mentioned above, she alledged, that on her road from Preston, she was tempted by her grand-mother, Jennet Bierly, first in her

and bloudy project of subornation, must bee a master-trick of some sublimed spirit, fit to instruct a novice assassine, and to read a lecture in the Jesuites dark chamber of meditation.

The boy of Bilson.

For the next unmasking of our mirabilaries, I might adde the narration of certaine priests practising with the boy of Bilson, *anno* 1621. whose name was William Perry, sonne of Thomas Perry of Bilson, in the county of Stafford. But because there hath beene so lately a true discovery of the notorious impostures of certaine Romish priests, in their pretended exorcisme or expulsion of the divell out of the said young boy, I referre you to Mr Rich. Baddeley his book upon that occasion written, and I entreat you to consider, whether they deserve not the reputation of the rarest mounte-banks of these times. [a] *Quam falsa dicendo voluptatem ceperint, eandem vera legendo et audiendo ammittant.*

In præfat. lib. prædict.

Two maids possest with the Virgin Mary, Michael the Arch-angell, &c.

About some seven yeeres since, two Catholique maids, forsooth the one called Mary, the other Amye, resorting to the Gatehouse in Westminster, took such benefit by the priests conversation with them, beeing sometimes sequestered from all the world besides, that they were cast into extaticall raptures, and possessed, not with divels, as the vulgar sort of those that undergoe the priests hands, but with heavenly and glorious guests, pretended to enter into them, and inhabit them, to the great admiration of the stupid, gullifyed, Romanizing beholders; and to the no small renowne of the spirituall fathers then present; F. Benet, F. Aston, F. Palmer, F. Hanz. In very deed-law, they were somtimes possest with the Virgin Mary, other-while with Saint Michael the archangell, Saint John the Baptist, M. Molineux the martyr, and M. Roberts the martyr, and divers other, as well masculine as feminine saints; and in the name of these saints did give blessings to such as were present. The substance of which narration hath beene, upon the examination of one of their exorcists, confessed. Yet when this was blowne abroad, and began to breede scandall unto the Catholique cause, one of the maydes gave over her pretended guest, and the other was secretly conveyed away.

Two Tiburn-martyrs.

One Hanz, *alias* Hance, possessed with the blessed Trinitie.

One of the forenamed priests calling himselfe Edward Hanz, *alias* Hance, borne at Lutterworth in Leicestershire, had a tricke beyond all his fellowes, and durst aspire so high as to pretend himselfe to bee cast into a deepe admirable extasie, and to be corporally possessed *(horesco referens)*, with the blessed Trinity. Neither was hee more abominably knavish in this his impudency, then some of his owne coate were there blockishly foolish in their credulity. For some of them, when he acted this his Trinitarian rapture, came and kneeled to him, bringing oblations *triplici numero*, to present unto the Trinity, inhabiting this mounte-banke. Among which gifts presented by these lozels, one was gold coine, an oblation never unacceptable to those that pretend *creare Creatorem.* That it is no fiction in me to relate this their fiction, may appeare by the examination of the said Hanz, taken July 5. 1616. before the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Bishops of London, Lincolne, Rochester, Lichfield, the Deane of

own shape, and afterwards in that of a dog, to drown herself, in a pit of water which they were passing; but that, one came to her in a white sheet, and carried her away from the said pit, whereupon the dog vanished. Two witnesses were brought forward to swear, that Sir John Southworth, a kinsman of Jane Southworth's husband, believed her to be a witch, and avoided her in consequence of that belief. The reason which the girl alleged to have instigated the seminary priest to lay this plot against the poor women, was their conversion to the Church of England.

[a] This was a boy of fifteen years, at Bilson in Staffordshire, who, instigated by the Jesuits, counterfeited all sorts of convulsions, and publicly accused an old woman of having bewitched him, who was accordingly condemned to die. Bishop Morton, however, obtained a reprieve for her, and took the boy home; he read to him out of the Greek Testament, which threw him into violent fits. But the Bishop perceiving that verses out of the Greek poets had the same effect, was convinced of the imposition, and applied various kinds of torture to bring him to confess, which the boy bore with great firmness. At last it was perceived that he tinged his urine with ink; upon which discovery he divulged the whole plot, and by whom he had been instigated to act the part of a person possessed.

Westminster, and Sir W. Bird, doctor of the law: before whom he denieth not such his rapture and possession. For being then demanded, whether hee ever tooke on him to be possessed with the blessed Trinity, saying of himselfe, "I God the Father, that made the world, I God the Son, that redeemed the world, I God the holy Ghost, that sanctified the world, the glorious, blessed and undivided Trinity, doe give you my blessing, and doe command you to adore me:" And being further asked, whether some that were present did not adore him, and some other refused: hee answered, "That once or twice when hee was about those actions, or in the interim of them, he was in a transe, and his soule did see very supernaturall and admirable joyes: and then whether God Almighty or an angell (he will not meddle with it, but referreth it to God Almighty and his church) spake in name of God and the blessed Trinity, and gave a blessing, and that himselfe at those times had no power in himselfe, but that the organs of his body were used to a supernaturall purpose, and by a Divine or supernaturall cause: And as God did cause the aire to speake, in giving downe the law, saying, I am the Lord thy God; and did cause Balaams asse to utter words: so he might cause the organs of this examinates body to speake as best pleased the will of his Divine Majesty: and the truth of the whole action, hee doth referre to God Almighty and his Church. And he doth say further for his part, that no humane person whatsoever living can use the name of the blessed Trinity; saying, I the blessed Trinity blesse you, without sinne, unlesse God Almighty do take the creature, and speake in him: and then it is Gods owne word, and not the word of the party. But touching adoration, there was no commandement of it to his remembrance: and if any did it, it was no more then due to the eternall Trinity, who may be adored in all places."

Verbatim, out of the examination.

This Hans with his cogging transe, is so bold and blasphemous, as to allude unto S. Pauls rapture. 2 Cor. 12. 3.

This imposture, though never so odious and blasphemous, yet flew abroad, and was by some fostered as a true miracle. For confirmation whereof, report was added, that this holy priest thus possessed by the Trinity, walking up and downe the streets daily amongst the hereticks, yet none of them had the power to apprehend or lay hands on him.

Apoc. 13. 6.

It was foretold by Saint John, that their adulterous mother should have her mouth full of blasphemies; which to her shame, we doe now observe. And according to that of the apostle, "The Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times, some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils, speaking lies in hypocrisie, having their consciences seared with an hot iron:" which being the property of false prophets, it is more then manifest, who are specified, especially if we ponder those words of the apostle, "Such should forbid marriage, and command men to abstaine from meats," &c.

1 Tim. 4. 1, 2, 3.

To these two last blasphemies, it will not be amisse to adde what our Papists report of Katharine of Sienna. She, forsooth, and Christ Jesus, by an admirable kind of permutation, did enterchange their hearts; so that Christ had the heart of Katharine, and Katharine, that of Christ. Oh you ignorant and desperately superstitious Pontificians, who justifie this fable! Observe you not? understand you not, that this miraculous chaffering of hearts subverteth a very principle of Christian religion, received also by your selves, which is, that *quod Christus semel assumpsit, nunquam dimisit*, what Christ did once assume, (to weet, by hypostaticall union), he never left the same.

In vit. Sanct. Katharin. de Sienna.

I cannot by the way omit a fantasticall relation of the Papists, which I read in Baronius, how the Virgin Mary visited Fulbert in his sicknes, and gave him her brests to sucke, much comforting him thereby. I beleeve, there escaped at that time some drops of milke from Fulbertus his lips, he having forgot to sucke, and doing it slubberingly and slovenly, and those driveling droppes are they which are kept in a silver image of the Virgin Mary, in her church at Rhemes, and are there worshipped.

Quære Baron. *An.* 1028. *ff.* 5.

There was of late, viz *anno* 1621, one imprisoned, either in the Gate-house or New-

prison, who called himselfe Thomas Newton: he pretended, he had a vision by night of the Virgin Mary appearing unto him, and saying, "Newton, see that thou doe not take the oath of allegeance." And being of this publikely examined, at the commission table, and asked, how hee knew it to bee the Virgin Mary which appeared? he answered, "I knew it was shee: for, shee appeared unto me in the forme of her assumption." Of what nature that idle vision was, the reader may finde in Master Widrington, who handleth the same, and doth in part discover the vanity thereof. A prettie drowsie, lowsie, loseling argument this was against taking the oath, much like the motives and proofes of the olde leaden friers for worshipping of their images, and contributing to their cormorant corban. And yet such muddie forgeries, and dog-tricke inventions, are vouchsafed to bee boulstred out now adayes by our superlative refined masters. Since I heard thereof, I asked a priest, what he thought of this vision of Newtons. He told me, that this Newton was a very holy man, and hath had other visions besides that, which if he should repeate, would make a man tremble and quake. "Hereticks (quoth he) have no such visions and heavenly apparitions." It is not obscure whom he meant by the word hereticks: and if he meane us Protestants, who have more reason to invert the phrase upon them; sure, we are not such listners to miracles. *Prodigia nulla facimus: signa nulla edimus:* wee worke no wonders, wee shew no visions, as Acosta a Jesuite of theirs asseverently delivereth concerning their owne Popish priests and apostles of the Indians.

Vide High Commission Records.

M. Rich.

Accost. *Jes. de salut. Indor. l 4.*

Our Saviour Christ himself (as Saint Augustine observeth) hath given us a caution against these miracle-mongers, willing us to take heed that we be not deceived. Yea, their owne preacher Stella, whom of late time they have gelt, as they doe other their writers, when they meete with any thing that makes not for their turne, entering into this contemplation, taught publikely, that miracles now would rather be an hinderance unto faith.

Aug. Tract. 13. in Joh. 3. Marke 16. 5.

Stel. *in* Luc. 11.

"Katherine de Bus, dwelling in the city of Lile, in the countie of Flanders, in the yeare 1602, was possessed of the devill; insomuch that she could be scarce a quarter of an houre in peace, without being seized upon and troubled by the enemy: which made her speake (to the purpose) divers sorts of languages; as Hebrew, Greeke, and Latine. When they came neere unto her with the blessed sacrament of the altar, she writhed and wrested herselfe strangely, both with her legs, armes, and backe, gnashing her teeth, and grizly drawing of her mouth. The parents of this wench laboured so much, that she was divers times exorcised, sometimes by certaine fathers of the order of the Capuchins, sometimes by other priests: unto whom the wicked spirits answered in divers languages, confessing at that time, that they were seven in number. They spake divers injurious things, and told the faults of divers that were present. No means could bee used for the casting out of these wicked fiends, till there was found a man that was come from Montague, and had brought with him a piece of the oke of our lady. Whereupon one Sir Silvester Dennys, who came to see her, tooke the said piece, and made the patient to eat it: and immediately after she had swallowed it, the enemy (who called himselfe Houilliu Clicquet and Clinquart) shewed himselfe in her throat, crying out, that he scorched and burned because of the wood which was eaten: and he added, that he was compelled to depart, and that there remayned in her as yet three. And being demanded, by whose merit and intercession he was to depart; the wicked spirit answered, Of Mary of Montague. Afterwards being demanded, what signe hee would give of his departure, he said, Hee would burst a glasse of the church-window. And immediately after, two of them departed with the said signe of bursting the glasse; and the third, saying that he was the last of ten, cried out, (in going forth) with a loud voice, *Vive N. Dame de Montague, qui nous faict sortir:* Honour be to our Lady of

Montague, who maketh us to depart. And from that day afterwards, the said Katharine remained whole and perfectly free from the possession and vexation of the enemy, injoying all her limmes and senses, as freely as ever she did before:" *In lib. intit.* Miracles lately wrought by the intercession of the glorious Virgin Mary at Montague; and translated out of the French into English, by Robert Chambers, priest, pag. 209, 210. *et seq.*

This buzzing relation, penned and published by the priests themselves, is suteable and (in a sort) parallel to that which Brerely tels us of divers who were dispossessed of devils, by kissing of the altar and the priests vesture. But I will cap this tale with a fresh bleeding new story, fetcht not farre without the walles of London.

A certaine Catholick collapsed lady (whose name I spare, for the respect I beare to her best friends) about some two or three yeeres since, departed from her husband yet living, and went over to Bruxels, and was admitted into the order of nunnery, I meane a nume at large, one of the uncloystered sisters of the order of St Clare, and there she remained a while, till there appeared in her some passion incompatible with nunship. Shee came over into England a companion with a religious Jesuit, since of great note, F. D. and remaining afterwards an inlarged nun in London, was, as it seemeth, more visibly taken with a disease befalling that sexe, called *flatus uterinus:* and thereupon, that this matter might be carried the more cleanly, it was given out, that she was possessed with an evill spirit, which did make her belly swell like a woman with child. Certaine it is, many were deluded by this occasion; and the practice of the priests to hide her blemish, and gull poore people, was lewd and abominable. For a certaine Jesuite, whom I could also name, being a smug, spruce, liquorish, young fellow, a fit man to bee called father (forsooth) at every word, and of no high stature; and so, fit to bee a disguised Olimpio, to act the part of Casina in Plautus, or to act a womanized Chærea in Terence his Eunuchus, put on the ladies or such like womanish apparell, with a veile over his face: and that some fond ignaro's about the towne might be persuaded of the priests power for the casting out of devils, they were suffered to come to her chamber, where were two other Jesuits, provided for the purpose, to act their parts in this comedie; who no sooner fell to their prayers, and began to use their exorcizing spels, but thereupon the supposed lady began to utter her mind both in Italian, Latin and Greeke; and pretended Hebrew also, which much astonished the standers by, they little dream ing of this deceit. Neither was this all; I will yet proceed farther in this comical narration. *

F. T.

One of these, namely, F. D. about halfe a yeere after, was a chiefe actor in a true lamentable tragedy, yet memorable by a downfall.

* We must not suppose, that this melancholy and degrading superstition was peculiar to the Church of Rome. The following singular extract, from the works of a learned and pious divine, furnishes a strange example to the contrary, and shews that the mode of exorcizing alluded to in the text, was occasionally practised by the Protestants. " In Bewdly, a sanguine strong maid fell into strange histerical fits. It began by stoppage of the *menstrua.* I gave her castory and *Rad. Ostrutii,* and *Sem. Dauci* on Forestus' recommendation, and she began to be better: But I being driven out of the country by war, and Mr Robert Morton, (Dr Morton's father) their pastor and physician, driven after me to Coventry, she was left without help, and grew worse than ever; till at last, I think, by a *furor uterinus ex corruptione seminis,* she seemed possest by a devil: In her fits many could not hold her; she would be cast off her bed, and upon it again, by a force far above her strength, as the beholders judged. They shewed needles and pins, and cords brought to her, none knew how, to kill herself. A Papist coming to cure her their way, she told them of his coming far off, and laught at his holy water. In her fits she would swear, curse, and rage against any that were religious, and hugg those that were vicious, and be merry with them. Thus she continued from 1642, till 1646 and 1647. When I returned home, I went to see her, and prayed once by her, and came to see her no more. At last, my praying neighbours, encouraged by their success for others, resolved to joyn with some of Bewdley, to fast and pray by her, till she was recovered. While they were praying, she was usually in violent rage, and after thanked them; after many days, in midst of the day, whilst Mr Thomas Ware of Kederminster was praying, she fell on the floor like a block, and having lain so a while, cryed out, " He is gone; He is gone; the black dog is gone !" and she never had a fit after.

" But coming to our lecture, two miles, she was as uncomfortable as ever; crying to me, " Oh, you know not

It was wont, when an interlude was to be acted in a countrey towne, the first question that an hob-naile spectator made, before he would pay his penny to goe in, was, Whether there be a devil and a foole in the play? And if the foole get upon the devils backe, and beate him with his cox-combe till he rore, the play is compleat. Heere is foole upon foole, but *extra scenam*, off from the stage, to wit, the witlesse, gaping, admiring beleeving spectators. But to make this pageant compleat, this disguized divell must roare; and that was, by the bringing the consecrated host in a pix, and applying it under the head of this she-knave-Jesuite, or he-lubberly-lady. Then his devil-ship raves and struggles, as if hee would rather goe to hell againe, then indure the tormenting presence of the holy pix. Divers other feates were performed upon this occasion, which I will spare to declare, till I receive command on the one side, or challenge on the other.

Whether she ever heard of her selfe thus acted in her absence, I know not, but sure I have heard from a credible author, that she was active, or rather passive, in one tragicall part of this mummery; which (mee thinkes) shee should rather some other had performed it for her. Forsooth, these medicinall devil-purgers were not to seeke for the device of the consecrated potion (in imitation of that which was given to Sarah Williams at Denham, before mentioned:) this potion must make her vomit up no lesse than seven devils: and to that end, she was let downe into a darke roome, and there shut up for a time without light: and, after the operation of this devil-scowring vomit, light was let in, and seven toades shewed to her in the place, as re-gorged by her, and being no lesse then (doubtlesse) dreadfull devils.

This last circumstance I doe not averre upon knowledge, as acted by them; but rather thinke it given out by the partie and others, to pretend that some great miracles have beene wrought in her, or by her, that shee might have the better pretence to have beene resembled unto Mary Magdalen, out of whom seven devils were cast. Leaving then *in medio*, this par-breaking of crawling fiends, till I receive a more certain notice, yet well assured am I of the truth of the rest, by information from those that were very inward with the chiefe actors. And that hereupon she carrieth the name of working miracles. And indeed well may it be so said, that she and her copes-mates, the priests, doe worke miracles; for, to my understanding, it is little lesse than a miracle, that any of our nation, uncapable of Bedlam or a Bable, should be stricken with such stupiditie, as to beleeve in these jugglers, and Romish mountebanks.

If I should heere recount all the lies and tales of priests, concerning the multitudes that have been dispossessed of devils, by the helpe of a whole bevy of ladies; our Lady of Montague, our Lady of Loretto, our Lady of Hales, and our Lady of Sienna: no reasonable volume would receive or containe them. I referre him that would spend idle time in idle fables, to Robert Chambers his booke before cited, and T. P. his booke, intituled The History of our Blessed Lady of Loretto, and to Lipsius his dotages of our Lady of Hales, and of Montague, and to J. Heigham, his booke intituled, The Lady of Sienna; and you will need no other register of their impostures, no golden legend.

how bad I am!" And I ignorantly told her, what comfort her deliverance might give her: But she continued her self-accusing. But hear the worst.

"She being poor, many good people in charity looked to her in her fits: But above all, one young man, as far from being suspected of any hypocrisie, errour or vice, as any in Bewdley, was more with her than the rest: and seeing her, in her fits, toss her naked body about, she being strong and comely, his lust was provoked, which he exercised on her; but *præterjiciendo semen;* which easing her for the time, enticed him the more to do it oft, as an act of (wicked) compassion; which did but more enrage her disease. When frequency had hardened him, at last after her deliverance it was made known: And, O the advantage that Satan got by it! the sadness of those that prayed for her: So that we durst not name it as an answer of prayer, lest the mention should serve to reproach. For my part, I think that a real possession was added to the *furor uterinus*, in punishment of their sin. He married her, and professed deep repentance; but I advised them for all that, not to receive him to church communion."—BAXTER's *Certainty of the World of Spirits.* London 1691. p. 193. *et seq.*

Doting Metaphrastes, fabulous Lippoman, lying and voraginous Jacobus, superstitious Antonine, confused Vincentius, have so cloyed the dwellers upon earth with delusions and lies, that (for very shame) the Papists have exploded and pared out of their Portesses and Breviaries, many and sundry of their fabulous histories, being indeed forced thereunto by the derisions and outcries of Christians against them.

Yea, Claudius Espencæus (one of their owne) tells us that their Legends and Portesses were as full of idle vanities, as any stables could bee full of dung. What fruit was there in those things, whereof you now are ashamed? Espenc. *in* 2 *ad* Tim. *et digres.* 1 c. 1. 11. Rom. 6. 11.

And why I pray you by the same reason, and upon the same shamefull necessity, are not the rest of the like unsavoury drosse, and of scaring of lewd lies, swept away out of this and other their like bookes, or rather the pamphlets themselves cast into the fornace of expurgation or prohibition, and abolishment, that the sunne may no longer see such hideous patchery of fables fostered among Christians.

Who (mee thinkes) could bee so bewitched, as bee borne in hand, that a house was carried in the aire from Palestina to Loretto; that a Dalmatian priest comming many miles to Loretto, and carrying up with his hand his bowels quite pulled out of his belly, by one only prayer to our Lady there, was instantly healed; which is as true and trustie, as was our *Dalmatian ventriosus Marcus Antonius;* that a blockish image in a wall, doth worke as high miracles as ever were performed by the eternall Sonne of God; as in the puppetry of the images of Sichem, &c. appeareth by the particular narrations of huge, dowtie, mightie wonders done by them; that at this day are to bee seene at Amiens, at Arras, at Paris, at Rome, two heads of St John the Baptist, two tayles of our Saviours asse, the milke of our blessed Lady; that Saint Francis had the prints of our Saviours wounds, and with a prayer of his, caused a dish of roasted larkes brought to the table to bee eaten, instantly to flee away; that at the great lake of Ulster, Saint Patrick (who chased all the venome out of Ireland) is one day, by the priests, yet visible, and that they have then conference with him, as Numa had with the nymph Egeria; beside that, there is a wonder-working purgatory of his; that a Carmelite came lately to Paris, and there saying masse, every day at the elevation of the consecrated hoast, himselfe was still elevated or hoysed on cock-horse into the aire, which is very confidently reported by the priests now in London, and one of them swore to mee that hee saw it; that F. Stevens (a priest now in London) hath a crosse whereunto are affixed some reliques of a Tiburne martyr, one M. Maxfield; which crosse being stolne from him, and carried one day almost fiftie miles (as was knowne) the night following, came backe of its owne accord, and he found it in the morning under his beds head, as is most judiciously and authentically of late recorded by our aforesaid chronicler of Coxcombria to Heigham; this crosse surely must be a kinne to a stone in Anglesey, reported to bee of that propertie, that how farre soever a man carried it in the day, it would returne of it selfe at night into the island; that the very sight of Garnets straw hath made at least five hundred in our kingdome become good Catholikes; which, if it bee true, I see no reason but every thresher in England should become a Romanist, because they deale with strawes, which have as perfect an effigies of F. Garnet, as any other straw, without equivocation, ever yet had; that M. Gennings being executed at Tiburne, his bellie being opened, his bowels cut out, and his heart in the executioners hand, yet the martyr cried out, *Sancte Gregori, ora pro me;* holy Gregorie, pray for me; that the same mans holy anointed thumbe, being touched by a virgine after his death, of it selfe came off, bone and flesh, from the rest of the hand; that when one M. Dakins, a priest, executed at Tiburne, was a-dying, a certaine virgine, a kinswoman of his, though many miles remote, longing after some of the martyrs flesh, shee not knowing how to obtaine her desire, yet being full of faith, one of M. Dakins holy toes did miraculously yeeld it self into her virginal hands. (A judicious soothsayer would ghesse

T. P. p. 40. T. P. p. 181. 182.

Vid. Ful. Andros. Naucler. Costerum, *et alios.*

In the lives of the Martyrs, translated by Kinsm.

F. Sales in his Introduction to a Devout Life, Fitz-Simon *in. lib. citat.*

A Carmelite curvetting.

If any man want an hackny to carie him fiftie miles, let him hire F. Stevens galloping crosse.

Vid. The True Christian Catholike, p. 161.

Vid. a booke intit. The Life and Death of Edmund Gennings, p. 86.

Page 96. A Tale of Tom Thumb.

Heigham, *ut sup.* p. 146.

Vid. Sheld. of miracles, p. 25.

F. Parsons, a pick-locke equivocator.

that this toe had been in private much employed in tripping Sellengers round;) that Robert Parsons could make the devill speake in any English bishop or heretike whomsoever; (Doctor Sheldon protesteth, that he heard him speake the same.) That Robert Parsons being apprehended by a pursuivant at Northwich, in Cheshire, and put into a chamber, fast bolted and locked upon him, the doore did three times together miraculously, and of its own accord, flie open; that one Father Scroop, a priest, being in a gentlemans house in Lancashire, and certaine pursuivants comming to search for him, notwithstanding he was in the midst of the roume with them, yet he became invisible to the said searchers; that one Katharine Riland in London, with eating one bit of flesh forbidden by her ghostly father, was instantly choaked; that one Thomas Vincent, of London, scoffing at a priest saying masse, forthwith fell mad, and, for many dayes after, was heard pronounce no other words but these, O holy priest, O holy masse; that old F. Chambers taking the confession of a nun at Bruxels, (her name Mistresse Stan) shee was metamorphosed, and seemed unto him a flame of fire; that whensoever a certaine priest put his finger nigh Saverius his heart, there issued out bloud and water; that holy Father Philip Nerius, upon a certaine night, as he was walking, and falling into a certaine ditch, was presently caught by the haires of his head by an angel, and so delivered; that an image was crucified at Beritum, and did bleed; that the holy candle at Arras burneth perpetually, and yet is no whit wasted; that the devill held both Saint Edmunds his hands, that he could not make the signe of the crosse; that M. Christopher Cusake, an Irish Jesuite, had a crucifixe which could speake! A prating crosse is a prettier commoditie than a parret.

I thinke, sometimes visible gold will make a man invisible.

G. A. P. in his booke called The Rules of Obedience, p. 12.

G. A. P. p. 41.

F. Billingham, a priest in London, the relator.

Tursel. *vit.* Saver. l. 6. c. 4. Bar *in ann.* 1550.

Baron. *in Annot. in Martyrolog. Rom. Novemb.* 9. *In vit.* Edmund Tho. Messengam in his protest, p. 162.

Are these gracelesse saltlesse gulleries either to be beleeved or countenanced? Is it possible that men of wit, understanding and spirit, should bee intoxicated and carried away with such muddy devices; the end of which is, *non ethnicos convertendi, sed ipsos evertendi*, not to convert and bring any unto the knowledge of the truth, but rather to make them wallow in the mire and sinke of errour, in which themselves have long stucke fast? And by reading of all which you may finde, that the devill hath no greater cunning, nor prevaileable art, then to support the Romish religion by such palpable, grosse, filthie, and idle inventions. What is there in them (for the most part) more then in the poeticall fictions of the gods, the fables of Homer, Herodotus, Ovid, and the rest? All is but the deceits of lying tongues, the presumption and bragging of inchanters, and the ceremonies of augurers, pythonists and arts-masters in incantations; against whom the poets themselves had many invectives, and condemned the priests of that time, as we doe the friers of this age: as Euripides,

Tert. *de prescr. verf. hæreticos.*

Eurip.

Hei mihi! versipelles ut homines semper odi, qui componentes injusta, deinde fraudes adornant.

The examples before-recited, shew the collusions the priests use, upon pretence of miraculous power; nor is their diligence lesse in other meanes, which they use by daily sollicitations for their owne advantage; every priest of action, and any abilitie, having two assistants assigned unto him, whose office, like the familiars of the inquisition, is to straggle abroad, for the bringing in of game. These subservient procurers are laickes, and though not able to maintaine argument, yet prie in by-corners, nay, and put forward in open places, to shake and trie any weake wavering Protestants; and if they can get but to entertaine conference, and give eare to their boasts and insinuations, then they bring them to bee better hammered upon the anvill of their great masters. Sometime they deale with tender game, scarce yet fledge, I meane, yong youths, whom they inveigle, to transport to the nests of their seminaries. I have given you some examples before, and could affoord you more. If, at the schooles of Westminster, Pauls,

Priests have their agents.

Winchester, Eaton, Christ-Church, or Suttons Hospitall, there chance be some young man discontented, for the losse of a place in the Universitie hee hoped for: or in the Universities, some young graduate, halfe distracted or discouraged, upon the losse of some fellowship, or other promotion hee aspired unto, oh then there is matter to worke on; none of these, I warrant you, shall escape without promise of better preferment; there needes not one to informe them what provision is made beyond the seas at Saint Omers, Doway, Lisbon, Lovaine, Spaine, Rome, for all such novices; what beautifull colledges, stately edifices, large revenues thereunto annexed; what great libertie, what good companie, what practice of pietie.

Fistula dulcè canit, volucrem dum decipit auceps.

Like the fowler, they can allure with divers these pleasing notes, to tempt to their lure, and bring the foot within the snare; *Sed terminus istius gaudii mors est*, the end of this proves the most deadly and dangerous. Some of their scouts have I knowne about the Universitie of Oxford, as Kinsman, Ford, Mason; and divers others could I point, at this present, here in London, who indeed are no lesse perilous and pernicious then the priests themselves. If they can finde any, for extraordinarie pregnancy of wit, learning, parentage, friends, especially possessions, fit to serve their turnes, and condescend to their expectations, by no meanes must such scape their fingers. Bern.

Nor are the priests to seeke for other shifts to wrest and wring from their poore disciples, wherewithall to maintaine their owne faction, yea, and in fashion too, glittering in the best sattins, and ruffling in the principal new stuffes, as who now-a-day so brave as they.

How a gentlewoman of St Giles in the fields, neere London, was cheated by a priest.

A gentlewoman of the parish of St Giles in the fields, neere Holborne, was of late time sicke, and being one that was well inclining and warping toward the Popish pale or bent, sent for a priest, a man very famous about this towne, to come unto her, and assist her with his best comfort and counsell; who understanding her desire, was soone with her; and being come, she acquainted him how the case stood between Almighty God and her distressed soule; and having laid her selfe open unto him, after the forme of Romane confession, her ghostly father, the priest, told her, that shee should not neede to take any farther thought or care of her soule, but commit all to him, his absolution would bee availeable, and by prayer himselfe would intercede for her. Yet one thing farther hee must tell her, that shee might bee more certaine of mercy and indulgence, if there were some care had for the saying of so many masses for her after her death, at the high altar. The woman listened to this, and liked it very well. Yea, but the priest had not said all; these masses (he told her) could not bee had without a round summe of money. Shee demanded of the priest, what the whole charges might be. He told her. About some thirtie pounds. The poore gentlewoman answered, She had not so much money in her custodie; but plate she would deliver him, sufficient to raise such a summe; and accordingly she delivered it forthwith to his possession; who, having met with such a booty, had little desire to visit any more his sicke patient. The woman, within a short time after, grew so weake in her bodie, that she was past hope of recovery, and then sent againe for her spirituall doctor to come and administer some of his ghostly physicke to her. But my gentleman had taken paines enough before, and by no meanes would be brought the second time unto her. A good caveat heere was for her and others to take heed of such cogging and insinuating companions. It pleased God this gentlewoman recovered; and, making good use of that abuse shee received by this priest in her sicknesse, she altered her religion; and now, to the comfort of divers worthy and painefull ministers about the citie, she is become a good church-woman, and spends the most of her time in God's service, going duely unto sermons, and following nothing so much as her devotions.

The priests insinuating with one Mistris Read, and fishing for her estate. Fisher, one of the Jesuites. Doctor White, Deane of Carliel.

In summer 1623, a gentlewoman named Read, lying at that time sicke at Bednall-greene, neere London, and having land of inheritance, of above five hundred pounds *per annum*, was vehemently set upon by some Jesuits and priests, insomuch, that she was inclinable to referre her estate to their disposall. Whereupon, some of her neere kinne, repayring to a doctor of divinitie, of good note in London, informed him how farre the priests had wrought with her. Whereupon he, by conference and instruction, did set her right againe (as, by Gods blessing, hee hath confirmed divers others.) Else it is very probable, that the greatest part of that estate should have flowne beyond the seas, as much other our countrey goods and riches doe, to underline the nunneries.

The priests visiting Master Netlam, to get from him his land.

In August last, one Musket, and another priest, came to Francis Netlam, lying very sicke in Master Dawsons house in Fetter-lane, and understanding of some lands or possessions he had to a round value, inquired of him how he disposed of these his revenues, and to whom he meant to leave them after his decease. He acquainted them, that he had brothers and sisters, poore, and of his owne religion (to weet, Papists) who did expect them. But these insinuating priests, more regarding themselves then their disciples, dealt so farre with him, that he was content to give his lands to themselves, or whom they should nominate, so to bee at their disposing. Which granted, Master Muskets care was such, that a will was drawne, and the lands thereby conveyed to the priests, or to some other for their use. Thereupon, returning to the house where this sicke Catholick lay, they requested the woman of the house (Mistris Dawson, her husband not being within) to be a witnesse to the said will. But shee, understanding the contents thereof, refused so to doe; neither would she suffer them to goe to the sicke mans chamber, unlesse their intent were better. So soone as her husband came home, she told him what the priests would have done. Thereupon, her husband intreated the lecturer of the parish, and another minister, to perswade the said Francis Netlam not to bee so foolish and unnaturall, as to give his land from his needie brethren, to these cheating, coozening, and colloguing priests. The sicke man followed the counsell of these ministers, in whom hee found more plaine dealing then in the other his spirituall fathers. And notwithstanding he had beene long misled by the said Romish impostors, he desired to bee prayed for (according to the forme of our English church) in Saint Dunstanes in the West, at their next Wednesday lecture; and further, to expresse his conformitie to our church, he received the blessed sacrament with us before his death.

Hence then observe, how industrious our priests are, not onely to get proselyte men and women, but also proselyte lands and possessions; notwithstanding all their pretended povertie, *bonus odor lucri*, they will omit no opportunitie to get what gaine they can. I know this to bee true, that in those parts where I have lived, and where are most Papists of any part of this kingdome; there is not a Popish gentleman in all the country, but there is a priest to his steward, and disposer of household and revenues; neither doth the owner let, set, or sell any land, without the approbation and consent of these pretended spirituall guides. And that indeed is it which causeth Papists the more to abound, for that a landlord, led by such directors, will not suffer any one quietly to live upon his land, but such as the three-quarter lord priest taketh to bee his holy children, and will be readie to doe him service. A fine engine to wheele about, and scrue whole families and townes, by the pulley which twineth the long rope of spirituals reaching out *ad temporalia*.

Another of their engines is, if an offender come to one of these priests to confession; as they enjoyne him, for one part of his penance, to say so many pater-nosters, so many creeds, so many ave-maries, by scores every day: so likewise they impose on his head a pecuniary mulct, hee must pay into the hands of some other priest, fortie, thirtie, twentie, ten, eight, or five pounds, (according to the abilitie of the partie,) to be distributed by the said priest, a judicious man, in *pios usus*. Which money once fingered, is very

judiciously shared betwixt these two shriving priests, who, (Judas-like,) will have no waste, *et tenentes marsupium, tenentur à marsupio.*

Againe, that their lampes may want no oyle, their pockets no weight, how doe they gripe, exact and extort from his poore disciples! If a shoomaker, or a taylor, that hath nought but what he earnes at their fingers ends, chance to come under their fingers, his money is ill got, unlesse hee offer to his holy father a third or fourth part of his gaine. If a countrey farmer bee so rich in tenement or land, that hee have but two oxen to yoke, and three kine to milke, before the yeeres end, one of the beasts must be sold, to buy the honest priest a new suite, perhaps of swaggering sattin. Nay, I have knowne a taxation such, that out of a mans meanes worth tenne pounds per annum, the priest must perforce have forty shillings a yeere at least. And in a great shire, where I have conversed, there is not a man of that religion, of fortie pounds a yeere revenue and upward, but hee must, at his owne charge, keepe a priest in his house: perhaps some poore neighbours that are benefited hereby, contribute some small matter toward it.

Thus, while they pretend, that they are forced to creepe into private houses for feare of persecution, they carry more dominion over the family, then any parish priest doth in those countries where Popish religion publikely prevayleth.

I should have commended Mr Muskets wit, if hee could at so easie a rate have purchased Mr Netlam's inheritance. Sure, it was a better plot, and his time better spent, then in writing and forging his booke, called, The Bishop of London his Legacie. A pamphlet, that I much wondred who could have so little wit, and lesse grace, to be author thereof, till that an incendiary brother of his, (who tooke dislike at it,) confessed unto me; and F. Musket himselfe, in some sort, acknowledged his paines taking therein. *O perfrictam frontem!* What impudence was heere joyned with ignorance! How lewdly did hee and his precursor Kellison bely him, who is now as glorious a starre in the heavens above, as hee was a shining lampe in the firmament of the church heere on earth! Ευγενὴς ϗ θάνων ϗ κτάνων, (as Sophocles commended Philoctetes.) He fought a good fight, both in defence of the faith, and in expugnation of heresies, schismes and seditions brought in by these our adversaries. And as Augustine spake of Cyprian, *Multi erat meriti, multi pectoris, multi oris, multæ virtutis:* Hee was worthy, wise, well-spoken, religious, constant, and of all faithfull Protestants in England, I thinke, most unfitly chosen for an object whereon to clap so deformed and ugly a visor, as this pretended waving to Popery. His most pious and constant departure hath beene faithfully and particularly declared by his worthy, truly patrizing, sonne at Pauls Crosse.—Against the synceritie of which relation, I doe not heare that any of those snarling whibbling curres can barke. If they dare open their snapping mouthes, let them doe it whilest men live that may refute them, and not tarry till one hundred yeeres after, when they may fitten what they please upon times of yore, as they doe without controll upon some olde blinde out-worne pretended saints of their owne shaping.

The author of the Bishop of Londons Legacie.

F. Med.

Non cometa fuit sed Stella.

Sophcl.

Aug.

Now whereas they seeke to get proselytes by these monstrous forgeries and trumperies, for my owne part, I confesse, that upon the first view and reading of it, I was somewhat mooved with wonder, and withall with possibilitie of credence; which made mee the more diligently to enquire of it; especially reading there, that the bishop was reconciled to the Church of Rome, by a certaine priest there not named. I curiously searched among the priests, to learne who that might bee. They named to mee F. Preston: but him I find to have constantly disavowed it, on examination: and otherwise I found good cause to thinke, that hee spake his conscience in that deniall. Then was I posted off to F. Palmer, a Jesuite, and that hee was the very man: but asking him very seriously and privately about it, hee told mee, hee never saw the Bishop of London. And verily, if this Jesuite did meane to equivocate with mee, hee had no reason to speake doublely on that part, but rather to avouch, that himselfe did that deed, or knew who did it, that hee might the better hold mee in beliefe of that

narration. In fine, I found this tale to be nothing but a comicall fiction: and on better weighing this ridiculous shamelesse pamphlet, so belying integritie, so out-facing the open sunne with audacitie, and so farre degenerating from all shew of veritie; I concluded, that the frame could not bee sound, which was built upon such a rotten foundation; nor that religion syncere, which hath slanderous leasings for her daily food.

Terrul. *in Apologet. cont. Gentes.*

As Tertullian saith in the behalfe of the Christians first persecuted by Nero, that he that knew Nero well might easily understand, *non nisi grande aliquod bonum à Nerone damnatum:* it was like to bee a good thing which Nero opposed. So when I view the shamelesse slanders which such jugglers lay upon that reverend Bishop, I must needs say, that I reverenced his memory the more, and might well thinke him the more constant in his religion, by their fayning him to be wavering.

M. Anderton.

Yet, thus I must needs testifie of one the most sufficient and ingenuous of their priests, that, notwithstanding it might make somewhat against their common cause, he plainly told mee, he was sorrie that ever any such booke should bee suffered to come forth; for it would doe them more hurt, then any booke they ever wrote: meaning, as I take it, that the forgerie in it was too palpable. But I finde, that the booke is subscribed by publike authoritie and particular commendation to it, nor will they inflict any censure upon the lewd father of this monstrous lye. And hence it is, that of late they have altered the title, and changed the frontispice into a more dark phrase, making it a *prosopopeia*, or stage-playing patch of rhetoricke.

Doth Mr Musket, who hath foure or five hundred, as I have heard him boast, that come to his chamber to a sermon, feed them with no better fare then such windy, light, empty, nay noysome exhalations? I can then call it but, The dreamed bread of the slug-gard. They may eate, but not be satisfied. Perhaps he may parallel this and greater fictions out of the golden legend, when he preacheth upon any by-saints day.

But I heare, mee thinkes, the noise of our hooting *noctua's*, the priests and Jesuites, blind guides, and lovers of darknesse more then the light, who are so farre from beleeving that any cataract or filme is on their eyes, that they are rather perswaded themselves are the most quick-sighted. They know and see a farre off, that although, *non adhuc miserendi tempus, non adhuc exultandi dies*, the time to have mercy, their appointed day be not yet come, yet they shall have a time and a day, when *væ vobis*, woe be to their adversaries. Their best dayes of late, perhaps, seeme to them but a leaden, or at best, a silver age: but a priest now in London told me sometime this Lent, (and it hath beene the merrie tune of many more,) that they should ere long have golden dayes.—Many of the Jesuites have of late cried, woe to England. Their meaning is lockt up in a misery, and how they will explicate themselves, I know not. *Nocte dieque suum gestant in pectore testem;* though they scape *restem.*

The wise words of him that wrote the word of comfort.

Let mee then premonish the ignorant, and feebler sort especially, who are like weak and silly flyes, that they take heede how they bee caught in such cobwebs, wherein the chiefe thred they spinne, is, that none out of their church can bee saved. And further, let them beware, lest they deprave their ingenuous disposition, in tampering with tooles that may cut their fingers, and so venture into that web of hereticall fraud, which they want strength of wit to breake thorow. I know, that whom nature or education hath made him simple, heresie will make proud.

Erasm. in *Spong. advers.* Hutten.

For who more insolent than the ignorant? Which Erasmus noted long agoe, and may well be applied unto many of our English Papists, who when they might bee informed *de vita Christi, et de via Christiani,* they are resolved afore-hand not to be satisfied.

Esa. 5. 13.

Oh the blindnesse of understanding of those that are called Lay-Catholikes! Just here were the complaint of the Prophet, "My people bee in captivitie, because they bee without knowledge." Surely, when I beginne to weigh and meditate on the abuses that our kingdome in generall, and these distorted members thereof in particular, sus-

taine by those hornets and drones who flie up and downe, stinging and wounding with the wily insinuation of errour, sucking and gathering hony in our gardens, yea, resting upon divers faire flowers; my heart beginnes to bleed, my bowels to yearne, and my soule is plunged in much heavinesse. For woe is mee! Are wee not all sonnes to one father? all subjects to one king, *cujus sub umbra suaviter quiescimus*, we rest under his shade, and his boughs have beene long distended for our securitie? How grievous, alas! is it now to him to heare, that any his children and servants should bee a prey to the harpies of Rome; that vipers should eat out their substance, and dispoile them of the means of the true knowledge of Christ! All these things, unlesse they keepe you still muffled, you may easily discern. Are they not lords, not only over your faith, but also your inheritance, although, according to the rule of their canonist, *Prælatio Ecclesiastica ministerium habet, non dominium:* Their office bindes them, nay, the Jesuites vow tyes them, to service, rather then dominion. How is it possible, me thinks, that they should bring you to that servitude as I finde they doe, so subjugate your understanding, and imprison your wils, that if they command any thing, *quamvis ad interitum animæ et corporis*, you are ready to obey them? and doe they not accordingly make vassals and slaves of you?

1 Pet. 5. Linwood. The Priests and Jesuites in their bookes pretend that they are servants to those over whom indeed they lord it.

Yesterday being Good-Friday, this present yeere 1624, they made some of you in the morning, before day, goe in procession to Tiburne, in penitentiall manner; the forme of which (if duely observed) is for a man to walke naked from the girdle upward, and scourge himselfe with a whip. But for the most part, your processions in time and place of persecution, as you call it, is nothing else but a pilgrimage, going bare-foot, or without shooes, unto the sacred shrine of martyr-hallowed Tiburne. And as for whipping-cheere, it is not yet growne into that publike ostentation among us, as to be acted in the streets and highwayes, that must be looked for when they get the magistrates sword into their hands, yet within walls, they can act it upon a stage visible enough. For on Good-Friday was twelve-month, at a place of your solemne meeting in London, you made one whip himselfe so long, till he swouned, and was thought to be past hope of recoverie, so that hot water was instantly fetched to revive him. This my self did then see, together with two or three hundred more spectators present at that meeting. At Bruxels (as a priest told mee, saying he saw it, and boasting of the meritorious worke) a woman, about a yeere since, so cruelly scourged her selfe, that she died of it. Is this mortification, to murther our selves, lest sinne murther us, to abolish our life in the flesh, lest we should live after the flesh? I am no enemie unto austeritie of life, and taming or chastening our bodily sinfull members, to bring them in subjection to the spirit, to abate the lusts of the eye, and pride of life, to depose the tyrant sinne from his dominion; whatsoever tendeth this way, for the better whetting of our members to become weapons of righteousnesse, I wish were more, rather then lesse used in our Reformed Churches; so it be without the opinion of merit, without publike ostentation, without excesse and unnaturall hating and disabling our corporall faculties. Such kinde of enormious flagellant tragedies, prove sometime as absurd remedies against sinne, as a philosopher did bring against sicknesse; who, visiting his diseased friend that complained of the irksomnesse of his disease, and desired his advice for curing the same, or easing his paine, departed from him, and shortly came againe, and told him, hee had brought a medicine to cure all his diseases, and rid of paine. The patient hearing that welcome word, promised he would take the medicine. To whom presently this kil-cow physician shewed under the lap of his coate a short sword, which would make short worke. And yet let me tell you, that in Popish countries, for the most part, these tragicall flagellants are little better than mountebanks, and personated dissemblers, that have hardened their skin and flesh to beare such incisions without paine, and are no more affected with it then old women that are hired to howle and crie at a funerall. I have heard of such a whipping knave in

Good-Friday cheere. A procession from Holborne to Tiburne.

F. Evel.

Flanders, that in the day time seemed thus to tame his flesh in publike, and the same night tamed it otherwise in a brothell. To say no more of this outragious devotion, as it is Baalaiticall, we cannot, unlesse wee winke, but see it is also Pharisaicall. If bitter chastisement in this case be requisit, why should it not be performed as privately as our Saviour injoyneth secret prayer in the closet, the doore shut, &c.? Must this bee done before hundreds of spectators? Yes, verily, else the price of the satisfaction, the glorie of the merit, the overweight of supererogation, would be made lighter by many an ounce. And indeed, as in this, so in all the rest of the whole pageant of Poperie, every thing must be theatricall *ad pompam*, else the gazing vulgar would not bee so frequently and easily caught.

Like Baals priests, who did lance their sides, &c. Matth. 6.

Lastly, if such injoyned penances must bee performed in an ambling fashion, with roaving abroad, would no other place serve to gad unto, but Tiburne? Is no other place in England left sacred and unpolluted? Oh, but there is more vertue in the goale they runne unto, then in the race they undertake. It was ancient to visit *memorias martyrum;* and so, the sending of disciples to visit Tiburn, maketh a deep impression in their mindes, of the saintship of some that have there paid their debt to our lawes. We know, martyr and persecutor are correlatives; and so, in this action of pretended humiliation, there is intended an increase of the Romanists hatred against the church and state of England, as persecuting, and guiltie of the bloud of those whom they adore. Thus, every step in such pilgrimage, makes those penitents to walke further from us; nay, in every stripe voluntarily received in such a processionall journey, the confessor that injoyneth this performance, thinkes he scourgeth the Protestants.

Deare countrimen, let mee, in the spirit of meeknesse, and out of the tendernesse of my heart and affection inlarged toward you, a little intreat you to consider how you are hoodwinkt and disguised. Doe yet, at last, lay your hands on your harts, and lothe these despicable impostors, returning unto the truth, and assuring your selves, that never any true religion did assist and credit it selfe by such juggling shifts, tricks, and devices, as the Jesuiticall brood are observed daily to practise, and many of which (I am sure) they shame to heare of from us.

The perjurie of Tho. Cornford, Jesuite.

For example: Blush they not at this, that one Thomas Cornford, a brother of theirs, examined before my Lords Grace of Canterburie, June 25, 1612, did first give unto himselfe the name of John Underwood, and so subscribed it; affirming that he was a married man, and that he had married the daughter of one Robinson in Irkinburge, where his wife, at the time of his examination, remayned? He added also, he had beene married unto her twelve yeers, and that he had by her six children. He said he was by condition a farmer, and that he came to towne to moove the Lord Vaux that himselfe might be tenant to his lordship, for a certaine house and land lying in Irkinburge, where his wife, Robinsons daughter, remayned. But this fellow, after, upon some remorse of conscience, or fearing lest his condition and estate might by some other means be discovered, doth of himselfe offer to manifest unto his grace, his condition and profession; unto which, as it were, on a second examination, hee is admitted, and then acknowledged, That for the space of sixe yeers, he was brought up in the Colledge of Rome, and that there he took the orders of priesthood, according to the manner of that church; and that from thence, some twelve yeeres since, hee was sent by mission into England, where, by F. Garnet, hee was admitted into the societie of Jesus; he acknowledgeth also, that his name was Tho. Cornford, and so subscribed the same the second time, after that before hee had subsigned by the name of John Underwood.

Will you understand how this ingenuous Jesuit did conciliate such contrarie sayings of his? Thus he performed his part: Whereas he affirmed himselfe to bee a married man, his meaning was, that his wife was his Breviarie, and that he had beene married unto it twelve yeeres: as for his children had by Robinsons daughter, those were his ghostly and spirituall children. The reason why hee called himselfe a farmer, was, be-

Excellent equivocation.

cause hee was so to God, according to that text, *Redde rationem villicationis tuæ:* Give an account of thy farmership. The reason why hee said, he came to take a farme of the Lord Vaux, was, because he was readie to doe him any service for the spirituall tilling of his soule.

Reade D. Sheldons booke of the Miracles of Antichrist, page 28, where you may reade of another holy brother of the Ignatian societie, who did in the same sort wilfully perjure himselfe.

Thus much for my present occasion, by way of declaration, what wholsome use (by Gods grace) I have made of the noxious and balefull weedes that grow in the papall garden; whereof, through my owne vanitie and levitie, having taken some taste for the space of about a yeere, it hath pleased God to turne those poysons into an antidote, happy for my selfe, and (as I hope) not unfruitfull for others.

And first, I am not ignorant, that some particulars related by me, are like to procure me the hatred, and perhaps some malicious machinations of those that thought to hold mee in perpetuall captivitie. But I protest to God, that as I have in sincerity of heart, without malicious inventing, or adding any thing, given account of those passages that came to my knowledge; so I doe not hate the person of any of those who have pretended to have beene my instructers while I remained with them, but wish to them, as unto my owne soule, a sight of those corruptions and errors wherein they are so deeply dyed, and whereof they did cast some tincture upon me; and also an acknowledgement of Gods truth resplendent in the scriptures, a forsaking and abominating of that pernicious trade, of being factors and brokers for the Papacie; the superstitions and tyrannies whereof, I marvell, if they see not; and I much more mourne, if, seeing and inwardly acknowledging, yet they should entertaine and practise, for the keeping the pore lay people in awe, which I take to be one of the chiefest *arcana imperii*, secrets of state, for the maintenance of their religion.

Secondly, I hold my selfe bound in conscience, upon the sight of mine owne error, and consideration of the scandal which I have justly given, to make public protestation of my recovery, with unfained and humble submission unto our reverend mother, the Church of England (the most orthodoxe and pure church now extant in the world, and most suitable unto the apostolike and primitive times, both for faith and discipline.) Before her feet I prostrate my selfe with deepe sorrow of heart, that I have, through rashnesse of heart, discontent, or any other misguiding passion, plaied the runaway out of her family and obedience. Wherein my fault is farre the greater, forasmuch as I, by that calling which shee hath vouchsafed mee (although unworthy) in her family, ought to have bin a guide unto others, to keepe their feet in the waies of truth and peace. I implore her motherly indulgence, to open her lap to me, her wandring returning childe, and to vouchsafe me such pardon and absolution, as the power of the keys which she hath received from our Saviour, doth afford and extend unto penitent delinquents. Nor did I thinke it sufficient to doe this by a simple profession of the cure of my understanding; but I also held it necessary for me to adde a manifestation of such particular meanes as I best knew to be used by our adversaries, as stratagems to besiege us, and snares to intrap us. Whereupon it may perhaps please some to whom that care belongeth, to make use even of these slender informations, for the preventing of future mischiefes in that kinde, now growne very farre against the Church of England.

Thirdly, it behooved me not to be forgetfull of the bond of nature, and of that duty which I owe to my aged father, a minister in the diocesse of Exon, whose righteous soule hath beene vexed with my infamous deviation; whose fatherly care and paines toward mee, even then when I most forgot him and my selfe, hath not beene wanting in his writing to me divers letters of argument and exhortation; which, together with other meanes, concurring with Gods mercy, have been the loud calls that have pierced

my eares, and made me look back, and withdraw my foot out of the horrible myre and clay wherein I stuck. Even of him, whom above others I have deeply offended, I humbly crave fatherly pardon and blessing, not onely secretly in my heart, but more publikely and authentically thus under my hand. What a great debt lieth upon mee, not onely in regard of my first being, my education, especially in learning, and fitting mee for the ministerie, by his care and cost, but also for the reparation of that discontent which hee hath justly taken at my obliquitie! All that I can promise and vow, with the assistance of Gods grace, is, that I hope to pay double in future comforts, for that which I have runne arrerage by procuring fatherly sorrowes. *Faxit Deus.* Lastly, to touch againe on that string which before I have struck, but never can sound too oft: This streaming of my pen from the fountaine of my heart, runnes that course, whither all things else ought to tend, even into the ocean of Gods glorie exalted by his mercy, in reaching out his helping hand to such miserable creatures as my selfe, intangled in danger, and readie to tumble in perdition. To his glorious name I offer up my selfe, my soule and body, as a lively reasonable sacrifice, vowing to bend all my faculties and future indevours, to the publishing of his truth, and to the setting forward, by word and by example, that orthodox faith and church which I have wickedly contemned. And in speciall, I make oblation of my particular thanksgiving, as a repeated morning and evening sacrifice, for the double deliverance vouchsafed me; the one corporall, and concerning this life, which in mee, beyond expectation and naturall reason, was prolonged, when I was saved, *tanquam torris erutus è flamma*, I meane, in that generall and wofull downfall at the Blackfryers, wherein many lesse sinners then my selfe breathed their last. The other deliverance is spirituall, being in some sort a childe of that mother, as proceeding from the due cogitation of the other; I meane, the loosing of my bands, the unfettering of my heart and soule from the Babylonian captivity, the dispelling of that cloud of Romish errors, which obscured, though not wholly extinguished, the light of Gods truth in me. There were (I know) that said unto me, "An evill disease cleaveth fast unto him: and now that he lyeth, he shal rise no more. But thou (O Lord) hast put a new song into my mouth: Those that sit yet in darknesse, shal see it, and feare: For the snare is broken, and I am delivered. Lord establish mee in thy truth: thy word is truth."

Psal. 41. 8.

FINIS.

A Catalogue or Note of such English Bookes (to the knowledge of which I could come) as have been printed, reprinted, or dispersed by the Priests and their agents in this kingdome, within these two yeers last past, or thereabouts.

Inprimis, The Doway Bibles, that is, the Old Testament only, in two volumes, with notes, revised by Doctor Worthington, and reprinted heer in London: sould for forty shillings, which, at an ordinary price, might be afforded for tenne.

The New Testament, translated by the Rhemists, and reprinted in quarto: sold for sixteene or twenty shillings, which might be afforded for a noble, or lesse.

The same Testament in English, lately printed in *decimo sexto:* sold for twelve shillings, which might be well afforded for foure.

The Anker of Christian Doctrine, in foure parts, written by D. Worthington: the three last parts printed in London, and sould by him at his lodging in Turnbull Street, for foureteen shillings, which might be afforded for five shillings.

The Protestants Apologie, written by Brerely, reprinted and sold for seventeene shillings, and might bee afforded for six shillings, or lesse.

Saint Augustines Confessions, translated by Tob. Mathew, and sold for sixteene shillings, beeing but a little booke in octavo, and might bee afforded for two shillings sixpence.

Two other bookes in octavo, lately written by Tob. Mathew, and sold very deare.

The Author and Substance of Protestant Religion, written by Smith, a priest now in London, and sold for six shillings, and might bee afforded for twelvepence.

Luther, his Life and Doctrine, a railing booke, written by Lovell, a priest, who is at this present in London, sold for eight shillings, worth two shillings.

An Antidote against the pestiferous writings of English Sectaries, in two parts, written by D. Norice, a priest, now resident in London: sold for eight shillings, might be afforded for foure shillings.

The Guide of Faith, written by the said author, and sold at an unreasonable rate.

The Pseudo-Scripturist, by the same author, a book of some twelve sheetes of paper, and sold for five shillings.

The Christian Vow, by the same author, a book of ten sheetes of paper, and sold for two shillings sixpence.

The lowd lying Pamphlet, tearmed, The Bishop of Londons Legacie, written by Musket, a Jesuite, and reprinted with a preface of a new disguise: the booke containing about sixteene sheetes; they squeezed from some Romish buyers six or seven shillings a-piece. A deare price for a dirty lye. Yet I wish, they that have any beliefe in it, might pay dearer for it.

The Summary of Controversies, written by D. Smith, sold as deare as the rest.

The New Religion, no Religion, written by one Floud, a priest, now in London, sold at a high rate, and so are all the rest following.

The Sum of Christian Doctrine, written in Latine by Petrus Canisius, and translated into English by J. Heigham, a priest in London.

The True Christian Catholick, by the same author.

The Life of Saint Katharine of Sienna, by the same author.

The Protestants Consultation, a dangerous book, lately written by an unknowne author.

Jesus, Maria, Joseph, lately come out of the press, printed in London, by Simons, a Carmelite, now in London.

Two other bookes, written by the same author, called, The Way to finde Ease, Rest, and Repose unto the Soule.

Bellarmines Steps, in English.

His Art of Dying Well, in octavo.

The Exercise of a Christian Life, by S. B.

The Vocation of Bishops, by D. Champney, now in London.

The Image of both Churches, by M. Pateson, now in London, a bitter and seditious book.

The Exposition of the Masse.

A Treatise of the Reall Presence, by Goddard, a priest, now in London.

The Love of the Soule, printed in London.

The Followers of Christ, by F. B.

Demands to Hereticks, in two parts, by D. Bristow, reprinted.

Saint Bedes History of England, translated into English.

M. Wadesworthes Contrition.

Cardinall Peron his Oration.

Newes from the Low Countryes.

History of Sichem.

Auricular Confession.

Missale parvum pro sacerdotibus.

The Office of our Lady, or the Primer, two or three sorts of them lately printed with rubricks.

The Judge, by G. M.

The Right Way to God, by Pursell, an Irish monke, now in London.

Sixe books full of marvellous pietie and devotion, by G. P.

The Appendix, by Doctor Norrice.
A Defence of the Appendix, written by M. Sweet, a Jesuite lying in Holborne.
An Answer to the Fishe-catched in his owne Net, by the same author. These three last bookes containing but some sixe sheetes of paper, either of them are sold by the authors and their factors, for two shillings, or halfe-a-crowne a piece.
Soliloquies, by R. T.
The Rosary of our Lady.
Meditations upon the Rosary.
An Exposition of the Rosary.
The Mysteries of the Rosary.
An Introduction to a Devout Life, by J. York, a Jesuite, now in London.
Miracles not yet Ceased, by P. L. P., a saltlesse book.
The Key of Paradise.
A Heavenly Treasury of Comfortable Meditations, by Antho. Bat, a frier, now in London.
The Word of Comfort, written upon occasion of the fall of the house at the Black-friers.
The Uncasing of Heresie, by O. A.
The Treasury of Chastity.
The Widows Glasse.
The Ecclesiasticall Protestants History, by D. Smith.
The Grounds of the Old and New Religion.
The Hidden Manna.
The Wandring Saints.
The Little Memoriall.
An Overthrowe of the Protestants Pulpit-Babels.
The Unity of Gods Church, by one Master Stevens, a Jesuite, now in London.
Pointers Meditations.
The Proof of Purgatory.
A Comfort against Tribulation.
Ledisme his Catechisme, lately printed heere in England.
The Reconcilement of the Dalmatian Bishop.
The Popes Power.
The Life of Saint Bede.
A Treatise of Free-will, by D. Kellison, rector of the Colledge at Doway, and now in London.
The Sacrament of the Catholick Church, by F. S. P.
Davyes his Catechisme.
The Visibility of the Church.
The Catholick Guide.
A Treatise against the Marriage of Priests, by Wilson, a Jesuite.
A Gagge of the New Gospel.
A Second Gagge.
The Honour of God, by Anthony Clerke. An idle frothy booke, by a brayn-sicke man, a concealed priest.
The Prelate and the Prince, a seditious booke.
The Rules of Obedience, by G. A. P.
Saint Peters Keyes, by Edmund Gill, Jesuite.
Saint Augustines Religion, written by Brerely, and reprinted.
The Reformed Protestant, by Brerely. There was a printing-house supprest about some three yeeres since in Lancashire, where all Brerely his works, with many other Popish pamphlets, were printed.
The Virginall Vow, by F. S.

The Mirrour of Women.
Meditations on the Passion.
A Dialogue betwixt our Saviour and the Saints.
Observations concerning the present affaires of Holland, and the United Provinces, by You knowe the Hand.
The Ingratitude of Elizabeth of England unto Philip of Spain.
The Spirit of Errour, by D. Smith.
Meditations on our Saviours words on the Crosse.
Every Saints Praier.
The Catholicks Crown.
The Three Conversions, reprinted; written by F. Parsons.
Grenadoes Memoriall.
Grenadoes Compendium.
Grenadoes Meditations, translated.
The Life and Death of Cardinall Bellarmine.
Bellarmine his Death and Buriall.
The Shedding of Teares.
Parsons Resolutions, reprinted, *anno* 1623.
Sions Songs, or the Melody of the Blessed.
An Epistle of Jesus to the Soule.
An Epistle of Comfort to the Persecuted Catholiques.
The Following of Christ.
The Life of Christ.
Puenta's Abbridgement.
The Saints Lives, translated of late by Kinsman.
Saint Peters Complaint, and Mary Magdalens Teares.
The Office of Saint Benedict.
Saint Ignatius Life.
Saint Teresa her Life.
Saint Clares her Life.
Saint Katharine of Bolognas Life.
Saint Mary Magdalens Pilgrimage.
The Spirituall Conflict.
Dowleys Catechisme.
The Paradise of the Soule.
The Paradise of Delight.
Molina of Mentall Prayer.
Of the Excellency of the Basse.
Of Perfection, by Pinel.
Of Communion, by the same author.
Villacastines Exercises.
Of Christian Works, by F. Borgia.
Contempt of the World.
The Four Capuchins.
Treatise of Indulgences.
The Daily Practice.
The Enemies of God, by M. Barlow, a priest, now in London.
The Holy Triumph.
The Prosperity of the Visible Church.
The Manuall of Prayers, reprinted.
A Watch-word, by F. Baker.
The Apologist, by Richard Conway.
A Treatise of the Invocation and Adoration of Saints, by Thomas Lee.

The Principles of Catholick Religion, by Richard Stannihurst.

Of the Conversion of Nations, of the Miracles, of the Martyrdomes, and of the union of the members of the Catholick Church, by George Allanson, Jesuite.

A Treatise of True Zeale.

F. Drury his Reliques, somewhat found in his study after his death.

Flagellum Dei, or A Sword for Contradictors. A ridiculous pamphlet, written by P. D. M.

Coffin, against an Epistle of D. Hall, concerning the marriage of Ecclesiasticall Persons; mistaken in the former edition for the Answer to D. Halls book, intituled, The Honor of the Married Clergy.

Walsingham his Search, in quarto.

Walpole, against Doctor Downham, of Antichrist.

Fox his Calendar, reprinted *anno* 1623.

Fitz-Herbert, of Policy and Religion, reprinted.

Treatise of Faith, by F. Percy.

Saint Bedes History of England, translated into English.

A certaine notorious Jesuite, lodging in a sanctuary not farre from the Savoy, is himselfe a great merchant for the commodity of these Popish pamphlets; and, as I have heard, some of his brethren say, he hath thriven well thereby, especially whiles he fished in untroubled waters. My selfe have seene greater store of books in quires at his chamber, than I ever beheld in any stationers warehouse about Pauls; he having two or three large roomes filled out with heapes in this kinde, to the very top.

The Names of the Romish Priests and Jesuits now resident about the City of London, March 26, 1624.

Old father Bishop, the nominall Bishop of Chalcedon.

F. Overton, his principall chaplaine.

D. Kellison, rector of the English colledge at Doway.

D. Worthington, the translator or corrector of the Doway bibles, and author of "The Anker of Christian Doctrine."

D. Collington, the titular arch-deacon of London, lodging in Saint Jones.

D. Wright, a grave antient man, treasurer for the priests, and very rich, thought to be worth thousands of pounds: hee lodgeth in the White-Friers.

D. Norice, one that hath written divers bookes of late, mentioned in the former catalogue.

D. Smith, senior, sometimes of the colledge of Rome, and author of divers pestilent bookes.

D. Smith, junior, author of divers other books no lesse dangerous.

D. Champney, author of the book called, "The Vocation of Bishops."

D. Bristow, sometimes of the colledge at Doway.

F. Blackfen, a Jesuite, an antient man, lodging in Drury-Lane.

F. Sweet, a Jesuite well knowne, lodging at the upper end of Holborn.

F. Musket, a secular priest, lodging over-against S. Andrews church in Holborne, a frequent preacher, and one that hath much concourse of people to his chamber.

F. Fisher, a notorious Jesuite, lodging neer the Savoy.

F. Harvy, a very dangerous Jesuite.

F. Austin, a Jesuite, an aged man.

F. Boulton, a Jesuite, not the gentleman that dwels in Saint Jones.

F. Macham, a Jesuite, lodging neere the Custome-house.

F. Barlow, a Jesuite, lodging about the Custome-house.

F. Townsend, alias Ruckwood, brother to that Ruckwood, who was executed at the gunpowder treason, a Jesuite, a little black fellow, very compt and gallant, lodging about the midst of Drury-Lane, acquainted with collapsed ladies.

F. Browne, a Jesuite, lodging in S. Martins-Lane.

F. Palmer, } both Jesuites, lodging about Fleet-street, very rich in apparell: the one
F. Palmer, } a flanting fellow, useth to weare a scarlet cloake over a crimsin sattin suit.

F. Rivers, } both Jesuites.
F. Rivers, }

F. Latham, a Jesuite: he was sometime a bird in the stone cage at Lancaster.

F. Goddard, a Jesuit, lodging about White-Fryers.

F. Pateson, a Jesuite, lodging in Fetter-Lane.

F. Hammershed, lodging in White-Fryers.

F. Armestrong, a Jesuite, one that insinuateth dangerously, and hath seduced many.

F. Floud, a Jesuite, lying about Fleet-Lane.

F. Floud, a secular priest, lodging in the Strand.

F. Kerkham, a Jesuite.

F. Anderton, a Jesuite.

F. Moore, a Jesuite.

F. Moore, a secular priest, kinsman to D. Moore, the popish physician.

F. Skinner, a Jesuite.

F. Simons, a Carmelite, author of divers late foolish pamphlets: his lodging is in the lower end of Holborn.

F. Low, a Jesuite.

F. Simons, next neighbour.

F. Knox, a secular priest.

F. Shellay, a secular priest.

F. Price, a secular priest, who was long a prisoner in Newgate.

F. Wilson, lodging about Bloomisbury, and one that escaped at the Black-Fryers.

F. Hilton, a secular priest, one that escaped the same time.

F. Medcalfe, now lodging in Shoo-Lane, a good companion, but not guilty of much learning. He is often deepe loden with liquor.

F. Richardson, a Benedictin fryer, of great acquaintance about the towne: he lodgeth at the farther end of Grayes-Inne-Lane.

F. Root, a secular priest.

F. Hunt, a Carthusian fryer, lodging in Holborn, an old man.

F. Conway, a Jesuite.

F. Stevens, a little man, a monk.

F. Wilde, a secular priest.

F. Smith, } two secular priests, besides the two Jesuites of that name, now resident
F. Smith, } in London.

F. Greene, lodging over against Northampton stables.

F. Houghton, a secular priest.

F. Southworth, } both secular priests.
F. Southworth, }

F. Edmunds, } the one, as I have heard, a Jesuite; the other, a Franciscan frier.
F. Edmunds, }

F. Melling, a secular priest, lodging in Holborne.

F. Lovell, a secular priest, lodging in Holborne.

F. Townely, a secular priest, lodging about the Strand.

F. Bonham, alias Evison, a Jesuite, lodging at M. Whitings, in Fetter-Lane.

F. Farmer, a Jesuite, prisoner in the Clink.
F. Mattocks.
F. Marshall, a secular priest, lately come to towne.
F. Ward.
F. Greenway, a Jesuite.
F. Heath, a Jesuite.
F. Turner.
F. Price, superiour of the Benedictins.
F. Ploydon, a Jesuite.
F. Holt.
F. Copely, senior, a Jesuite.
E. Copely, junior, one that hath newly taken orders, and came from beyond sea.
F. Faulkner, a Jesuite.
F. Hart, a Jesuite.
F. Cleak, the gentlewomens confessor.
F. Blunt.
F. Jackson, alias Nelson, a secular priest, an antient man.
F. Poulton.
F. Bacon, a secular priest.
F. Grainer.
F. Ash.
F. Worthington, a Jesuite, nephew to Doctor Worthington.
F. Jo. Benet, } secular priests.
F. Ed. Benet, }
F. Cannow, a secular priest.
F. Southcot, a Jesuite.
F. Mannock.
F. Lovet, brother to the three popish goldsmiths of that name.
F. Fairclough, born in London.
F. Lurtice, a Jesuite; his brother a pewterer, a Papist in London, dwelling in Towre-street.
F. Joseph Haines, alias Harvy.
F. Tho. Everet.
F. Shepheard.
F. Black-stone, alias Ford.
F. Prescot.
F. Wainman.
F. Laithwait.
F. Reynolds.
F. Bangor.
F. Harrington.
F. Davenport.
F. Allinson.
F. Thomas.
F. Dawson.
F. Man.
F. Hugan.
F. Porter, a Jesuite, lately comme out of Lancashire.
F. Bunney, an Irishman.
F. Blackman.
D. Stanley.
F. Maxfield, a secular priest, lodging in Holborne.

Simon Maxfield, a deacon, lodging in Fleet-street.
F. Gerard, a secular priest, lodging about Westminster.
F. Davyes, an old blind man, lodging about Holborne Conduit.
F. Bently, I know not of what order.
F. Pursell, an Irishman, a monk, a young proud fellow.
F. Walsingham, alias Knot, lodging about the Custome-house.
F. Linch, an Irishman.
F. Gerald, an Irishman.
F. Sherlock, an Irishman.
F. Stannihurst, an Irishman.
F. Carrig, an Irishman.
F. Houling, an Irishman.
F. Chamberlaine, a secular priest, lodging about the Black-friers, a man of great imploiment, born about London.
F. Turpin.
F. Annieur, a Frenchman.
F. Castle.
F. Jones, alias Hay, a Jesuite.
F. Jones, a secular priest.
F. Martin, alias Quarleys, a monk, a citizens son of London.
F. Bastin.
F. Wood, a very dangerous fellow.
F. Bellingam.
F. Young.
F. Harris, very shallow-pated; and yet some say he is a Jesuite, which I much wonder at.
F. Baldwin.
F. Conniers.
F. York.
F. Brookes.
F. Arncot.
F. Hughes.
F. Scroop, a Jesuite.
F. Langtree.
F. Umpton, a Jesuite, an old short fellow.
F. Bold, a Benedictin monk.
F. Bradshaw, a Jesuite.
F. Line, an Augustine fryer: he now and then fetcheth a voyage into Buckinghamshire.
F. Doughty.
F. Read.
F. Chambers.
F. Halsal, an Ingaro.
F. North.
F. Cox, a Jesuite.
F. Banister.
F. Eveleigh.
F. Powell.
F. Skinner, a Benedictin monk.
F. Edwards.
F. Jo. Worthington.
F. White.

F. Stroud.
F. Jennings
F. Bat.
F. Sanders.
F. Dier.
F. Heigham, author of many loud-lying pamphlets.
F. Rimmington.
F. Molineux.
F. Birket, disguised under the name and profession of a physician or chirurgion.
F. Kinsman.
F. Durham.
Two priests, lodging in Mistris Fowlers house, in Fetter-Lane, whose names I cannot learne.
F. Ireland, sometimes school-master of Westminster.
F. Weston, a Jesuite.
F. Tomson, a Jesuite, lodging in Shoo-Lane, otherwise called Tom Poet; his right name W. Weathered, borne in London.
F. Lawrence.
F. Charles, a limping hobbling priest.
F. Stone, a Jesuite.
F. Newton, lying behinde the old Exchange.
F. Towers, an Augustin frier.
F. Lancaster.
F. Stubbley, a boon companion.
F. Mountague, a Jesuite.
F. Banks, a secular priest, lodging in Field-Lane, borne in London, deputy Banks his sonne.
F. Taylor, late confessor to the friers in Ireland, and newly come into this kindome.

These bee all the birds of this feather, which have come to my eye or knowledge by name, as residing in or resorting to this city; yet above 7 times so many there are, that overspred our thickets through England, as appeareth by the empty nests beyond the seas, from whence they have flowne by shoales of late; I meane, the seminarie colledges, which have deepely disgorged by severall missions of them, and also is gathered by particular computation of their divided troops; when, as in one shire, where I have abode somtime, there are reputed to nestle almost three hundred of this brood.

Though they bee heere set downe by one name, they are not unfurnished of divers other names, which they change at pleasure, as oft as gallants do their suits; yet sometimes they double-line themselves with many names at once.

The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches in the Countie of Lancaster; with the Arraignement and Triall of Nineteene notorious Witches, at the Assizes and generall Gaole deliverie, holden at the Castle of Lancaster, upon Munday the seventeenth of August last, 1612, *before Sir James Altham, and Sir Edward Bromley, Knights, Barons of his Majesties Court of Exchequer, and Justices of Assize, Oyer and Terminer, and generall Gaole deliverie in the Circuit of the North Parts. Together with the Arraignement and Triall of Jennet Preston, at the Assizes holden at the Castle of Yorke, the seven-and-twentieth day of Julie last past, with her execution for the murther of Master Lister, by witchcraft.*

Published and set forth by commandement of his Majesties Justices of Assize in the North Parts. By Thomas Potts, Esquier.

London: Printed by W. Stansby, for John Barnes, dwelling near Holborne Conduit. 1613.

The object of this Collection being as well to collect such Tracts as throw light upon the manners of the successive periods to which they refer, as to preserve those which are in themselves valuable, it has been judged proper to insert the following authentic account of a trial which made much noise at the time when it took place. The genius of the English nation, even in its darkest period, seems to have given but little way to persecution of the unhappy beings who fell under suspicion of witchcraft. It was not till the first year of James's reign that witchcraft and sorcery were declared capital crimes. The monarch had unfortunately rested a considerable portion of his literary reputation on his dialogue on Dæmonologie, which he was moved, as he is pleased to tell us, to send forth post, from the fearful abounding, at the time, of those detestable slaves of the devil, the witches or enchanters. His majesty's arguments were chiefly directed against Reginald Scot and Wierus, who had controverted the existence of witches. It was scarce possible that his majesty's creed should not soon become that of his clergy and lawyers; and accordingly his reign was signalized by prosecutions upon the penal statute against witchcraft, which probably had rise in the complaisance of James's first Parliament.

The Lancashire Witches, whose name became proverbial, were among the most noted of the period. It appears, from the following account of their trial, published by authority, that no less than nineteen notorious witches were arraigned at the same time, and that ten of these unfortunate creatures were executed. The evidence against them is, independently of the absurdity of the crimes imputed to them, too slight even for conviction upon a charge of petty larceny, although it seems to have been thought no small presumption of Anne Whittle, *alias* Chuttox, being a "dangerous witch," that she was a "very old, withered, spent, and decrepid creature; her sight almost gone, her lips ever chattering and walking, but no man knew what." Some indeed confessed their guilt. The judicial confession of the criminal is, generally speaking, the strongest proof which can be adduced against him. But from the following remarks of Sir George Mackenzie, who was a believer in witchcraft, and had, as king's advocate, conducted many trials for that crime, the reader will see how little stress can be laid upon the confession of the accused person in such cases.

"Those poor persons who are ordinarily accused of this crime, are poor ignorant creatures, and oft times women, who understand not the nature of what they are accused of, and many mistake their own fears and apprehensions for witchcraft, of which I shall give you two instances: one of a poor weaver, who, after he had confessed witchcraft, being asked how he saw the devil? he answered, like flies dancing about the candle; another of a woman, who asked seriously, when she was accused, if a woman might be a witch and not know it? And it is dangerous that these, who are of all others the most simple, should be tried for a crime which of all others is most mysterious.

"These poor creatures, when they are defamed, become so confounded with fear, and the close prison in which they are kept, and so starved for want of meat and sleep, (either of which wants

is enough to disorder the strongest reason) that hardly wiser and more serious people than they, would escape distraction; and when men are confounded with fear and apprehension, they will imagine things very ridiculous and absurd. And as no man would escape a profound melancholy upon such an occasion, and amidst such usages, therefore I remit to physicians and others to consider, what may be the effects of melancholy, which hath oft made men, who appeared otherwise solid enough, imagine they were horses, or had lost their noses, &c. And since it may make men err in things which are obvious to their senses, what may be expected as to things which transcend the wisest man's reason?

"Most of these poor creatures are tortured by their keepers, who being perswaded they do God good service, think it their duty to vex and torment poor prisoners; and I know *ex certissima scientia*, that most of all that ever were taken, were tormented after this manner, and this usage was the ground of all their confession: and albeit the poor miscreants cannot prove this usage, the actors being the only witnesses, yet the judge should be afraid of it, as that which at first did elicite the confession, and for fear of which they dare not retract it.

"I went, when I was a justice-depute, to examine some women, who had confest judicially; and one of them, who was a silly creature, told me under secrecy, that she had not confest because she was guilty, but being a poor creature who wrought for her meat, and being defamed for a witch, she knew she would starve, for no person thereafter would either give her meat or lodging, and that all men would beat her, and hound dogs at her, and that therefore she desired to be out of the world; whereupon she wept most bitterly, and upon her knees called God to witness what she said. Another told me, she was afraid the devil would challenge a right to her, as the minister said, when he was desiring her to confess, and therefore she desired to die And really ministers are oft times indiscreet in their zeal to have poor creatures to confess in this; and I recommend to judges, that the wisest ministers should be sent to them, and those who are sent, should be cautious in this."—*The Laws and Customs of Scotland, in Matters Criminal,* apud *Sir George Mackenzie's Works,* Vol. II. p. 86.

The persons by whom these cruelties were inflicted, were in most cases self-authorized miscreants, who pretending to more than an usual insight into the ways of Satan among his vassals, were not only permitted, but encouraged to traverse the country in search of pretended witches and wizzards, upon whom they exercised with impunity the cruel experiments believed to ascertain their guilt. Sometimes the accused were stripped and thrown into a river or pond, having their thumbs and toes tied together, where, if they sunk, they were held innocent, but if they swam, were dragged forth to prison. Sometimes needles and pins were thrust into their bodies, under pretence of discovering the fatal mark which the devil had rendered insensible. On other occasions, the suspected witch was bound cross-legged upon a stool, there to be watched and kept without meat or sleep for the space of four-and-twenty hours, within which time it was expected her imp would make her a visit. A more ready device could hardly have been invented to render a miserable old wretch either distracted or reckless of her life. In the years 1645, and 1646, a villain called Matthew Hopkins, of Manningtree, in Essex, with one Stern, and a woman, his accomplices, travelled through the shires of Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Huntingdon, in the character of witch-finders. With what assurance they carried on their bloody trade, may appear from the following letter, which Hopkins had the insolence to write to a justice of peace in Huntingdonshire. It is extracted by Dr Hutchinson, from a letter published by Mr Gaul of Stoughton, who, with other clergymen, opposed strenuously the villainous traffic of the writer.

"My service to your worship presented. I have this day received a letter, &c. to come to a town called Great Stoughton, to search for evil disposed persons, called witches (though I heare your minister is farre against us, through ignorance:) I intend to come (God willing) the sooner to heare his singular judgement in the behalfe of such parties; I have known a minister in Suffolk preach as much against their discovery in a pulpit, and forced to recant it, (by the committee) in the same place. I much marvaile such evil members should have any (much more any of the clergy) who should daily preach terrour to convince such offenders, stand up to take their parts, against such as are complainants for the king, and sufferers themselves, with their families and estates. I intend to give your town a visite suddenly I am to come to Kimbolton this week, and it shall be tenne to one but I will come to your town first; but I would certainly know afore, whether your town affords many sticklers for such cattell, or willing to give us good welcome and entertainment, as otherwhere I have beene, else I shall wave your shire, (not as yet beginning in any part of it myself) and betake me to such places where I doe, and may persist without controle, but with thanks and recompence. So I humbly take my leave, and rest

Your servant to be commanded,

MATTHEW HOPKINS."

Historical Essay concerning Witchcraft. By F. HUTCHINSON, D. D. Lond. 1720, p. 82.

There was an appearance of retribution in the fate of Hopkins. For some gentlemen, incensed at his cruelties, or imagining that he himself derived his pretended skill from diabolical inspiration, put him to the swimming ordeal, to which he had subjected so many others. He was convicted of sorcery, and executed. Butler is supposed to refer to Hopkins in the following lines:

Has not the present Parliament
A leaguer to the devil sent,
Fully empowered to treat about
Finding revolted witches out?
And has not he, within a year,
Hang'd threescore of 'em in one shire?
Some only for not being drowned:
And some for sitting above ground
Whole days and nights upon their breeches,
And feeling pain, were hang'd for witches;
And some for putting knavish tricks
Upon green geese and turkey chicks;
Or pigs that suddenly deceast
Of grief unnat'ral, as he guest,
Who after proved himself a witch,
And made a rod for his own breech.

Hudibras, P. II. C. III.

The history of Hopkins is not foreign to that of the "Lancashire Witches." For as he was discovered to be a villainous and murderous impostor, so did Robinson, upon whose evidence the unfortunate persons mentioned in the following trial were convicted, prove to be a counterfeit. The discovery, however, did not take place until more than twenty years after 1612. How many innocent persons he caused to be tormented and murdered in the interval, it is impossible to guess; but the account of his detection shall be given in the words of Webster, whose sagacity seems greatly to have contributed to it.

"About the year 1634, (for having lost our notes of the same, we cannot be so exact as we should) there was a great pretended meeting of many supposed witches at a new house or barn in Pendle Forest, in Lancashire, then not inhabited, where (as the accusation pretended) some of them, by pulling by a rope of straw or hay, did bring milk, butter, cheese, and the like, and were carried away upon dogs, cats, or squirrels. The informer was one Edmund Robinson, (yet living at the writing hereof, and commonly known by the name of Ned of Roughs), whose father was by trade a waller, and but a poor man, and they finding that they were believed, and had encouragement by the adjoining magistrates, and the persons being committed to prison, and bound over to the next assizes, the boy, his father,* and some others besides, did make a practice to go from church to church, that the boy might reveal and discover witches, pretending that there was a great number at the pretended meeting, whose faces he could know, and by that means they got a good living; that in a short space the father bought a cow or two, when he had none before. And it came to pass, that this said boy was brought into the church of Kildwick, a large parish church, where I (being then curate there) was preaching in the afternoon, and was set upon a stall (he being but ten or eleven years old) to look about him, which moved some little disturbance in the congregation for a while. And after prayers, I enquiring what the matter was, the people told me that it was the boy that discovered witches; upon which I went to the house where he was to stay all night, where I found him, and two very unlikely persons that did conduct him, and manage the business. I desired to have some discourse with the boy in private, but that they utterly refused. Then, in the presence of a great many people, I took the boy near me, and said, Good boy, tell me truly and in earnest, did thou see and hear such strange things of the meeting of witches, as is reported by many thou dost relate, or did not some person teach thee to say such things of thyself? But the two men not giving the boy leave to answer, did pluck him from me, and said he had been examined by two able justices of the peace, and they did never ask him such a question; to which I replied, the persons accused had therefore the more wrong. But the assizes following at Lancaster, there were seventeen found guilty by the jury; yet, by the prudent discretion of the judge, who was not satisfied with the evidence,

* The father was that James Robinson who appears as evidence against Anne Whittle. He had probably found the trade lucrative.

they were reprieved, and his majesty and his council being informed by the judge of the matter, the Bishop of Chester was appointed to examine them, and to certifie what he thought of them, which he did; and thereupon four of them, to wit, Margaret Johnson, Francis Dicconson, Mary Spenser, and Hargrave's wife, were sent for up to London, and were viewed and examined by his majesties physicians and chirurgeons, and after by his majesty and the council, and no cause of guilt appearing, but great presumptions of the boy's being suborned to accuse them falsely: therefore it was resolved to separate the boy from his father, they having both followed the women up to London; they were both taken, and put into several prisons asunder. Whereupon, shortly after, the boy confessed that he was taught and suborned to devise and feign those things against them, and had persevered in that wickedness by the counsel of his father and some others, whom envy, revenge, and hope of gain, had prompted on to that devillish design and villany; and he also confessed, that upon that day when he said that they met at the aforesaid house or barn, he was that very day a mile off, getting plumbs in his neighbour's orchard. And that this is a most certain truth, there are many persons yet living, of sufficient reputation and integrity, that can avouch and testifie the same; and besides, what I write, is the most of it true, upon my own knowledge, and the whole I have had from his own mouth more than once." —WEBSTER's *Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft.* London, 1677. P. 276—278.

This last batch of witches were sent to London, where they attracted a good deal of notice. Heywood composed upon the story his Comedy entitled the "Lancashire Witches," acted at the Globe in 1634, which afterwards became the ground-work of Shadwell's play, under the same title. In the *Dramatis Personæ* of this last comedy, we meet Mother Demdike, Mother Hargrove, and other witches distinguished in the following trial. It is well known that the phrase Lancashire Witches, long used in memory of these bloody and inhuman proceedings, is now applied as a proverbial compliment to the beauty of the Lancashire women.

To the Right Honourable Thomas Lord Knyvet, Baron of Escrick, in the Countie of Yorke, my very honorable good lord and master.
And to the Right Honorable and vertuous Ladie, the Ladie Elizabeth Knyvet, his wife, my honourable good ladie and mistris.

Right Honorable,

LET it stand (I beseech you) with your favours, whom profession of the same true religion towards God, and so great love hath united together in one, jointly to accept the protection and patronage of these my labours, which not their owne worth hath encouraged, but your worthinesse hath enforced me to consecrate unto your honours.

To you, Right Honourable my very good Lord, of right doe they belong: for to whom shall I rather present the first fruits of my learning then to your lordship: who nourished then both mee and them, when there was scarce any being to mee or them? And whose just and upright carriage of causes, whose zeale to justice and honourable curtesie to all men, have purchased you a reverend and worthie respect of all men in all partes of this kingdome where you are knowne. And to your good ladiship they doe of great right belong likewise; whose religion, justice and honourable admittance of my unworthie service to your ladiship doe challenge at my handes the uttermost of what ever I may bee able to performe.

Here is nothing of my own act worthie to bee commended to your honours; it is the worke of those reverend magistrates, his majesties justices of assizes in the north partes, and no more then a particular declaration of the proceedings of justice in those partes. Here shall you behold the justice of this land truely administred, *præmium et pœnam*, mercie and judgement, freely and indifferently bestowed and inflicted; and above all thinges to bee remembred, the excellent care of these judges in the triall of offendors.

It hath pleased them, out of their respect to mee, to impose this worke upon mee, and according to my understanding, I have taken paines to finish, and now, confirmed by their judgement, to publish the same for the benefit of my countrie. That the ex-

ample of these convicted upon their owne examinations, confessions, and evidence at the barre, may worke good in others, rather by with-holding them from, then imboldening them to, the atchieving such desperate actes as these or the like.

These are some part of the fruits of my time spent in the service of my countrie, since by your grave and reverend counsell, my good lord, I reduced my wavering and wandring thoughts to a more quiet harbour of repose.

If it please your honours to give them your honourable respect, the world may judge them the more worthie of acceptance, to whose various censures they are now exposed.

God of heaven, whose eies are on them that feare him, to bee their protector and guide, behold your honours with the eye of favor, be evermore your strong hold, and your great reward, and blesse you with blessings in this life, externall and internall, temporall and spirituall, and with eternall happines in the world to come: to which I commend your honours; and rest both now and ever, from my lodging in Chancerie Lane, the sixteenth of November, 1612,

Your Honours humbly devoted servant,

THOMAS POTTS.

Upon the arraignement and triall of these witches at the last assizes and generall gaole-deliverie, holden at Lancaster, wee found such apparent matters against them, that we thought it necessarie to publish them to the world, and thereupon imposed the labour of this worke upon this gentleman, by reason of his place, being a clerke at that time in court, imploied in the arraignement and triall of them.

JA. ALTHAM.
EDW. BROMLEY.

After he had taken great paines to finish it, I tooke upon mee to revise and correct it, that nothing might passe but matter of fact, apparent against them by record. It is very little he hath inserted, and that necessarie, to shew what their offences were, what people, and of what condition they were: The whole proceedings and evidence against them, I finde upon examination carefully set forth, and truely reported, and judge the worke fit and worthie to be published.

EDWARD BROMLEY.

A particular Declaration of the most barbarous and damnable Practises, Murthers, wicked and devilish Conspiracies, practized and executed by the most dangerous and malitious Witch, Elizabeth Sowthernes, alias Demdike, of the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster, Widdow, who died in the Castle at Lancaster, before she came to receive her tryall.

Though publique justice hath passed at these assises upon the capitall offendours, and after the arraignement and tryall of them, judgement being given, due and timely execution succeeded; which doth import and give the greatest satisfaction that can be to all men; yet because upon the caryage, and event of this businesse, the eyes of all the partes of Lancashire, and other counties in the north partes thereunto adjoyning were bent: And so infinite a multitude came to the arraignement and tryall of these witches at Lancaster, the number of them being knowen to exceed all others at any time heretofore, at one time to be indicted, arraigned, and receive their tryall, especially for so many murders, conspiracies, charmes, meetinges, hellish and damnable practises, so apparant upon their owne examinations and confessions. These, my honourable and worthy lords, the judges of assise, upon great consideration, thought it necessarie and profitable, to publish to the whole world, their most barbarous and damnable

practises, with the direct proceedinges of the court against them, aswell for that there doe passe divers uncertaine reportes and relations of such evidences, as was publiquely given against them at their arraignement. As for that divers came to prosecute against many of them that were not found guiltie, and so rest very discontented, and not satisfied As also for that it is necessary for men to know and understande the meanes whereby they worke their mischiefe, the hidden misteries of their divelish and wicked inchauntmentes, charmes, and sorceries, the better to prevent and avoyde the danger that may ensue. And lastly, who were the principall authors and actors in this late woefull and lamentable tragedie, wherein so much blood was spilt.

Therefore I pray you give me leave, (with your patience and favour,) before I proceed to the indictment, arraignement, and tryall of such as were prisoners in the castle, to lay open the life and death of this damnable and malicious witch, of so long continuance, (old Demdike,) of whom our whole businesse hath such dependence, that without the particular declaration and record of her evidence, with the circumstaunces, wee shall never bring any thing to good perfection: for from this sincke of villainie and mischiefe, have all the rest proceeded; as you shall have them in order.

She was a very old woman, about the age of fourscore yeares, and had been a witch for fiftie yeares. Shee dwelt in the Forrest of Pendle, a vaste place, fitte for her profession: What shee committed in her time, no man knowes.

Thus lived shee securely for many yeares, brought up her owne children, instructed her graund-children, and tooke great care and paines to bring them to be witches. Shee was a generall agent for the devill in all these partes: no man escaped her, or her furies, that ever gave them any occasion of offence, or denyed them any thing they stood need of: and certaine it is, no man neere them was secure or free from danger.

But God, who had in his divine providence provided to cut them off, and roote them out of the commonwealth, so disposed above, that the justices of those partes, understanding, by a generall charme and muttering, the great and universall resort to Maulking Tower, the common opinion, with the report of these suspected people, the complaint of the kinges subjectes for the losse of their children, friendes, goodes, and cattle (as there could not be so great fire without some smoake), sent for some of the countrey, and tooke great paynes to enquire after their proceedinges and courses of life.

In the end, Roger Nowell, Esquire, one of his majesties justices in these partes, a very religious honest gentleman, painefull in the service of his countrey; whose fame, for this great service to his countrey, shall live after him, tooke upon him to enter into the particular examination of these suspected persons: and, to the honour of God, and the great comfort of all his countrey, made such a discovery of them in order, as the like hath not been heard of: which, for your better satisfaction, I have heere placed in order against her as they are upon record, amongst the recordes of the crowne at Lancaster, certified by M. Nowell and others.

The voluntarie Confession and Examination of Elizabeth Sowtherns, alias Demdike, taken at the Fence, in the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster, the second Day of Aprill, Annoq. Regni Regis Jacobi Angliæ, &c. Decimo, et Scotiæ Quadragesimo quinto; *before Roger Nowell, of Reade, Esquire, one of his Majesties Justices of the Peace within the sayd Countie; viz.*

The said Elizabeth Sowtherns confesseth, and sayth, that, about twentie yeares past, as she was comming homeward from begging, there met her this examinate neere unto a stonepit in Gouldshey, in the sayd Forrest of Pendle, a spirit or devill in the shape of a boy, the one halfe of his coate blacke, and the other browne, who bade this examinate

stay, saying to her, that, if she would give him her soule, she should have any thing that she would request. Whereupon this examinat demaunded his name, and the spirit answered, his name was Tibb: and so this examinate, in hope of such gaine as was promised by the sayd devill or Tibb, was contented to give her soule to the said spirit; and for the space of five or sixe yeares next after, the sayd spirit or devill appeared at sundry times unto her this examinate about day-light gate, alwayes bidding her stay, and asking her this examinate what she would have or doe? To whom this examinate replyed, Nay nothing; for she this examinate said she wanted nothing yet. And so about the end of the said sixe yeares, upon a Sabboth-day in the morning, this examinate having a litle child upon her knee, and she being in a slumber, the sayd spirit appeared unto her in the likenes of a browne dogg, forcing himselfe to her knee, to get blood under her left arm: and she being without any apparrell, saving her smocke, the said devill did get blood under her left arm. And this examinate awaking, sayd, "Jesus save my child;" but had no power, nor could not say, Jesus save herselfe: whereupon the browne dogge vanished out of this examinats sight: after which, this examinate was almost starke madd for the space of eight weekes.

And upon her examination, she further confesseth, and saith, that, a little before Christmas last, this examinates daughter having been to helpe Richard Baldwyns folkes at the mill, this examinates daughter did bid her this examinate goe to the said Baldwyns house, and aske him some thing for her helping of his folkes at the mill (as aforesaid:) and in this examinates going to the said Baldwyns house, and neere to the said house, she mette with the said Richard Baldwyn; which Baldwyn sayd to this examinate, and the said Alizon Device (who at this time ledde this examinate, being blinde) get out of my ground, whores and witches; I will burne the one of you, and hang the other. To whom this examinate answered, I care not for thee, hang thy selfe. Presently whereupon, at this examinates going over the next hedge, the said spirit or devill called Tibb, appeared unto this examinat, and sayd, "Revenge thee of him." To whom this examinate sayd againe to the said spirit, "Revenge thee eyther of him or his." And so the said spirit vanished out of her sight, and she never saw him since.

And further this examinate confesseth and sayth, that the speediest way to take a mans life away by witchcraft, is to make a picture of clay, like unto the shape of the person whom they meane to kill, and dry it thorowly; and when they would have them to be ill in any one place more then an other, then take a thorne or pinne, and pricke it in that part of the picture you would so have to be ill; and when you would have any part of the body to consume away, then take that part of the picture, and burne it. And when they would have the whole body to consume away, then take the remnant of the sayd picture, and burne it; and so thereupon, by that meanes, the body shall die.

The Confession and Examination of Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, being Prisoner at Lancaster, taken the 19. *Day of May,* Annoq Regni Regis Jacobi Angliæ, Decimo: ac Scotie Quadragesimo quinto; *before William Sandes, Maior of the Borough Towne of Lancaster, James Anderton, of Clayton, one of his Majesties Justices of the Peace within the same County, and Thomas Cowell, one of his Majesties Coroners in the sayd Countie of Lancaster; viz.*

First, the sayd Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, sayth, that, about foureteene yeares past, she entered, through the wicked perswasions and counsell of Elizabeth Southerns, alias Demdike, and was seduced to condescend and agree to become subject unto that devilish abhominable profession of witchcraft: soone after which the devill appeared unto her in the liknes of a man, about midnight, at the house of the sayd Demdike;

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and thereupon the sayd Demdike and shee went foorth of the said house unto him, whereupon the said wicked spirit mooved this examinate, that she would become his subject, and give her soule unto him; the which at first she refused to assent unto; but after, by the great perswasions made by the sayd Demdike, shee yeelded unto be at his commaundement and appoyntment: whereupon the sayd wicked spirit then sayd unto her, that he must have one part of her body for him to sucke upon; the which shee denyed then to graunt unto him; and withall asked him, what part of her body hee would have for that use? who said, hee would have a place of her right side, neere to her ribbes, for him to sucke upon; whereunto shee assented.

And she further sayth, that at the same time there was a thing in the likenes of a spotted bitch, that came with the sayd spirit unto the sayd Demdike, which then did speake unto her in this examinates hearing, and sayd, that she should have gould, silver, and worldly wealth, at her will. And at the same time she saith, there was victuals, viz. flesh, butter, cheese, bread, and drinke, and bidde them eate enough. And after their eating, the devill called Fancie, and the other spirit calling himselfe Tibbe, carried the remnant away. And she sayeth, that, although they did eate, they were never the fuller, nor better for the same; and that at their said banquet, the said spirits gave them light to see what they did, although they neyther had fire nor candle light; and that they were both shee spirites and divels.

And being further examined how many sundry persons have been bewitched to death, and by whom they were so bewitched: she sayth, that one Robert Nutter, late of the Greene-head, in Pendle, was bewitched by this examinate, the said Demdike, and widdow Lomshawe (late of Burnely), now deceased.

And she further sayth, that the said Demdike shewed her, that she had bewitched to death Richard Ashton, sonne of Richard Ashton, of Downeham, Esquire.

The Examination of Alizon Device, of the Forrest of Pendle, in the County of Lancaster, Spinster, taken at Reade, in the said Countie of Lancaster, the xiii. *Day of March,* Anno Regni Jacobi Angliæ, &c. Nono: et Scotiæ xlv. *Before Roger Nowell of Read, aforesayd, Esquire, one of his Majesties Justices of the Peace within the said Countie, against Elizabeth Sowtherns, alias Demdike, her Graund-mother; viz.*

The said Alizon Device sayth, that about two yeares agon, her graund-mother (called Elizabeth Sowtherns, alias old Demdike) did sundrie times, in going or walking togeather as they went begging, perswade and advise this examinate to let a devill or familiar appeare unto her; and that shee this examinate would let him sucke at some part of her, and shee might have and doe what shee would.

And shee further sayth, that one John Nutter, of the Bulhole, in Pendle aforesaid, had a cow which was sicke, and requested this examinats grand-mother to amend the said cow; and her said graund-mother said she would; and so her said graund-mother, about ten of the clocke in the nighte, desired this examinat to lead her foorth, which this examinate did, being then blind; and her graund-mother did remaine about halfe an houre foorth; and this examinates sister did fetch her in againe; but what shee did when shee was so foorth, this examinate cannot tell. But the next morning, this examinate heard that the sayd cow was dead. And this examinate verily thinketh that her said graund-mother did bewitch the sayd cow to death.

And further, this examinate sayeth, that about two yeares agon, this examinate having gotten a piggin full of blew milke by begging, brought it into the house of her graund-mother, where (this examinate going foorth presently, and staying about halfe an houre) there was butter to the quantity of a quarterne of a pound in the said milke, and the quantitie of the said milke still remayning; and her graund-mother had no

butter in the house when this examinate went foorth; duering which time this examinates graund-mother still lay in her bed.

And further, this examinate sayth, that Richard Baldwin, of Wheethead, within the Forrest of Pendle, about 2 yeares agoe, fell out with this examinates graund-mother, and so would not let her come upon his land; and about foure or five dayes then next after, her said graund-mother did request this examinate to lead her foorth about ten of the clocke in the night; which this examinate accordingly did, and she stayed foorth then about an houre, and this examinates sister fetched her in againe; and this examinate heard the next morning, that a woman child of the sayd Richard Baldwins was fallen sicke; and, as this examinate did then heare, the sayd child did languish afterwards by the space of a yeare, or thereabouts, and dyed; and this examinate verily thinketh that her said graund-mother did bewitch the sayd child to death.

And further, this examinate sayeth, that she heard her sayd graund-mother say, presently after her falling out with the sayd Baldwin, shee would pray for the sayd Baldwin both still and loude: and this examinate heard her cursse the sayd Baldwin sundry times.

The Examination of James Device, of the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster, Labourer, taken the 27. Day of April, Annoq. Regni Regis Jacobi, Anglia, &c. Decimo: ac Scotie Quadragesimo quinto: *Before Roger Nowell and Nicholas Banister, Esquires, two of his Majesties Justices of Peace within the sayd Countie.*

The sayd examinate James Device sayth, that about a month agoe, as this examinate was coming towards his mothers house, and at day-gate of the same night, this examinate mette a browne dogge comming from his graund-mothers house, about tenne roodes distant from the same house; and about two or three nights after, that this examinate heard a voyce of a great number of children screiking and crying pittifully, about day-light gate; and likewise about ten roodes distant of this examinates sayd graund-mothers house. And about five nights then next following, presently after day-light, within 20 roodes of the sayd Elizabeth Sowtherns house, he heard a foule yelling, like unto a great number of cattes; but what they were this examinate cannot tell. And he further sayth, that, about three nights after that, about midnight of the same, there came a thing, and lay upon him very heavily about an houre, and went then from him out of his chamber window, coloured blacke, and about the bignesse of a hare or catte. And he further sayth, that about S. Peters day last, one Henry Bullocke came to the sayd Elizabeth Sowtherns house, and sayd, that her graund-child Alizon Device had bewitched a child of his, and desired her that she would goe with him to his house, which accordingly she did; and thereupon she the said Alizon fell downe on her knees, and asked the said Bullocke forgiveness, and confessed to him, that she had bewitched the said child, as this examinate heard his said sister confesse unto him this examinate.

The Examination of Elizabeth Device, Daughter of old Demdike, taken at Read, before Roger Nowell, Esquire, one of his Majesties Justices of the Peace within the Countie of Lancaster the xxx. *Day of March,* Annoq. Regni Jacobi Decimo, ac Scotie xlv.

The sayd Elizabeth Device, the examinate, sayth, that the sayd Elizabeth Sowtherns, alias Demdike, hath had a place on her left side by the space of fourty yeares, in such sort as was to be seene at this examinates examination, taking at this present time.

Heere this worthy justice M. Nowell, out of these particular examinations, or rather accusations, finding matter to proceed, and having now before him old Demdike, old

Chattox, Alizon Device, and Redferne, both old and young, *Reos confitentes, et accusantes invicem.* About the second of Aprill last past, committed and sent them away to the castle at Lancaster, there to remaine untill the comming of the kinges majesties justices of assise, then to receive their tryall.

But heere they had not stayed a weeke, when their children and friendes being abroad at libertie, laboured a speciall meeting at Malking Tower, in the Forrest of Pendle, upon Good-fryday, within a weeke after they were committed, of all the most dangerous, wicked, and damnable witches in the county farre and neere. Upon Good-fryday they met, according to solemne appoyntment, solemnized this great festivall day according to their former order, with great cheare, merry company, and much conference.

In the end, in this great assemblie, it was decreed M. Covell, by reason of his office, shall be slaine before the next assises: the castle of Lancaster to be blowen up, and ayde and assistance to be sent to kill M. Lister, with his old enemie and wicked neighbour Jennet Preston, with some other such like practises, as upon their arraignement and tryall are particularly set foorth and given in evidence against them.

This was not so secrete, but some notice of it came to M. Nowell, and by his great paines taken in the examination of Jennet Device, al their practises are now made knowen. Their purpose to kill M. Covell, and blow up the castle, is prevented; all their murders, witchcraftes, inchauntments, charmes, and sorceries, are discovered; and even in the middest of their consultations they are all confounded and arrested by Gods justice; brought before M. Nowell and M. Bannister, upon their voluntary confessions, examinations, and other evidence accused, and so by them committed to the castle: so as now both old and young have taken up their lodgings with M. Covell, untill the next assises, expecting their tryall and deliverance, according to the lawes provided for such like.

In the meane time, M. Nowell having knowledge by this discovery of their meeting at Malkeing Tower, and their resolution to execute mischiefe, takes great paines to apprehend such as were at libertie, and prepared evidence against all such as were in question for witches.

Afterwardes sendes some of these examinations to the assises at Yorke, to be given in evidence against Jennet Preston, who, for the murder of M. Lister, is condemned and executed.

The circuite of the north partes being now almost ended.

The 16. of August.

Upon Sunday in the after noone, my honorable lords the judges of assise came from Kendall to Lancaster.

Whereupon M. Covell presented unto their lordships a calendar, conteyning the names of the prisoners committed to his charge, which were to receive their tryall at the assises: out of which we are onely to deale with the proceedings against witches, which were as followeth; viz.

The Names of the Witches committed to the Castle of Lancaster.

Elizabeth Sowtherns, alias Old Demdike, } Who dyed before shee came to her tryall.
Anne Whittle, alias Chattox.
Elizabeth Device, daughter of old Demdike.
James Device, sonne of Elizabeth Device.
Anne Redfearne, daughter of Anne Chattox.

Alice Nutter.
Katherine Hewytte.
John Bulcocke.
Jane Bulcock.
Alizon Device, daughter of Elizabeth Device.
Isabell Robey.
Margaret Pearson.

The Witches of Salmesbury.

Jennet Bierley.
Elen Bierley.
Jane Southworth.
John Ramesden.

Elizabeth Astley.
Alice Gray.
Isabell Sidegraves.
Lawrence Hay.

The next day, being Monday the 17. of August, were the assises holden in the castle of Lancaster, as followeth.

Placita Coronæ.

Lanc. ss.—Deliberatio gaolæ Domini regis castri sui Lancastr. ac prisonariorum in eadem existent. Tenta apud Lancastr. in com. Lancastr. die luna, decimo septimo die Augusti, anno regni Domini nostri Jacobi Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ regis, fidei defensoris decimo: et Scotiæ quadragesimo sexto; coram Jacobo Altham milit. uno baronum scaccarii. Domini regis, et Edwardo Bromley milit. altero baronum in ejusdem scaccarii Domini regis: ac Justic. dicti Domini regis apud Lancastr.

Upon the Tewesday in the after noone, the judges, according to the course and order, devided them selves, where upon my Lord Bromley, one of his majesties judges of assise, comming into the hall to proceede with the pleaes of the crowne, and the arraignement and tryall of prisoners, commanded a generall proclamation, that all justices of peace that had taken any recognisaunces, or examinations of prisoners, should make returne of them: and all such as were bound to prosecute indictmentes, and give evidence against witches, should proceede, and give attendance; for hee now intended to proceed to the arraignement and tryall of witches.

After which, the court being set, M. Sherieffe was commaunded to present his prisoners before his lordship, and prepare a sufficient jurie of gentlemen for life and death. But heere we want old Demdike, who dyed in the castle before she came to her tryall.

Heere you may not expect the exact order of the assises, with the proclamations, and other solemnities belonging to so great a court of justice; but the proceedinges against the witches, who are now upon their deliverance here, in order as they came to the barre, with the particular poyntes of evidence against them: which is the labour and worke we now intend (by God's grace) to perform as we may, to your generall contentment.

Whereupon, the first of all these, Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, was brought to the barre; against whom wee are now ready to proceed.

The Arraignement and Tryall of Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, of the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster, Widdow; about the age of Foure-score yeares, or thereboutes.

ANNE WHITTLE, *alias* CHATTOX.

If, in this damnable course of life, and offences, more horrible and odious, than any man is able to expresse, any man lyving could lament the estate of any such like upon earth; the example of this poore creature would have moved pittie, in respect of her great contrition and repentance, after she was committed to the castle at Lancaster, until the comming of his majesties judges of assise. But such was the nature of her offences, and the multitude of her crying sinnes, as it tooke away all sense of humanity. And the repetition of her hellish practises, and revenge, being the chiefest thinges wherein she alwayes tooke great delight, togeather with a particular declaration of the murders shee had committed, layde open to the world, and given in evidence against her at the time of her arraignement and tryall; as certainely it did beget contempt in the audience, and such as she never offended.

Her owne examination.

This Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, was a very old, withered, spent, and decreped creature, her sight almost gone: A dangerous witch, of very long continuance; alwayes opposite to old Demdike: For whom the one favoured, the other hated deadly. And how they envie and accuse one another, in their examinations may appeare.

In her witchcraft, alwayes more ready to doe mischiefe to mens goods than themselves. Her lippes ever chattering and walking; but no man knew what. She lived in the Forrest of Pendle, amongst this wicked company of dangerous witches. Yet in her examination and confession, she dealt alwayes very plainely and truely: for, upon a speciall occasion, being oftentimes examined in open court, shee was never found to vary, but alwayes to agree in one, and the selfe same thing.

I place her in order, next to that wicked fire-brand of mischiefe, old Demdike, because from these two, sprung all the rest in order: and were the children and friendes of these two notorious witches.

Many thinges in the discovery of them, shall be very worthy your observation. As the times and occasions to execute their mischiefe. And this in generall: the spirit could never hurt till they gave consent.

And, but that it is my charge, to set foorth a particular declaration of the evidence against them, upon their arraignement and tryall; with their divelish practises, consultations, meetings, and murders committed by them, in such sort, as they were given in evidence against them; for the which, I shall have matter upon record; I could make a large comentarie of them: But it is my humble duety, to observe the charge and commaundement of these my honourable good lordes the judges of assise, and not to exceed the limits of my commission. Wherefore I shall now bring this auncient witch to the due course of her tryall, in order, viz.

Indictment.

This Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, of the Forrest of Pendle, in the countie of Lancaster, widdow, being indicted, for that shee feloniously had practised, used, and exercised divers wicked and divelish artes, called witchcraftes, inchauntmentes, charmes, and sorceries, in and upon one Robert Nutter of Greenehead, in the Forrest of Pendle, in the countie of Lanc: and by force of the same witchcraft, feloniously the sayd Robert Nutter had killed, *contra pacem*, &c. Being at the barre, was arraigned.

To this indictment, upon her arraignement, shee pleaded, Not guiltie: and for the tryall of her life, put herselfe upon God and her country.

Whereupon my Lord Bromley commaunded M. Sheriffe of the county of Lancaster, in open court, to returne a jurie of worthy sufficient gentlemen of understanding, to passe betweene our soveraigne lord the kinges majestie, and her, and others the prisoners, upon their lives and deathes; as hereafter follow in order: who were afterwardes sworne, according to the forme and order of the court, the prisoners being admitted to their lawfull challenges.

Which being done, and the prisoner at the barre readie to receive her tryall: M. Nowell, being the best instructed of any man, of all the particular poyntes of evidence against her, and her fellowes, having taken great paynes in the proceedings against her and her fellowes; humbly prayed her owne voluntary confession and examination taken before him, when she was apprehended and committed to the castle of Lancaster for witchcraft; might openly be published against her: which hereafter followeth. Viz.

The Voluntary Confession and Examination of Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, taken at the Fence, in the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster, before Roger Nowell, Esq. one of the Kinges Majesties Justices of Peace, in the Countie of Lancaster. Viz.

The said Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, upon her examination, voluntarily confesseth, and sayth, That about foureteene or fifteene yeares agoe, a thing like a Christian man, for foure yeares togeather, did sundry times come to this examinate, and requested this examinate to give him her soule: And in the end, this examinate was contented to give him her sayd soule, shee being then in her owne house, in the Forrest of Pendle; whereupon the devill, then in the shape of a man, sayd to this examinate, Thou shalt want nothing; and be revenged of whom thou list. And the devill then further commaunded this examinate, to call him by the name of Fancie; and when she wanted any thing, or would be revenged of any, call on Fancie, and he would be ready. And the sayd spirit or devill, did appeare unto her not long after, in mans likenesse, and would have had this examinate to have consented, that he might hurt the wife of Richard Baldwin of Pendle; but this examinate would not then consent unto him: For which cause the sayd devill would then have bitten her by the arme; and so vanished away, for that time.

And this examinate further sayth, That Robert Nutter did desire her daughter, one Redfearn's wife, to have his pleasure of her, being then in Redfearn's house: but the sayd Redfearn's wife denied the sayd Robert; whereupon the sayd Robert seeming to be greatly displeased therewith, in a great anger tooke his horse, and went away, saying in a great rage, that if ever the ground came to him, shee should never dwell upon his land. Whereupon this examinate called Fancie to her; who came to her in the likenesse of a man, in a parcell of ground called, The Laund; asking this examinate, what shee would have him to doe? And this examinate bade him goe revenge her of the said Robert Nutter. After which time, the sayd Robert Nutter lived about a quarter of a yeare, and then dyed.

And this examinate further sayth, That Elizabeth Nutter, wife to old Robert Nutter, did request this examinate, and Loomeshaw's wife, of Burley, and one Jane Boothman, of the same, who are now both dead, (which time of request was before that Robert Nutter desired the company of Redfearn's wife) to get young Robert Nutter his death, if they could; all being togeather then at that time, to that end, that if Robert were dead, then the women their coosens might have the land: By whose perswasion, they all consented unto it. After which time, this examinates sonne in law, Thomas Redfearne, did perswade this examinate, not to kill or hurt the sayd Robert Nutter; for which perswasion, the said Loomeshaw's wife had like to have killed the sayd Redfearne, but that one M. Baldwyn (the late schoole-maister at Coulne) did,

by his learning, stay the sayd Loomeshaw's wife, and therefore had a capon from Redfearne.

And this examinate further sayth, That she thinketh the sayd Loomeshaw's wife, and Jane Boothman, did what they could to kill the sayd Robert Nutter, as well as this examinate did.

The Examination of Elizabeth Southernes, alias Old Demdike: taken at the Fence, in the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster, the day and yeare aforesaid: Before Roger Nowell, Esquire, one of the Kings Majesties Justices of Peace in the said Countie, against Anne Whittle, alias Chattox.

The said Elizabeth Southernes saith upon her examination, That about halfe a yeare before Robert Nutter died, as this examinate thinketh, this examinate went to the house of Thomas Redfearne, which was about mid-sommer, as this examinate remembreth it. And there, within three yards of the east end of the said house, shee saw the said Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, and Anne Redferne, wife of the said Thomas Redferne, and daughter of the said Anne Whittle, alias Chattox: the one on the one side of the ditch, and the other on the other: and two pictures of clay or marle lying by them: and the third picture the said Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, was making: and the said Anne Redferne, her said daughter, wrought her clay or marle to make the third picture withall. And this examinate passing by them, the said spirit, called Tibb, in the shape of a black cat, appeared unto her this examinate, and said, turne back againe, and doe as they doe: To whom this examinate said, what are they doing? whereunto the said spirit said, they are making three pictures: whereupon she asked whose pictures they were? whereunto the said spirit said, they are the pictures of Christopher Nutter, Robert Nutter, and Marie, wife of the said Robert Nutter. But this examinate denying to goe back to helpe them to make the pictures aforesaid; the said spirit seeming to be angrie, therefore shove or pushed this examinate into the ditch, and so shed the milke which this examinate had in a can or kit: and so thereupon the spirit at that time vanished out of this examinates sight: But presently after that, the said spirit appeared to this examinate againe in the shape of a hare, and so went with her about a quarter of a mile, but said nothing to this examinate, nor shee to it.

The Examination and Evidence of James Robinson, taken the day and yeare aforesaid. Before Roger Nowell, Esquire, aforesaid, against Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, Prisoner at the Barre, as followeth. Viz.

The said examinate saith, That about sixe yeares agoe, Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, was hired by this examinates wife to card wooll; and so upon a Friday and Saturday, shee came and carded wooll with this examinates wife, and so the Munday then next after shee came likewise to card: and this examinates wife having newly tunned drinke into stands, which stood by the said Anne Whittle, alias Chattox: and the said Anne Whittle taking a dish or cup, and drawing drinke severall times: and so never after that time, for some eight or nine weekes, they could have any drinke, but spoiled, and, as this examinate thinketh, was by the meanes of the said Chattox. And further he saith, That the said Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, and Anne Redferne her said daughter, are commonly reputed and reported to bee witches. And he also saith, that about some eighteene yeares agoe, he dwelled with one Robert Nutter the elder, of Pendle aforesaid. And that young Robert Nutter, who dwelled with his grand-father, in the sommer time, he fell sicke, and in his said sicknesse hee did severall times complaine, that he had harme by them: and this examinate asking him what hee meant by that word, *Them*, he said, that he verily thought that the said Anne Whittle, alias

Chattox, and the said Redfernes wife, had bewitched him. And the said Robert Nutter shortly after, being to goe with his then master, called for Sir Richard Shattleworth, into Wales, this examinate heard him say before his then going, unto the said Thomas Redferne, that if ever he came again he would get his father to put the said Redferne out of his house, or he himselfe would pull it downe; to whom the said Redferne replyed, saying, when you come back againe you will be in a better minde: but he never came back againe, but died before Candlemas in Cheshire, as he was comming homeward.

Since the voluntarie confession and examination of a witch, doth exceede all other evidence, I spare to trouble you with a multitude of examinations, or depositions of any other witnesses, by reason this bloudie fact, for the murder of Robert Nutter, upon so small an occasion, as to threaten to take away his owne land from such as were not worthie to inhabite or dwell upon it, is now made by that which you have alreadie heard, so apparant, as no indifferent man will question it, or rest unsatisfied. I shall now proceede to set forth unto you the rest of her actions, remaining upon record. And how dangerous it was for any man to live near these people, to give them any occasion of offence, I leave it to your good consideration.

The Examination and Voluntarie Confession of Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, taken at the Fence, in the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster, the second day of Aprill, Anno Regni Regis Jacobi Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ, decimo, et Scotiæ xlv. *Before Roger Nowell, Esquire, one of his Majesties Justices of Peace within the Countie of Lancaster.*

Shee, the said examinate, saith, That shee was sent for by the wife of John Moore, to helpe drinke that was forspoken or bewitched: at which time shee used this prayer for the amending of it, viz.

A Charme.

Three biters hast thou bitten,
The hart, ill eye, ill tonge:
Three bitter shall be thy boote,
Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghost
a God's name.
Five pater-nosters, five avies,
and a creede,
In worship of five wounds
of our Lord.*

After which time that this examinate had used these prayers, and amended her drinke, the said Moore's wife did chide this examinate, and was grieved at her.

And thereupon this examinate called for her devill, Fancie, and bad him goe bite a browne cow of the said Moore's by the head, and make the cow goe madde. And the devill then, in the likenesse of a browne dogge, went to the said cow, and bit her. Which cow went madde accordingly, and died within six weekes next after, or thereabouts.

Also this examinate saith, that shee, perceiving Anthonie Nutter of Pendle to favour Elizabeth Southernes, alias Demdike, shee, this examinate, called Fancie to her, (who

* This charm, and others stated to have been used by these poor creatures, seem to be of popish origin, much corrupted by the illiterate reciters.

appeared like a man) and bad him goe kill a cow of the said Anthonies; which the said devill did, and that cow died also.

And further this examinate saith, That the devill, or Fancie, hath taken most of her sight away from her. And further this examinate saith, That in summer last, save one, the said devill, or Fancie, came upon this examinate in the night-time; and at diverse and sundry times in the likenesse of a beare, gaping as though he would have wearied* this examinate. And the last time of all, shee, this examinate, saw him, was upon Thursday last yeare but one, next before midsummer day, in the evening, like a beare, and this examinate would not then speake unto him, for the which the said devill pulled this examinate downe.

The Examination of James Device, sonne of Elizabeth Device, taken the seven and twentieth day of Aprill, Annoq. Reg. Regis Jacobi Angliæ, &c. Decimo ac Scotiæ xlv. *Before Roger Nowell and Nicholas Banister, Esquires, two of his Majesties Justices of the Peace within the said Countie.* Viz.

And further saith, That twelve yeares agoe, the said Anne Chattox, at a buriall at the new church in Pendle, did take three scalpes, of people, which had been buried, and then cast out of a grave, as she the said Chattox told this examinate; and tooke eight teeth out of the said scalpes, whereof she kept foure to her selfe, and gave other foure to the said Demdike, this examinates grand-mother: which foure teeth now shewed to this examinate, are the foure teeth that the said Chattox gave to his said grand-mother, as aforesaid; which said teeth have ever since beene kept, until now found by the said Henry Hargreives and this examinate, at the west-end of this examinates grand-mothers house, and there buried in the earth, and a picture of clay there likewise found by them, about halfe a yard over in the earth, where the said teeth lay, which said picture so found, was almost withered away, and was the picture of Anne, Anthony Nutters daughter; as this examinates grand-mother told him.

The Examination of Allizon Device, Daughter of Elizabeth Device: Taken at Reade, in the Countie of Lancaster, the thirtieth day of March, Annoq. Reg. Regis Jacobi nunc Angliæ, &c. Decimo, & Scotiæ Quadragessimo quinto. *Before Roger Nowell of Reade aforesaid, Esquire, one of his Majesties Justices of the Peace, within the said Countie.*

This examinate saith, That about eleven yeares agoe, this examinate and her mother had their fire-house broken, and all, or most part of their linnen clothes, and halfe a peck of cut oat-meale, and a quantitie of meale gone, all which was worth twentie shillings or above; and upon a Sunday then next after, this examinate did take a band and a coife, parcell of the goods aforesaid, upon the daughter of Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, and claimed them to be parcell of the goods stolne, as aforesaid.

And this examinate further saith, That her father, called John Device, being afraid, that the said Anne Chattox should doe him or his goods any hurt by witchcraft, did covenant with the said Anne, that if she would hurt neither of them, she should yearely have one aghen-dole of meale; which meale was yearely paid, until the yeare which her father died in, which was about eleven yeares since. Her father upon his then death-bed, taking it that the said Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, did bewitch him to death, because the said meale was not paid the last yeare.

And she also saith, That about two yeares agone, this examinate being in the house of Anthony Nutter of Pendle, aforesaid, and being then in company with Anne Nut-

* *Worried*, it may be presumed.

ter, daughter of the said Anthony, the said Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, came into the said Anthony Nutter's house, and seeing this examinate and the said Anne Nutter laughing, and saying, that they laughed at her, the said Chattox: well said, then (sayes Anne Chattox) I will be meet with the one of you. And, upon the next day after, she, the said Anne Nutter, fell sicke, and within three weekes after died. And further, this examinate saith, That about two yeares agoe, she, this examinate, hath heard, that the said Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, was suspected for bewitching the drinke of John Moore of Higham, gentleman; and not long after, shee, this examinate, heard the said Chattox say, that she would meet with the said John Moore, or his. Whereupon a child of the said John Moores, called John, fell sick, and languished about halfe a yeare, and then died. During which languishing, this examinate saw the said Chattox sitting in her owne garden, and a picture of clay, like unto a child, in her apron; which this examinate espying, the said Anne Chattox would have hidde with her apron: and this examinate declaring the same to her mother, her mother thought it was the picture of the said John Moores childe.

And she this examinate further saith, That about six or seven yeares agoe, the said Chattox did fall out with one Hugh Moore, of Pendle, as aforesaid, about certaine cattell of the said Moores, which the said Moore did charge the said Chattox to have bewitched; for which the said Chattox did curse and worry the said Moore, and said she would be revenged of the said Moore; whereupon the said Moore presently fell sicke, and languished about halfe-a-yeare, and then died. Which Moore, upon his death-bed, said, that the said Chattox had bewitched him to death. And she further saith, that about sixe yeares ago, a daughter of the said Anne Chattox, called Elizabeth, having been at the house of John Nutter of the Bull-hole, to begge or get a dish full of milke, which she had, and brought to her mother, who was about a fields breadth of the said Nutters house, which her said mother, Anne Chattox, tooke and put into a kan, and did charne the same with two stickes acrosse, in the same field; whereupon the said John Nutters sonne came unto her, the said Chattox, and misliking her doings, put the said kan and milke over with his foot; and the morning next after, a cow of the said John Nutters fell sicke, and so languished three or foure dayes, and then died.

In the end, being openly charged with all this in open court, with weeping teares she humbly acknowledged them to be true, and cried out unto God for mercy and forgivenesse of her sinnes, and humbly prayed my lord to be mercifull unto Anne Redfearne, her daughter,[1] of whose life and condition you shall heare more upon her arraignement and triall; whereupon shee being taken away, Elizabeth Device comes now to receive her triall, being the next in order, of whom you shall heare at large.

The Arraignment and Triall of Elizabeth Device, daughter of Elizabeth Sothernes, alias Old Dembdike, late Wife of Jo. Device, of the Forest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster, Widow, for Witchcraft, upon Tuesday the eighteenth of August, at the Assises and Generall Gaole Deliverie holden at Lancaster. Before Sir Edward Bromley, Knight, one of his Majesties Justices of Assise at Lancaster.

ELIZABETH DEVICE.

O barbarous and inhumane monster, beyond example; so farre from sensible understanding of thy owne miserie, as to bring thy owne naturall children into mischiefe and

[1] This affecting touch of nature, by which the mother seems to have devoted herself to save her daughter, seems to have been totally lost on the prejudiced audience, as well as upon the reporter. Sometimes even these degrading trials gave rise to a noble display of character. A poor young woman, whom cruel tortures had compelled to confess this fantastic crime, was urged by the compassionate spectators to plead pregnancy. She answered firmly, she would not make herself both a witch and a strumpet, and suffered death accordingly.—HUTCHINSON *on Witchcraft.*

bondage, and thy selfe to be a witnesse upon the gallowes, to see thy owne children, by thy devillish instructions, hatcht up in villanie and witchcraft, to suffer with thee, even in the beginning of their time, a shamefull and untimely death. Too much (so it be true) cannot be said or written of her. Such was her life and condition, that even at the barre, when she came to receive her triall, (where the least sparke of grace or modestie would have procured favour, or moved pitie) she was not able to containe her selfe within the limits of any order or government; but exclaiming, in very outragious manner, crying out against her owne children, and such as came to prosecute indictments and evidence for the kings majestie against her, for the death of their children, friends, and kinsfolkes, whome cruelly and bloudily, by her enchauntments, charmes, and sorceries, she had murthered and cut off, sparing no man with fearfull execrable curses and banning. Such in generall was the common opinion of the countrey where she dwelt, in the Forrest of Pendle, (a place fit for people of such condition) that no man neere her, neither his wife, children, goods, or cattell, should be secure, or free from danger.

This Elizabeth Device was the daughter of Elizabeth Sothernes, old Dembdike, a malicious, wicked, and dangerous witch for fiftie yeares, as appeareth by record; and how much longer, the devill and shee knew best, with whome shee made her covenant.

It is very certaine, that amongst all these witches, there was not a more dangerous and devillish witch to execute mischiefe, having old Dembdike, her mother, to assist her; James Device, and Alizon Device, her owne naturall children, all provided with spirits, upon any occasion of offence readie to assist her.

Upon her examination, although Master Nowel was very circumspect, and exceeding carefull in dealing with her, yet she would confesse nothing, until it pleased God to raise up a yong maid, Jennet Device, her owne daughter, about the age of nine yeares, (a witnesse unexpected) to discover all their practises, meetings, consultations, murthers, charmes, and villanies. Such, and in such sort, as I may justly say of them, as a reverend and learned judge of this kingdome speaketh of the greatest treason that ever was in this kingdom, *Quis hæc posteris sic narrare poterit, ut facta non ficta esse videantur?* That when these things shall be related to posterity, they will be reputed matters fained, not done.

And then knowing that both Jennet Device, her daughter, James Device, her sonne, and Alizon Device, with others, had accused her and layd open all things, in their examinations taken before Master Nowell, and although she were their owne naturall mother, yet they did not spare to accuse her of every particular fact which in her time she had committed, to their knowledge; she made a very liberall and voluntarie confession, as hereafter shall be given in evidence against her, upon her arraignment and triall.

This Elizabeth Device being at libertie, after old Dembdike, her mother, Alizon Device, her daughter, and old Chattocks, were committed to the castle of Lancaster for witchcraft, laboured not a little to procure a solemne meeting at Malkyn Tower, of the graund witches of the counties of Lancaster and Yorke, being yet unsuspected and untaken, to consult of some speedie course for the deliverance of their friends, the witches at Lancaster, and for the putting in execution of some other devillish practises of murther and mischiefe; as upon the arraignement and triall of James Device, her sonne, shall hereafter in every particular point, appeare at large against her.

The First Indictment.

This Elizabeth Device, late the wife of John Device, of the Forrest of Pendle, in the countie of Lancaster, widdow, being indicted for that shee felloniously had practized, used, and exercised divers wicked and devillish arts, called witchcrafts, inchantments,

charmes, and sorceries, in and upon one John Robinson, alias Swyer; and by force of the same felloniously, the said John Robinson, alias Swyer, had killed. *Contra pacem*, &c., being at the barre, was arraigned.

2. Indictment.

The said Elizabeth Device was the second time indicted in the same manner and forme, for the death of James Robinson, by witchcraft. *Contra pacem*, &c.

3. Indictment.

The said Elizabeth Device was the third time, with others, viz. Alice Nutter, and Elizabeth Sothernes, alias old Dembdike, her grand-mother, indicted in the same manner and forme, for the death of Henrie Mytton. *Contra pacem*, &c.

To these three severall indictments, upon her arraignement, shee pleaded not guiltie; and for the tryall of her life, put her selfe upon God and her countrie.

So as now the gentlemen of the jurie of life and death, stand charged to finde whether she bee guiltie of them, or any of them.

Whereupon there was openly read and given in evidence against her, for the kings majestie, her owne voluntarie confession and examination, when she was apprehended, taken, and committed to the Castle of Lancaster, by M. Nowel, and M. Bannester, two of his majesties justices of peace in the same countie, viz.

The Examination and Voluntarie Confession of Elizabeth Device, taken at the House of James Wilsey, of the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster, the seven-and-twentieth day of April, Anno Reg. Jacobi, Angl. &c. Decimo, et Scotiæ xlv. *Before Roger Nowell, and Nicholas Bannester, Esquires, two of his Majesties Justices of the Peace within the same Countie, viz.*

The said Elizabeth Device, mother of the said James, being examined, confesseth and saith,

That at the third time her spirit, the spirit Ball, appeared to her in the shape of a browne dogge, at or in her mothers house in Pendle Forrest aforesaid; about foure yeares agoe the said spirit bidde this examinate make a picture of clay, after the said John Robinson, alias Swyer, which this examinate did make accordingly, at the west end of her said mothers house, and dryed the same picture with the fire, and crumbled all the same picture away, within a weeke, or thereabouts; and about a weeke after the picture was crumbled or mulled away, the said Robinson dyed.

The reason wherefore shee this examinate did so bewitch the said Robinson to death, was, for that the said Robinson had chidden and becalled this examinate, for having a bastard child with one Seller.

And this examinate further saith and confesseth, That she did bewitch the said James Robinson to death, as in the said Jennet Device her examination is confessed.

And further she saith and confesseth, That shee, with the wife of Richard Nutter, and this examinates said mother, joyned altogether, and did bewitch the said Henrie Mytton to death.

The Examination and Evidence of Jennet Device, Daughter of the said Elizabeth Device, late Wife of John Device, of the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster, against Elizabeth Device, her Mother, Prisoner at the Barre, upon her Arraignement and Triall, viz.

The said Jennet Device, being a yong maide, about the age of nine yeares, and commanded to stand up to give evidence against her mother, prisoner at the barre, her mother, according to her accustomed manner, outrageously cursing, cryed out against the child in such fearefull manner, as all the court did not a little wonder at her, and so amazed the child, as with weeping teares she cryed out unto my lord the judge, and told him, shee was not able to speake in the presence of her mother.

This odious witch was branded with a preposterous marke in nature, even from her birth, which was her left eye standing lower than the other; the one looking downe, the other looking up, so strangely deformed, as the best that were present in that honourable assembly and great audience, did affirme they had not often seene the like.

No intreatie, promise of favour, or other respect, could put her to silence, thinking by this her outragious cursing and threatning of the child, to inforce her to denie that which she had formerly confessed against her mother before M. Nowel; forswearing and denying her owne voluntarie confession, which you have heard given in evidence against her at large, and so, for want of further evidence, to escape that which the justice of the law had provided as a condigne punishment for the innocent bloud shee had spilt, and her wicked and devillish course of life.

In the end, when no meanes would serve, his lordship commanded the prisoner to be taken away, and the maide to bee set upon the table, in the presence of the whole court, who delivered her evidence in that honourable assembly, to the gentlemen of the jurie of life and death, as followeth, viz.

Jennet Device, daughter of Elizabeth Device, late wife of John Device, of the Forrest of Pendle aforesaid, widow, confesseth and saith, That her said mother is a witch, and that this shee knoweth to be true, for that shee hath seene her spirit sundrie times come unto her said mother in her owne house, called Malking Tower, in the likenesse of a browne dogge, which shee called Ball; and at one time amongst others, the said Ball did aske this examinates mother what she would have him to doe? and this examinates mother answered, that she would have the said Ball to helpe her to kill John Robinson of Barley, alias Swyre; by helpe of which said Ball, the said Swyer was killed by witchcraft accordingly; and that this examinates mother hath continued a witch for these three or foure yeares last past. And further, this examinate confesseth, That about a yeare after, this examinates mother called for the said Ball, who appeared as aforesaid, asking this examinates mother what shee would have done? who said, that shee would have him to kill James Robinson, alias Swyer, of Barlow aforesaid, brother to the said John; whereunto Ball answered, he would doe it; and about three weekes after, the said James dyed.

And this examinate also saith, That one other time shee was present, when her said mother did call for the said Ball, who appeared in manner as aforesaid, and asked this examinates mother what shee would have him to doe? whereunto this examinates mother then said, she would have him to kill one Mitton of the Rough-Lee; whereupon the said Ball said he would doe it, and so vanished away; and about three weekes after, the said Mitton likewise dyed.

The Examination of James Device, Sonne of the said Elizabeth Device, taken the seven-and-twentieth day of Aprill, Annoq. Reg. Regis Jacobi Angliæ, &c. Decimo, ac Scotiæ, xlv. *Before Roger Nowell, and Nicholas Bannester, Esquires, two of his Majesties Justices of the Peace within the said Countie, viz.*

The said James Device being examined, saith, That he heard his grandmother say, about a yeare agoe, that his mother, called Elizabeth Device, and others, had killed one Henry Mitton of the Rough-Lee aforesaid, by witchcraft. The reason wherefore he was so killed, was for that this examinates said grandmother, old Demdike, had asked the said Mitton a penny, and he denying her thereof, thereupon she procured his death as aforesaid.

And he, this examinate, also saith, That about three yeares ago, this examinate being in his grandmothers house, with his said mother, there came a thing in shape of a browne dogge, which his mother called Ball, who spake to this examinates mother, in the sight and hearing of this examinate, and bad her make a picture of clay like unto John Robinson alias Swyer, and drie it hard, and then crumble it by little and little; and as the said picture should crumble or mull away, so should the said Jo. Robinson, alias Swyer, his body decay and weare away. And within two or three dayes after, the picture shall so all be wasted and mulled away, so then the said John Robinson should die presently. Upon the agreement betwixt the said dogge and this examinates mother, the said dogge suddenly vanished out of this examinates sight. And the next day, this examinate saw his said mother take clay at the west-end of her said house, and make a picture of it after the said Robinson, and brought it into her house, and dried it some two dayes; and about two dayes after the drying thereof, this examinates said mother fell on crumbling the said picture of clay, every day some, for some three weekes together; and within two dayes after all was crumbled or mulled away, the said John Robinson died.

Being demanded by the court what answere shee could give to the particular points of the evidence against her, for the death of these severall persons, impudently she denied them, crying out against her children, and the rest of the witnesses against her.

But because I have charged her to be the principall agent to procure a solemne meeting at Malking Tower of the grand witches, to consult of some speedy course for the deliverance of her mother, old Demdike, her daughter, and other witches at Lancaster; the speedie execution of Master Covell, who little suspected or deserved any such practise or villany against him; the blowing up of the castle, with divers other wicked and divellish practises and murthers; I shall make it apparant unto you, by the particular examinations and evidence of her owne children, such as were present at the time of their consultation, together with her owne examination and confession, amongst the records of the crowne at Lancaster, as hereafter followeth.

The Voluntary Confession and Examination of Elizabeth Device, taken at the House of James Wilsey, of the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster, the seven-and-twentieth day of Aprill, Annoq. Reg. Regis Jacobi Angliæ, &c. Decimo, et Scotiæ Quadragesimo quinto. *Before Roger Nowell, and Nicholas Bannester, Esquires, two of his Majesties Justices of the Peace within the same Countie, viz.*

The said Elizabeth Device being further examined, confesseth, That upon Good-Friday last, there dined at this examinates house, called Malking Tower, those which she hath said are witches, and doth verily think them to be witches; and their names are those whom James Device hath formerly spoken of to be there. And she further

saith, That there was also at her said mothers house, at the day and time aforesaid, two women of Burneley parish, whose names the wife of Richard Nutter doth know. And there was likewise there, one Anne Crouckshey, of Marsden: and shee also confesseth in all things touching the christening of the spirit, and the killing of Master Lister of Westbie, as the said James Device hath before confessed; but denieth of any talke was amongst them, the said witches, to her now remembrance, at the said meeting together, touching the killing of the gaoler, or the blowing up of Lancaster Castle.

The Examination and Evidence of Jennet Device, Daughter of the said Elizabeth Device, late Wife of John Device, of the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster, against Elizabeth Device, her Mother, Prisoner at the Barre, upon her Arraignement and Triall, viz.

The said Jennet Device saith, That upon Good-Friday last, there was about twentie persons (whereof onely two were men, to this examinates remembrance) at her said grandmothers house, called Malking Tower, aforesaid, about twelve of the clocke; all which persons, this examinates said mother told her were witches, and that they came to give a name to Alizon Device spirit, or familiar, sister to this examinate, and now prisoner at Lancaster. And also this examinate saith, that the persons aforesaid had to their dinners beefe, bacon, and roasted mutton; which mutton (as this examinates said brother said) was of a wether of Christopher Swyers of Barley; which wether was brought in the night before into this examinates mothers house by the said James Device, this examinates said brother; and in this examinates sight killed and eaten, as aforesaid. And shee further saith, that shee knoweth the names of sixe of the said witches, viz. the wife of Hugh Hargraves, Under Pendle, Christopher Howgate of Pendle, unckle to this examinate, and Elizabeth his wife, and Dick Miles his wife of the Rough-Lee, Christopher Jackes of Thorney-Holme, and his wife; and the names of the residue shee this examinate doth not know, saving that this examinates mother and brother were both there. And lastly, shee this examinate confesseth and saith, That her mother hath taught her two prayers: the one to cure the bewitched, and the other to get drinke; both which particularly appeare.

The Examination and Evidence of James Device, Sonne of the said Elizabeth Device, late Wife of John Device, of the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster. Against Elizabeth Device, his Mother, Prisoner at the Barre, upon her Arraignment and Triall, viz.

The said James Device saith, That on Good-Friday last, about twelve of the clocke, in the day time, there dined in this examinates said mothers house, at Malking-Tower, a number of persons, whereof three were men, with this examinate, and the rest women; and that they met there for three causes following, as this examinates said mother told this examinate. The first was, for the naming of the spirit, which Alizon Device, now prisoner at Lancaster, had, but did not name him, because shee was not there. The second was, for the deliverie of his said grandmother, Olde Dembdike; this examinates said sister Allizon; the said Anne Chattox, and her daughter Redferne; killing the gaoler at Lancaster; and before the next assises, to blow up the castle there; and to that end, the aforesaid prisoners might by that time make an escape, and get away All which this examinate then heard them conferre of.

And he also sayth, That the names of the said witches, as were on Good-Friday at this examinates said grandmothers house, and now this examinates owne mothers, for

so many of them as hee did know, were these, viz. the wife of Hugh Hargreives of Burley; the wife of Christopher Bulcock of the Mosse end, and John her sonne; the mother of Myles Nutter; Elizabeth, the wife of Christopher Hargreives of Thurniholme; Christopher Howgate, and Elizabeth his wife; Alice Graye of Coulne, and one Mould-heeles, wife of the same; and this examinate, and his mother. And this examinate further sayth, That all the witches went out of the said house in their own shapes and likenesses. And they all, by that they were forth of the dores, gotten on horsebacke, like unto foales, some of one colour, some of another; and Prestons wife was the last; and when she got on horsebacke, they all presently vanished out of this examinates sight. And before their said parting away, they all appointed to meete at the said Prestons wives house that day twelve-moneths; at which time the said Prestons wife promised to make them a great feast. And if they had occasion to meete in the meane time, then should warning be given, that they all should meete upon Romleyes moore. Executed at Corke the last Assises.

And here they parted, with resolution to execute their devillish and bloudie practises, for the deliverance of their friends, untill they came to meete here, where their power and strength was gone. And now finding her meanes was gone, shee cryed out for mercie. Whereupon shee being taken away, the next in order was her sonne, James Device, whom she and her mother, old Dembdike, brought to act his part, in this wofull tragedie.

The Arraignment and Triall of James Device, Sonne of Elizabeth Device, of the Forrest of Pendle, within the Countie of Lancaster aforesaid, Labourer, for Witchcraft; upon Tuesday the eighteenth of August, at the Assises and Generall Gaole-Deliverie, holden at Lancaster, before Sir Edward Bromley, Knight, one of his Majesties Justices of Assise, at Lancaster.

James Device.

This wicked and miserable wretch, whether by practise, or meanes, to bring himselfe to some untimely death, and thereby to avoide his tryall by his countrey, and just judgement of the law; or ashamed to bee openly charged with so many devillish practises, and so much innocent bloud as hee had spilt; or by reason of his imprisonment so long time before his tryall, (which was with more favour, commiseration, and reliefe then he deserved,) I know not; but being brought forth to the barre, to receive his triall before this worthie judge, and so honourable and worshipfull an assembly of justices for this service, was so insensible, weake, and unable in all thinges, as he could neither speake, heare, or stand, but was holden up when hee was brought to the place of his arraignement, to receive his triall.

This James Device of the forrest of Pendle, being brought to the barre, was there, according to the forme, order, and course, indicted and arraigned; for that hee felloniously had practised, used, and exercised divers wicked and devilish arts, called witch-crafts, inchauntments, charmes, and sorceries, in, and upon one Anne Townely, wife of Henrie Townely of the Carre, in the countie of Lancaster, gentleman, and her by force of the same, felloniously had killed. *Contra pacem*, &c.

The said James Device was the second time indicted and arraigned in the same manner and forme, for the death of John Duckworth, by witch-craft. *Contra pacem*, &c.

To these two severall indictments upon his arraignment, he pleaded not guiltie, and for the triall of his life, put himself upon God and his countrie.

So as now the gentlemen of the jurie, of life and death, stand charged to find, whether he be guiltie of these, or either of them.

Whereupon Master Nowel humbly prayed Master Townely might be called, who attended to prosecute, and give evidence against him for the kings majestie, and that the particular examinations, taken before him and others, might be openly published and read in court, in the hearing of the prisoner.

But because it were infinite to bring him to his particular triall for every offence, which hee hath committed in his time, and every practice wherein he hath had his hand, I shall proceede in order with the evidence remaining upon record against him, amongst the records of the crowne; both how, and in what sort hee came to be a witch, and shew you what apparant proofe there is to charge him with the death of these two several persons, for the which hee now standeth upon his triall for al the rest of his devillish practises, incantations, murders, charmes, sorceries, meetings to consult with witches, to execute mischiefe (take them as they are against him upon record:) Enough, I doubt not. For these with the course of his life, will serve his turne to deliver you from the danger of him that never tooke felicitie in any things, but in revenge, bloud, and mischiefe, with crying out unto God for vengeance; which hath now at the length brought him to the place where hee stands to receive his triall with more honour, favour, and respect, then such a monster in nature doth deserve; and I doubt not, but in due time, by the justice of the law, to an untimely and shameful death.

The Examination of James Device, Sonne of Elizabeth Device, of the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster, Labourer. Taken the seven and twentieth day of Aprill, Annoq. Reg. Regis Jacobi, Angliæ, &c. x°. et Scotiæ Quadragesimo quinto, *before Roger Nowell, and Nicholas Bannester, Esquires, two of his Majesties Justices of Peace within the said Countie.*

He saith, That upon Sheare-Thursday was two years, his grand-mother Elizabeth Southerns, alias Dembdike, did bid him, this examinate, goe to the church to receive the communion, (the next day after being Good Friday,) and then not to eate the bread the minister gave him, but to bring it and deliver it to such a thing, as should meet him in his way homewards: notwithstanding her perswasions, this examinate did eate the bread; and so in his comming homeward some fortie roodes off the said church, there met him a thing in the shape of a hare, who spoke unto this examinate, and asked him whether hee had brought the bread that his grand-mother had bidden him or no? whereupon this examinate answered, he had not; and thereupon the said thing threatened to pull this examinate in peeces, and so this examinate thereupon marked himself to God, and so the said thing vanished out of this examinates sight. And within some foure daies after that, there appeared in this examinates sight, hard by the new church in Pendle, a thing like unto a browne dogge, who asked this examinate to give him his soule, and he should be revenged of any whom hee would; whereunto this examinate answered, that his soule was not his to give, but was his Saviour Jesus Christs, but as much as was in him this examinate to give, he was contented he should have it.

And within two or three daies after, this examinate went to the Carre-hall, and upon some speeches betwixt Mistris Townely and this examinate; she charging this examinate and his said mother, to have stolne some turves of hers, badde him packe the doores: and withall as he went forth of the doore, the said Mistris Towneley gave him a knock betweene the shoulders; and about a day or two after that, there appeared unto this examinate in his way, a thing like unto a black dog, who put this examinate in mind of the said Mistres Towneleys falling out with him, this examinate; who bad

this examinate make a picture of clay, like unto the said Mistris Towneley; and that this examinate with the helpe of his spirit, (who then ever after bidde this examinate to call it Dandy,) would kill or destroy the said Mistris Towneley; and so the said dogge vanished out of this examinates sight. And the next morning after, this examinate tooke clay, and made a picture of the said Mistres Towneley, and dried it the same night by the fire; and within a day after, hee, this examinate, began to crumble the said picture, every day some, for the space of a weeke; and within two daies after all was crumbled away, the said Mistris Towneley died.

And hee further saith, That in Lent last, one John Duckworth of the Lawnde, promised this examinate an old shirt; and within a fortnight after, this examinate went to the said Duckworthes house, and demanded the said old shirt; but the said Duckworth denied him thereof. And going out of the said house, the said spirit Dandy appeared unto this examinate, and said, thou didst touch the said Duckworth; whereunto this examinate answered, he did not touch him: yes, (said the spirit again,) thou didst touch him, and therefore I have power of him: whereupon this examinate joyned with the said spirit, and then wished the said spirit to kill the said Duckworth: and within one weeke, then next after, Duckworth died.

This voluntary confession and examination of his owne, containing in it selfe matter sufficient in law to charge him, and to prove his offences, contained in the two severall indictments, was sufficient to satisfie the gentlemen of the jury of life and death, that he is guiltie of them, and either of them; yet my lord Bromley commanded, for their better satisfaction, that the witnesses present in court, against any of the prisoners, should be examined openly, *viva voce* that the prisoner might both heare, and answer to every particular point of their evidence; notwithstanding any of their examinations taken before any of his majesties justices of peace within the same countie.

Herein do but observe the wonderfull work of God; to raise up a young infant, the very sister of the prisoner, Jennet Device, to discover, justifie and prove these things against him, at the time of his arraignement and triall, as hereafter followeth, viz.

The Examination and Evidence of Jennet Device, Daughter of Elizabeth Device, late Wife of John Device of the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster. Against James Device, Prisoner at the Barre, upon his Arraignment and Triall, viz.

Being examined in open court, she saith, That her brother James Device, the prisoner at the barre, hath beene a witch for the space of three yeares; about the beginning of which time, there appeared unto him, in this examinates mothers house, a black dogge, which her said brother called Dandy. And further, this examinate confesseth, and saith, That her said brother, about a twelve month since, in the presence of this examinate, and in the house aforesaid, called for the said Dandy, who thereupon appeared, asking this examinates brother what he would have him to doe. This examinates brother then said, he would have him to helpe him to kill old Mistris Towneley of the Carre; whereunto the said Dandy answered, and said, That her said brother should have his best helpe for the doing of the same; and that her said brother, and the said Dandy, did both in this examinates hearing, say, they would make away the said Mistris Towneley. And about a weeke after, this examinate comming to the Carre-hall, saw the said Mistris Towneley in the kitchen there, nothing well; whereupon it came into this examinates minde, that her said brother, by the help of Dandy, had brought the said Mistress Towneley into the state she then was in.

Which examinate, although she were but very yong, yet it was wonderfull to the court, in so great a presence and audience, with what modestie, government, and understanding, shee delivered this evidence against the prisoner at the barre, being her

owne naturall brother, which he himselfe could not deny, but there acknowledged in every particular to be just and true.

But behold a little further, for here this bloudy monster did not stay his hands: for besides his wicked and devillish spels, practises, meetings to consult of murder and mischiefe, which (by God's grace,) hereafter shall follow in order against him; there is yet more bloud to be laid unto his charge. For although he were but yong, and in the beginning of his time, yet was he carefull to observe his instructions from old Demdike his grandmother, and Elizabeth Device his mother, in so much, that no time should passe since his first entrance into that damnable arte and exercise of witchcrafts, inchantments, charmes and sorceries, without mischiefe or murder. Neither should any man upon the least occasion of offence given unto him, escape his hands, without some danger. For these particulars were no sooner given in evidence against him, when he was againe indicted and arraigned for the murder of these two, viz.

James Device of the Forrest of Pendle aforesaid, in the countie of Lancaster, labourer, the third time indicted and arraigned for the death of John Hargrave of Gould-shey-booth, in the countie of Lancaster, by witchcraft, as aforesaid. *Contra, &c.*

To this inditement upon his arraignment, he pleaded thereunto not guiltie; and for his triall put himself upon God and his countrey, &c.

James Device of the Forrest of Pendle aforesaid, in the countie of Lancaster, labourer, the fourth time indicted and arraigned for the death of Blaze Hargreves of Higham, in the countie of Lancaster, by witchcraft, as aforesaid. *Contra pacem, &c.*

To this indictment upon his arraignement, he pleaded thereunto not guiltie; and for the triall of his life, put himself upon God and the countrey, &c.

Hereupon Jennet Device produced, sworne and examined, as a witnesse on his majesties behalfe, against the said James Device, was examined in open court, as followeth, viz.

The Examination and Evidence of Jennet Device aforesaid. Against James Device, her brother, Prisoner at the Barre, upon his Arraignement and Triall, viz.

Being sworne and examined in open court, she saith, That her brother James Device hath beene a witch for the space of three yeares: about the beginning of which time, there appeared unto him, in this examinates mothers house, a blacke dogge, which her said brother called Dandy, which Dandy did aske her said brother, what he would have him to doe, whereunto he answered, hee would have him to kill John Hargreives, of Gold-shey booth; whereunto Dandy answered, that he would doe it; since which time the said John is dead.

And at another time this examinate confesseth, and saith, That her said brother did call the said Dandy, who thereupon appeared in the said house, asking this examinates brother what hee would have him to doe; whereupon this examinates said brother said, he would have him to kill Blaze Hargreives of Higham; whereupon Dandy answered, hee should have his best helpe, and so vanished away; and shee saith, that since that time the said Hargreives is dead; but how long after, this examinate doth not now remember.

All which things, when he heard his sister upon her oath affirme, knowing them in his conscience to bee just and true, slenderly denyed them, and thereupon insisted.

To this examination were diverse witnesses examined in open court, *viva voce*, concerning the death of the parties, in such manner and forme, and at such time as the said Jennet Device in her evidence hath formerly declared to the court.

Which is all, and I doubt not but matter sufficient in law to charge him with, for the death of these parties.

For the proofe of his practises, charmes, meetings at Malking-Tower, to consult with witches to execute mischiefe, Master Nowel humbly prayed, his owne examination, taken and certified, might openly be read; and the rest in order, as they remain upon record amongst the records of the crowne at Lancaster: as hereafter followeth, viz.

The Examination of James Device, Sonne of Elizabeth Device, of the Forrest of Pendle: Taken the seven-and-twentieth day of Aprill aforesaid. Before Roger Nowell and Nicholas Bannester, Esquires, two of his Majesties Justices of Peace within the said Countie, viz.

And being examined, he further saith, That upon Sheare-Thursday last, in the evening, he this examinate stole a wether from John Robinson of Barley, and brought it to his grand-mothers house, old Dembdike, and there killed it; and that upon the day following, being Good-Friday, about twelve of the clocke in the day time, there dined in this examinates mothers house a number of persons, whereof three were men, with this examinate, and the rest women; and that they met there for three causes following, as this examinates said mother told this examinate.

1. The first was, for the naming of the spirit which Alizon Device, now prisoner at Lancaster, had, but did not name him, because she was not there.

2. The second cause was, for the deliverie of his said grand-mother; this examinates said sister Alizon; the said Anne Chattox, and her daughter Redferne; killing the gaoler at Lancaster; and before the next assises to blow up the castle there, to the end the aforesaid persons might by that meanes make an escape and get away; all which this examinate then heard them conferre of. [1]

3. And the third cause was, for that there was a woman dwelling in Gisborne parish, who came into this examinates said grand-mothers house, who there came and craved assistance of the rest of them that were then there, for the killing of Master Lister of Westby, because (as she then said) he had borne malice unto her, and had thought to have put her away at the last Assises at Yorke, but could not; and this examinate heard the said woman say, that her power was not strong ynough to doe it her selfe, being now lesse then before time it had beene.

And also, That the said Jennet Preston had a spirit with her, like unto a white foale, with a blacke spot in the forhead.

And he also saith, that the names of the said witches as were on Good-Friday at

[1] In this dismal plot of blowing up the castle, the witches forgot the limitation of their own power, which incapacitates them from acting in aid of those of the sisterhood who happen to be legally committed to jail. Yet that they have the means of carrying on their supernatural intercourse, even during imprisonment, is proved by the evidence of Sir John Reresby.

"Leaving the public affairs for a while at this untoward pass, I would venture to take notice of a private occurrence, which made some noise at York. The assizes being there held, an old woman was condemned for a witch (March 7th, 1686.) Those who were more credulous in points of this nature than myself, conceived the evidence to be very strong against her. The boy she was said to have bewitched fell down on a sudden, before all the court, when he saw her, and would then as suddenly return to himself again, and very distinctly relate the several injuries she had done him; but in all this it was observed the boy was free from any distortion, that he did not foam at the mouth, and that his fits did not leave him gradually, but all at once; so that, upon the whole, the judge thought it proper to reprieve her; in which he seemed to act the part of a wise man. But though such is my own private opinion, I cannot help continuing my story. One of my soldiers being upon guard, about eleven in the night, at the gate of Clifford tower, the very night after the witch was arraigned, he heard a great noise at the castle, and going to the porch, he there saw a scroll of paper creep from under the door, which, as he imagined by moonshine, turned first into the shape of a monkey, and thence assumed the form of a turkey cock, which passed to and fro by him. Surprised at this, he went to the prison, and called the under keeper, who came and saw the scroll dance up and down, and creep under the door, where there was scarce an opening of the thickness of half-a-crown. This extraordinary story I had from the mouth of both the one and the other, and now leave it to be believed or disbelieved as the reader may be inclined this way or that."—Reresby's *Memoirs*, p. 328.

this examinates said grandmothers house, and now this examinates owne mothers, for so many of them as he did know, were these, viz. the wife of Hugh Hargreives of Barley; the wife of Christopher Bulcock of the Mosse-end, and John her sonne; the mother of Myles Nutter; Elizabeth, the wife of Christopher Hargreives of Thurniholme; Christopher Howgate, and Elizabeth his wife; Alice Graye of Coulne, and one Moulde-heeles, wife of the same; and this examinate, and his mother. And this examinate further saith, That all the said witches went out of the said house in their owne shapes and likenesses. And they all, by that they were forth of the dores, were gotten on horsebacke, like unto foales, some of one colour, some of another; and Prestons wife was the last; and when shee got on horsebacke, they all presently vanished out of this examinates sight. And before their said parting away, they all appointed to meete at the said Prestons wives house that day twelve-moneths; at which time the said Prestons wife promised to make them a great feast. And if they had occasion to meete in the meane time, then should warning be given, that they all should meete upon Romeleyes Moore.

The Examination and Evidence of Jennet Device, against James Device her said Brother Prisoner at the Barre, upon his Arraignement and Triall; Taken before Roger Nowell, and Nicholas Bannester, Esquires; two of his Majesties Justices of Peace within the said Countie, viz.

Shee saith, that upon Good-Friday last there was about twentie persons, whereof only two were men, to this examinates remembrance, at her said grandmothers house, called Malking-Tower aforesaid, about twelve of the clock; all which persons this examinates said mother told her were witches, and that they came to give a name to Alizon Device spirit or familiar, sister to this examinate, and now prisoner in the castle of Lancaster: and also this examinate saith, that the persons aforesaid had to their dinners, beefe, bacon, and rosted mutton, which mutton, as this examinates said brother said, was of a weather of Robinsons of Barley: which weather was brought in the night before into this examinates mothers house, by the said James Device, this examinates said brother, and in this examinates sight killed, and eaten, as aforesaid; and shee further saith, that shee knoweth the names of sixe of the said witches, viz. the wife of the said Hugh Hargreives, Under Pendle; Christopher Howget of Pendle, uncle to this examinate; and Dick Miles wife of the Rough-Lee: Christopher Jacks of Thorne-holme, and his wife; and the names of the residue, shee this examinate doth not know, saving that this examinates mother and brother were both there.

The Examination of Elizabeth Device, Mother of the said James Device, of the Forrest of Pendle; taken the seven-and-twentieth day of Aprill aforesaid. Before Roger Nowell, and Nicholas Bannester, Esquires; as aforesaid. viz.

Being examined, the said Elizabeth saith and confesseth, that upon Good-friday last, there dined at this examinates house, those which she hath said to be witches, and doth verily thinke them to bee witches, and their names are those, whom James Device hath formerly spoken of to be there.

And shee also confesseth in all things touching the christning of her spirit, and the killing of Master Lister of Westby, as the said James Device confesseth. But denieth that any talke was amongst them the said witches, to her now remembrance, at the said meeting together, touching the killing of the gaoler at Lancaster; blowing up of the castle, thereby to deliver old Dembdike her mother, Alizon Device her daughter, and other prisoners, committed to the said castle for witchcraft.

After all these things opened, and delivered in evidence against him; Master Couil, who hath the custodie of the gaole at Lancaster, having taken great pains with him during the time of his imprisonment, to procure him to discover his practizes, and such other witches as hee knew to bee dangerous; humbly prayed the favour of the court, that his voluntary confession to M. Anderton, M. Sands the maior of Lancaster, M. Couel, and others, might openly bee published and declared in court.

The Voluntarie Confession and Declaration of James Device, Prisoner in the Castle at Lancaster. Before William Sands, Maior of Lancaster, James Anderton, Esquire, one of his Majesties Justices of Peace within the Countie of Lancaster; and Thomas Covel, Gentleman, one of his Majesties Coroners in the same Countie, viz.

James Device, prisoner in the castle at Lancaster, saith, That his said spirit Dandie, being very earnest with him to give him his soule, he answered, he would give him that part thereof that was his owne to give; and thereupon the said spirit said hee was above Christ Jesus, and therefore hee must absolutely give him his soule; and that done he would give him power to revenge himselfe aginst any whom he disliked.

And he further saith, That the said spirit did appeare unto him after sundrie times, in the likenesse of a dogge, and at every time most earnestly perswaded him to give him his soule absolutely; who answered as before, that he would give him his owne part and no further. And hee saith, That at the last time that the said spirit was with him, which was the Tuesday next before his apprehension, when as hee could not prevail with him to have his soule absolutely granted unto him, as aforesaid; the said spirit departed from him, then giving a most fearefull crie and yell, and withal caused a great flash of fire to shew about him; which said spirit did never after trouble this examinate.

WILLIAM SANDS.
JAMES ANDERTON.
THO. COUEL, *Coroner.*

The said Jennet Device, his sister, in the very end of her examination against the said James Device, confesseth and saith, that her mother taught her two prayers; the one to get drinke, which was this, viz.

Crucifixus hoc signum vitam eternam. Amen.

And she further saith, that her brother James Device, the prisoner at the barre, hath confessed to her this examinate, that he by this prayer hath gotten drinke; and that within an houre after the saying the said prayer, drinke hath come into the house after a very strange manner. And the other prayer, the said James Device affirmed, would cure one bewitched, which shee recited as followeth, viz.

A Charme.

Upon Good-Friday, I will fast while I may
Until I heare them knell
Our Lords owne bell,
Lord in his messe
With his twelve apostles good,

What hath he in his hand?
Ligh in leath wand;
What hath he in his other hand?
Heavens doore key,
Open, open, Heaven doore keyes
Steck, steck, hell doore!
Let Crizum child
Goe to it mother mild:
What is yonder that casts a light so farrandly?
Mine owne deare sonne that's naild to the tree.
He is naild sore by the heart and hand,
And holy harne panne.
Well is that man
That Fryday spell can,
His childe to learne;
A crosse of blew, and another of red,
As good Lord was to the roode.
Gabriel laid him downe to sleepe
Upon the ground of holy weepe;
Good Lord came walking by:
Sleep'st thou, wak'st thou Gabriel?
No Lord I am sted with sticke and stake,
That I can neither sleepe nor wake.
Rise up Gabriel and go with me!
The stick nor the stake shall never deere thee.
Sweet Jesus our Lord, Amen.

JAMES DEVICE.

What can be said more of this painfull steward, that was so careful to provide mutton against this feast and solemne meeting at Malking-Tower, of these hellish and divellish band of witches, (the like whereof hath not been heard of) then hath beene openly published and declared against him at the barre, upon his arraignement and triall; wherein it pleased God to raise up witnesses beyond expectation to convince him; besides his owne particular examinations, which being shewed and read unto him, he acknowledged to be just and true. And what I promised to set forth against him, in the beginning of his arraignment and triall, I doubt not but therein I have satisfied your expectation at large, wherein I have beene very sparing to charge him with any thing, but with sufficient matter of record and evidence, able to satisfie the consciences of the gentlemen of the jury of life and death; to whose good consideration I leave him, with the perpetuall badge and brand of as dangerous and malicious a witch, as ever lived in these parts of Lancashire, of his time; and spotted with as much innocent bloud, as ever any witch of his yeares.

After all these proceedings, by direction of his lordship, were their several examinations, subscribed by every one of them in particular, shewed unto them at the time of their triall, and acknowledged by them to be true, delivered to the gentlemen of the jury of life and death, for the better satisfaction of their consciences; after due consideration of which said several examinations, confessions, and voluntary declarations, as well of themselves as of their children, friends and confederates, the gentlemen delivered up their verdict against the prisoners, as followeth, viz.

The Verdict of Life and Death.

Who found Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, Elizabeth Device, and James Device, guiltie of the several murthers by witchcraft, contained in the indictments against them, and every of them.

THE WITCHES OF SALMESBURY.[1]

The Arraignement and Triall of Jennet Bierley, Ellen Bierley, and Jane Southworth of Salmesbury, in the Countie of Lancaster, for Witchcraft upon the bodie of Grace Sowerbutts, upon Wednesday the Nineteenth of August: At the Assises and Generall Gaole-delivery, holden at Lancaster. Before Sir Edward Bromley, Knight, one of his Majesties Justices of Assize at Lancaster; as hereafter followeth, viz.

JENNET BIERLEY.
ELLEN BIERLEY.
JANE SOUTHWORTH.

Thus have we for a time left the graund witches of the Forrest of Pendle, to the good consideration of a verie sufficient jury of worthy gentlemen of their countrey. We are now come to the famous witches of Salmesbury, as the countrey called them, who, by such a subtill practice and conspiracie of a seminarie priest, or, as the best in this honourable assembly thinke, a Jesuite, whereof this countie of Lancaster hath good store, who, by reason of the generall entertainement they find, and great maintenance they have, resort hither, being farre from the eye of justice, and therefore, *Procul a fulmine*; are now brought to the barre, to receive their triall, and such a young witnesse prepared and instructed to give evidence against them, that it must be the act of God that must be the means to discover their practises and murthers, and by an infant: But how and in what sort Almightie God delivered them from the stroake of death, when the axe was layd to the tree, and made frustrate the practise of this bloudie butcher, it shall appeare unto you upon their arraignement and triall, whereunto they are now come.

Master Thomas Couel, who hath the charge of the prisoners in the castle at Lancas-

[1] This trial of the witches of Salmesbury, had rise in an imposture different from that under which the other pretended witches suffered. It seems to have been devised and carried on by a priest or Jesuite, called Thomson, alias Southworth, who tutored the principal evidence, Grace Sowerbuts, to counterfeit possession, and to manufacture the strange tale which had nearly cost the lives of three innocent persons. The chief object, doubtless, was the advantage and promotion of the Catholic cause, as the patient would have been in due time exorcised, and the fiends dispossessed by the same priest who had taught her to counterfeit these fits. Revenge against the women who had become proselytes to the Church of England, was probably an additional motive. A similar scheme was carried to a great length by William Perry, called the Boy of Bilson, who had learned to counterfeit possession, attended with all the usual symptoms of convulsions, distortion of face and limbs, and throwing up pins, nails, thread, straw, and the like. He was detected by Dr Morton, bishop of Lichfield, and confessed that he had been taught these juggling tricks by some popish ecclesiastics, who desired to have the credit of curing him. In atrocity, however, this device of Thomson, by which a child was instructed to take away, by perjury, the lives of three near relations, was far beyond the imposture of the Boy of Bilson. The accused certainly owed their lives to the judge being too good a Protestant to believe witch-evidence in favour of any church but his own. Both cases are alluded to in the tract called, The Foot out of the Snare. See pages 71. and 72. of this volume.

ter, was commaunded to bring forth the said Jennet Bierley, Ellen Bierley, Jane Southworth, to the barre to receive their triall.

Indictment.

The said Jennet Bierley, Ellen Bierley, and Jane Southworth, of Salmesbury, in the countie of Lancaster, being indicted, for that they and every of them felloniously had practised, exercised, and used diverse devillish and wicked arts, called witchcrafts, inchauntments, charmes, and sorceries, in and upon one Grace Sowerbuts: so that by meanes thereof her bodie wasted and consumed, *Contra formam statuti, &c. Et contra pacem dicti domini regis coronam et dignitatem, &c.*

To this indictment, upon their arraignement, they pleaded Not guiltie; and for the triall of their lives put themselves upon God and their countrey.

Whereupon Master Sheriffe of the countie of Lancaster, by direction of the court, made returne of a very sufficient jurie to passe betweene the kings majestie and them, upon their lives and deaths, with such others as follow in order.

The prisoners being now at the barre upon their triall, Grace Sowerbutts, the daughter of Thomas Sowerbutts, about the age of foureteene yeares, was produced to give evidence for the kings majestie against them; who standing up, she was commaunded to point out the prisoners, which shee did, and said as followeth, viz.

The Examination and Evidence of Grace Sowerbutts, Daughter of Thomas Sowerbutts, of Salmesbury, in the Countie of Lancaster, Husband-man, upon her Oath, against Jennet Bierley, Ellen Bierley, and Jane Southworth, Prisoners at the Barre, upon their Arraignement and Triall, viz.

The said Grace Sowerbutts upon her oath saith, that, for the space of some yeares now last past, shee hath beene haunted and vexed with some women, who have used to come to her; which women, shee sayth, were Jennet Bierley, this informers grandmother; Ellen Bierley, wife to Henry Bierley; Jane Southworth, late the wife of John Southworth; and one Old Doewife; all of Salmesburie aforesaid. And shee saith, that now lately those foure women did violently draw her by the haire of the head, and layd her on the toppe of a hay-mowe, in the said Henry Bierleys barne. And shee saith further, that not long after the said Jennet Bierley did meete this examinate neere unto the place where shee dwelleth, and first appeared in her owne likenesse, and after that in the likenesse of a blacke dogge; and as this examinate did goe over a style, shee picked her off: howbeit, shee saith shee had no hurt then, but rose againe, and went to her aunts in Osbaldeston, and returned backe againe to her fathers house the same night, being fetched home by her father. And she saith, that, in her way homewards, shee did then tell her father how shee had beene dealt withall, both then and at sundry times before that; and before that time she never told any bodie thereof: and being examined why she did not, she sayth, she could not speake thereof, though she desired so to doe. And she further sayth, that upon Saterday, being the fourth of this instant Aprill, shee this examinate going towards Salmesbury bote, to meete her mother comming from Preston, shee saw the said Jennet Bierley, who met this examinate at a place the Two Brigges, first in her owne shape, and afterwards in the likenesse of a blacke dogge, with two legges, which dogge went close by the left side of this examinate, till they came to a pitte of water, and then the said dogge spake, and persuaded this examinate to drowne her selfe there, saying, it was a faire and an easie death: whereupon this examinate thought there came one to her in a white sheete, and

carried her away from the said pitte; upon the comming whereof the said blacke dogge departed away; and shortly after the said white thing departed also. And after this examinate had gone further on her way, about the length of two or three fields, the said blacke dogge did meete her againe, and going on her left side as aforesaid, did carrie her into a barne of one Hugh Walshmans, neere there by, and layed her upon the barne-floore, and covered this examinate with straw on her bodie, and haye on her head, and the dogge it selfe lay on the toppe of the said straw; but how long the said dogge lay there this examinate cannot tell, nor how long herselfe lay there: for shee sayth, That upon her lying downe there as aforesaid, her speech and senses were taken from her; and the first time shee knew where shee was, shee was layed upon a bedde in the said Walshman's house, which (as shee hath since beene told) was upon the Monday at night following: and shee was also told, that shee was found and taken from the place where shee first lay by some of her friends, and carried into the said Walshmans house, within a few houres after shee was layed in the barne as aforesaid. And shee further sayth, That upon the day following, being Tuesday, neere night of the same day, shee this examinate was fetched by her father and mother from the said Walshmans house to her fathers house. And shee saith, That, at the place before specified, called the Two Brigges, the said Jennet Bierley and Ellen Bierley did appeare unto her in their owne shapes; whereupon this examinate fell downe, and after that was not able to speake or goe till the Friday following; during which time, as she lay in her fathers house, the said Jennet Bierley and Ellen Bierley did once appeare unto her in their owne shapes, but they did nothing unto her then; neither did shee ever see them since. And shee further sayth, That, a good while before all this, this examinate did goe with the said Jennet Bierley her grand-mother, and the said Ellen Bierley her aunt, at the bidding of her said grand-mother, to the house of one Thomas Walshman, in Salmesbury aforesaid; and comming thither in the night, when all the house-hold was a-bed, the doores being shut, the said Jennet Bierley did open them, but this examinate knoweth not how; and beeing come into the said house, this examinate and the said Ellen Bierley stayed there, and the said Jennet Bierley went into the chamber where the said Walshman and his wife lay, and from thence brought a little child, which this examinate thinketh was in bed with its father and mother; and after the said Jennet Bierley had set her downe by the fire with the said child, shee did thrust a naile into the navell of the said child; and afterwards did take a pen and put it in at the said place, and did suck there a good space, and afterwards laid the child in bed againe: and then the said Jennet and the said Ellen returned to their owne houses, and this examinate with them. And shee thinketh, that neither the said Thomas Walshman, nor his wife, knew that the said child was taken out of the bed from them. And shee saith also, That the said child did not crie when it was hurt, as aforesaid; but she saith, that shee thinketh that the said child did thenceforth languish, and not long after dyed. And after the death of the said child, the next night after the buriall thereof, the said Jennet Bierley and Ellen Bierley, taking this examinate with them, went to Salmesburie church, and there did take up the said child, and the said Jennet did carrie it out of the church-yard in her armes, and then did put it in her lap, and carryed it home to her owne house, and having it there, did boile some thereof in a pot, and some did broile on the coales, of both which the said Jennet and Ellen did eate, and would have had this examinate and one Grace Bierley, daughter of the said Ellen, to have eaten with them, but they refused so to doe: and afterwards the said Jennet and Ellen did seethe the bones of the said child in a pot, and with the fat that came out of the said bones they said they would annoint themselves, that thereby they might sometimes change themselves into other shapes. And after all this being done, they said they would lay the bones againe in the grave the next night following; but whether they did so or not this examinate knoweth not; neither doth shee know how they got it out of the grave.

at the first taking of it up. And being further sworne and examined, she deposeth and saith, That, about halfe a yeare agoe, the said Jennet Bierley, Ellen Bierley, Jane Southworth, and this examinate (who went by the appointment of the said Jennet her grand-mother) did meete at a place called Red Banck, upon the north side of the water of Ribble, every Thursday and Sonday, at night, by the space of a fortnight; and at the water-side there came unto them, as they went thether, foure black thinges, going upright, and yet not like men in the face; which foure did carrie the said three women and this examinate over the water, and when they came to the said Red Banck, they found something there which they did eate: but this examinate saith, shee never saw such meate, and therefore shee durst not eate thereof, although her said grand-mother did bidde her eate. And after they had eaten, the said three women and this examinate danced, every one of them with one of the black things aforesaid; and after their dancing, the said black things did pull downe the said three women, and did abuse their bodies, as this examinate thinketh; for shee saith, that the black thing that was with her did abuse her bodie.

The said examinate further sayth upon her oath, That about ten dayes after her examination taken at Blackborne, shee this examinate being then come to her fathers house againe, after shee had beene certaine dayes at her uncles house in Houghton, Jane Southworth, widow, did meet this examinate at her fathers house dore, and did carrie her into the loft, and there did lay her upon the floore, where shee was shortly found by her father, and brought downe, and laid in a bed, as afterwards shee was told: for shee saith, that, from the first meeting of the said Jane Southworth, shee this examinate had her speech and senses taken from her. But the next day, shee saith, shee came somewhat to herselfe, and then the said widow Southworth came againe to this examinate to her bed-side, and tooke her out of bed, and said to this examinate, that shee did her no harme the other time, in respect of that shee now would after doe to her, and thereupon put her upon a hay-stack, standing some three or foure yards high from the earth, where shee was found, after great search made, by a neighbours wife neare the dwelling, and then laid in her bed againe, where shee remained speechlesse and senselesse, as before, by the space of two or three daies; and being recovered, within a weeke after shee saith, that the said Jane Southworth did come againe to the examinate, at her fathers house, and did take her away, and laid her in a ditch neare to the house, upon her face, and left her there, where shee was found shortly after, and laid upon a bedde, but had not her senses againe of a day and a night, or thereabouts. And shee further saith, that, upon Tuesday last before the taking of this her examination, the said Jane Southworth came to this examinates fathers house, and finding this examinate without the doore, tooke her and carried her into the barne, and thrust her head amongst a companie of boords that were there standing, where shee was shortly after found, and laid in a bedde, and remained in her old fit till the Thursday at night following.

And being further examined touching her being at Red Bancke, shee saith, That the three women, by her before named, were carried backe againe over Ribble, by the same blacke things that carried them thither; and saith, that, at their said meeting in the Red Bancke, there did come also divers other women, and did meete them there, some old, some yong, which this examinate thinketh did dwell upon the north side of Ribble, because she saw them not come over the water; but this examinate knew none of them, neither did she see them eat or dance, or doe any thing else that the rest did, saving that they were there, and looked on.

These particular points of evidence being thus urged against the prisoners, the father of this Grace Sowerbutts prayed that Thomas Walshman, whose childe they are charged to murther, might be examined as a witnes upon his oath, for the kings majestie, against the prisoners at the barre; who, upon this strange devised accusation, deliver-

ed by this impudent wench, were, in opinion of many of that great audience, guilty of this bloudie murther, and more worthy to die then any of these witches.

The Examination and Evidence of Thomas Walshman of Salmesbury, in the Countie of Lancaster, Yeoman, against Jennet Bierley, Ellen Bierley, and Jane Southworth, Prisoners at the Bare, upon their Arraignement and Triall, as followeth, viz.

The said examinate, Thomas Walshman, upon his oath, saith, That he had a childe died about Lent was twelve-month, who had beene sick by the space of a fortnight or three weekes, and was afterwards buried in Salmesburie Church: which childe when it died was about a yeare old; but how it came to the death of it, this examinate knoweth not. And he further saith, That about the fifteenth of Aprill last, or thereabouts, the said Grace Sowerbutts was found in this examinates fathers barne, laid under a little hay and straw, and from thence was carried into this examinates house, and there laid till the Monday at night following; during which time shee did not speak, but lay as if she had beene dead.

The Examination of John Singleton, taken at Salmesbury, in the Countie of Lancaster, the seventh day of August, Anno Reg. Regis Jacobi Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ, Fidei Defensor, &c. Decimo, et Scotiæ, xlvj. *Before Robert Houlden, Esquire, one of his Majesties Justices of Peace in the County of Lancaster, against Jennet Bierley, Ellen Bierley, and Jane Southworth, which hereafter followeth.*

The said examinate, upon his oath, saith, That hee hath often heard his old master, Sir John Southworth, Knight, now deceased, say, touching the late wife of John Southworth, now in the gaole for suspition of witchcraft, that the said wife was, as he thought, an evil woman, and a witch; and he said that he was sorry for her husband, that was his kinsman, for he thought she would kill him. And this examinate further saith, That the said Sir John Southworth, in his comming or going betweene his owne house at Salmesbury, and the towne of Preston, did for the most part forbeare to passe by the house where the said wife dwelled, though it was his nearest and best way, and rode another way, only for feare of the said wife, as this examinate verily thinketh.

The Examination of William Alker of Salmesbury, in the Countie of Lancaster, Yeoman, taken the fifteenth day of Aprill, Anno Reg. Regis Jacobi, Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ, Decimo, et Scotiæ, Quadragesimo quinto. *Before Robert Houlden, one of his Majesties Justices of Peace in the County of Lancaster, against Jennet Bierly, Ellen Bierly, and Jane Bierley, which hereafter followeth, viz.*

The said examinate, upon his oath, saith, That hee hath seene the said Sir John Southworth shunne to meet the said wife of John Southworth, now prisoner in the gaole, when he came neere where she was. And hath heard the said Sir John Southworth say, that he liked her not, and that he doubted she would bewitch him.

Here was likewise Thomas Sowerbutts, father of Grace Sowerbutts, examined upon his oath, and many other witnesses, to little purpose; who being examined by the court, could depose little against them, but the finding of the wench upon the hay in her counterfeit fits; wherefore I leave to trouble you with the particular declaration of their evidence against the prisoners, in respect there was not any one witnes able to charge them with one direct matter of witchcraft, nor prove any thing for the murther of the childe.

Herein, before we come to the particular declaration of that wicked and damnable practise of this Jesuite or Seminary, I shall commend unto your examination and judgement, some points of her evidence, wherein you shall see what impossibilities are in this accusation brought to this perfection, by the great care and paines of this officious doctor, Master Thompson or Southworth, who commonly worketh upon the feminine disposition, being more passive then active.

The particular points of the Evidence of Grace Sowerbutts, viz.

Evidence.

" That for the space of some yeares she hath been haunted and vexed with some women, who have used to come to her."

The Jesuite forgot to instruct his scholler how long it is since she was tormented; it seemes it is long since he read the old badge of a lyer, *Oportet mendacem esse memorem.* He knowes not how long it is since they came to church, after which time they began to practise witchcraft. It is a likely thing the torment and panges of witchcraft can be forgotten, and therefore no time can be set downe.

" Shee saith that now lately these foure women did violently draw her by the haire of the head, and lay her on the top of a hay-mow."

Heere they use great violence to her, whome in another place they make choise to be of their counsell, to go with them to the house of Walshman to murther the childe. This courtesie deserves no discovery of so foule a fact.

" Not long after, the said Jennet Bierley did meet this examinate neere unto the place where she dwelled, and first appeared in her owne likenesse, and after that in the likenesse of a blacke dogge."

Uno et eodem tempore, shee transformed her selfe into a dogge. I would know by what meanes any priest can maintaine this point of evidence.

" And as shee went over a style, shee picked her over, but had no hurt."

This is as likely to be true as the rest, to throw a child downe from the toppe of a house, and never hurt her great toe.

" She rose againe; had no hurt, went to her aunt, and returned backe again to her fathers house, being fetched home."

I pray you observe these contrarieties, in order as they are placed, to accuse the prisoners.

" Saterday the fourth of this instant Aprill."

Which was about the very day the witches of the Forrest of Pendle were sent to Lancaster. Now was the time for the seminarie to instruct, accuse, and call into question these poore women; for the wrinckles of an old wives face is good evidence to the jurie against a witch. And how often will the common people say, " Her eyes are

sunke in her head, God blesse us from her." But old Chattox had Fancie, besides her withred face, to accuse her.

" This examinate did goe with the said Jennet Bierley, her grandmother, and Ellen Bierley, her aunt, to the house of Walshman, in the night-time, to murther a child in a strange manner."

This, of all the rest, is impossible, to make her of their counsell, to doe murther, whom so cruelly and barbarously they pursue from day to day, and torment her. The witches of the Forrest of Pendle were never so cruell nor barbarous.

" And she also saith, the child cried not when it was hurt."

All this time the child was asleepe, or the child was of an extraordinarie patience. *O inauditum facinus!*

" After they had eaten, the said three women and this examinate, daunced every one of them with one of the blacke things; and after, the blacke things abused the said women."

Here is good evidence to take away their lives. This is more proper for the legend of lyes, then the evidence of a witnesse upon oath, before a reverend and learned judge, able to conceive this villainie, and finde out the practise. Here is the religious act of a priest, but behold the event of it.

" She describes the foure blacke things to goe upright, but not like men in the face."

The seminarie mistakes the face for the feete; for Chattox and all her fellow witches agree, the devill is cloven-footed; but Fancie had a very good face, and was a very proper man.

" About tenne dayes after her examination taken at Blackborne, then she was tormented."

Still he pursues his project; for hearing his scholler had done well, he laboured she might doe more in this nature. But notwithstanding, many things are layd to be in the times when they were Papists; yet the priest never tooke paines to discover them, nor instruct his scholler, untill they came to church. Then all this was the act of God, to raise a child to open all things, and then to discover his plotted tragedie. Yet in this great discoverie, the seminarie forgot to devise a spirit for them.

And for Thomas Walshman, upon his oath, he sayth, That his child had beene sicke by the space of a fortnight or three weekes before it died. And Grace Sowerbutts saith, they tooke it out of the bedde, strucke a nayle into the navell, sucked bloud, layd it downe againe, and after, tooke it out of the grave, with all the rest, as you have heard. How these two agree, you may, upon view of their evidence, the better conceive, and be able to judge.

How well this project, to take away the lives of three innocent poore creatures by practise and villanie; to induce a young schollar to commit perjurie, to accuse her owne grandmother, aunt, &c., agrees either with the title of a Jesuite, or the dutie of a religious priest, who should rather professe sinceritie and innocencie, then practise trecherie: but this was lawfull; for they are heretikes accursed, to leave the companie of priests; to frequent churches, heare the word of God preached, and professe religion sincerely.

But by the course of times and accidents, wise men observe, that very seldome hath any mischievous attempt beene undertaken without the direction or assistance of a Jesuit, or Seminarie priest.

Who did not condemne these women upon this evidence, and hold them guiltie of this so foule and horrible murder? But Almightie God, who, in his providence, had provided meanes for their deliverance, although the priest, by the helpe of the devill, had provided false witnesses to accuse them; yet God had prepared and placed in the seate of justice, an upright judge to sit in judgement upon their lives, who, after he had heard all the evidence at large against the prisoners for the kings majestie, demanded of them what answere they could make. They humbly, upon their knees, with weeping teares, desired him for Gods cause, to examine Grace Sowerbuts, who set her on, or by whose means this accusation came against them.

Immediately the countenance of this Grace Sowerbuts changed; the witnesses being behinde, began to quarrel and accuse one an other. In the ende, his lordship examined the girle, who could not for her life make any direct answere, but strangely amazed, told him, shee was put to a master to learne, but he told her nothing of this.

But here, as his Lordships care and paines was great to discover the practises of these odious witches of the Forrest of Pendle, and other places, now upon their triall before him; so was he desirous to discover this damnable practise to accuse these poore women, and bring their lives in danger, and thereby to deliver the innocent.

And as he openly delivered it upon the bench, in the hearing of this great audience, that if a priest or Jesuit had a hand in one end of it, there would appeare to be knaverie and practise in the other end of it. And that it might the better appeare to the whole world, examined Thomas Sowerbuts what master taught his daughter; in generall termes, he denyed all.

The wench had nothing to say, but her master told her nothing of this. In the end, some that were present told his lordship the truth; and the prisoners informed him how shee went to learne with one Thompson, a seminarie priest, who had instructed and taught her this accusation against them, because they were once obstinate Papists, and now came to church. Here is the discoverie of this priest, and of his whole practise. Still this fire encreased more and more, and one witnesse accusing an other, all things were laid open at large.

In the end, his lordship tooke away the girle from her father, and committed her to M. Leigh, a very religious preacher, and M. Chisnal, two justices of the peace, to be carefully examined; who tooke great paines to examine her of every particular point. In the end they came into the court, and there delivered this examination as followeth.

The Examination of Grace Sowerbuts of Salmesburie, in the Countie of Lancaster, Spinster, taken upon Wednesday the 19. *of August* 1612, Annoq. Reg Regis, Jacobi, Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ, Fidei Defensoris, &c. Decimo, et Scotiæ, xlvi. *Before William Leigh, and Edward Chisnal, Esquires, two of his Majesties Justices of Peace in the same Countie, at the Assizes and Generall Gaole-Deliverie, holden at Lancaster. By direction of Sir Edward Bromley, Knight, one of his Majesties Justices of Assize at Lancaster.*

Being demanded whether the accusation shee laid upon her grandmother, Jennet Bierley, Ellen Bierley, and Jane Southworth, of witchcraft, viz. of the killing of the child of Thomas Walshman, with a naile in the navell, the boyling, eating, and oyling, hereby to transforme themselves into divers shapes, was true, she doth utterly denie the same, or that ever she saw any such practises done by them.

Shee further saith, That one Master Thompson, which she taketh to be Master Christopher Southworth, to whom shee was sent to learne her prayers, did perswade, counsell, and advise her, to deale as formerly hath beene said against her said grandmother, aunt, and Southworths wife.

And further shee confesseth and saith, That shee never did know, or saw any devils, nor any other visions, as formerly by her hath beene alleaged and informed.

Also shee confesseth and saith, That shee was not throwne or cast upon the henneruffe and hay-mow in the barne, but that shee went up upon the mow her selfe, by the wall side.

Being further demanded, whether shee ever was at the church? shee saith shee was not, but promised hereafter to goe to the church, and that very willingly.

Signum, ✕ Grace Sowerbuts.
William Leigh.
Edward Chisnal.

The Examination of Jennet Bierley, Ellen Bierley, and Jane Southworth, of Salmesburie, in the Countie of Lancaster, taken upon Wednesday the nineteenth of August 1612, Annoq. Reg. Regis, Jacobi Angliæ Franciæ, et Hiberniæ, Fidei Defensoris, &c. Decimo, et Scotiæ, xlvi. *Before William Leigh, and Edward Chisnal, Esquires, two of his Majesties Justices of Peace in the same Countie, at the Assizes and Generall Gaole-Deliverie, holden at Lancaster. By direction of Sir Edward Bromley, Knight, one of his Majesties Justices of Assize at Lancaster.*

Jennet Bierely being demanded what she knoweth, or hath heard, how Grace Sowerbuts was brought to Christopher Southworth, priest? shee answereth, That she was brought to M. Singletons house by her owne mother, where the said priest was, and that she further heard her said mother say, after her daughter had been in her fit, that shee should be brought unto her master, meaning the said priest.

And shee further saith, That shee thinketh it was by and through the counsell of the said M. Thomson, alias Southworth, priest, that Grace Sowerbuts her grandchild accused her of witchcraft, and of such practises as shee is accused of; and thinketh further, the cause why the said Thompson, alias Southworth, priest, should practise with the wench to doe it was, for that shee went to the church.

Jane Southworth saith, Shee saw Master Thompson, alias Southworth, the priest, a month or sixe weekes before she was committed to the gaole, and had conference with him in a place called Barne-hey-lane, where and when she challenged him for slandering her to bee a witch; whereunto he answered, that what he heard thereof, he heard from her mother and her aunt; yet she, this examinate, thinketh in her heart it was by his procurement, and is moved so to thinke, for that shee would not be disswaded from the church.

Ellen Bierley saith, Shee saw Master Thompson, alias Southworth, sixe or eight weeks before she was committed, and thinketh the said priest was the practiser with Grace Sowerbutts, to accuse her of witchcraft, and knoweth no cause why he should so doe, but because she goeth to the church.

Signum, ✕ Jennet Bierley.
Signum, ✕ Jane Southworth.
Signum, ✕ Ellen Bierley.
William Leigh.
Edward Chisnall.

These examinations being taken, they were brought into the court, and there openly, in the presence of this great audience, published and declared to the jurie of life and death, and thereupon the gentlemen of their jury required to consider of them. For although they stood upon their triall for matter of fact of witchcraft, murther, and much more of the like nature, yet in respect all their accusations did appeare to bee practise, they were now to consider of them, and to acquit them. Thus were these poore innocent creatures, by the great care and paines of this honorable judge, delivered from the danger of this conspiracie, this bloudie practise of the priest laid open; of whose fact I may lawfully say, *Etiam si ego tacuero clamabunt lapides.*

These are but ordinary with priests and Jesuites; no respect of bloud, kindred, or friendship, can move them to forbeare their conspiracies; for when he had laboured treacherously to seduce and convert them, and yet could doe no good, then devised he this meanes.

" God of his great mercie deliver us all from them and their damnable conspiracies; and when any of his majesties subjects, so free and innocent as these, shall come in question, grant them as honourable a triall, as reverend and worthy a judge to sit in judgement upon them, and in the end, as speedie a deliverance. And for that which I have heard of them, seene with my eyes, and taken paines to reade of them, my humble prayer shall be to God Almighty: *Ut convertantur ne pereant. Aut confundantur ne noceant.*"

To conclude, because the discourse of these three women of Salmesbury hath beene long and troublesome to you, it is heere placed amongst the witches, by special order and commandment, to set forth to the world the practise and conspiracie of this bloudy butcher. And because I have presented to your view a kalender in the frontispice of this booke, of twentie notorious witches, I shall shew you their deliverance in order, as they came to their arraignement and triall every day, and as the gentlemen of every jury for life and death stood charged with them.

The Arraignment and Triall of Anne Redferne, Daughter of Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, of the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster, for Witchcraft, upon Wednesday the nineteenth of August, at the Assizes and Generall Gaole-Deliverie, holden at Lancaster, before Sir Edward Bromely, Knight, one of his Majesties Justices of Assize at Lancaster.

ANNE REDFERNE.

Such is the horror of murther, and the crying sinne of bloud, that it will never bee satisfied but with bloud. So fell it out with this miserable creature, Anne Redferne, the daughter of Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, who, as shee was her mother, and brought her into the world, so was shee the meanes to bring her into this danger, and in the end to her execution, for much bloud spilt, and many other mischiefes done.

For upon Tuesday night (although you heare little of her at the arraignement and triall of old Chattox, her mother) yet was shee arraigned for the murther of Robert Nutter, and others; and by the favour and mercifull consideration of the jurie, the evidence being not very pregnant against her, she was acquited, and found not guiltie.

Such was her condition and course of life, as, had she lived, she would have beene very dangerous; for in making pictures of clay, she was more cunning than any: but the innocent bloud yet unsatisfied, and crying out unto God for satisfaction and revenge; the crie of his people to deliver them from the danger of such horrible and bloudie executioners, and from her wicked and damnable practises, hath now againe brought her to a second triall, where you shall heare what wee have upon record against her.

This Anne Redferne, prisoner in the castle at Lancaster, being brought to the barre, before the great seat of justice, was there, according to the former order and course, indicted and arraigned for that she felloniously had practised, exercised, and used her devillish and wicked arts, called witchcrafts, inchauntments, charmes and sorceries, in and upon one Christopher Nutter, and him, the said Christopher Nutter, by force of the same witchcrafts, felloniously did kill and murther, *Contra formam statuti, &c. et contra pacem, &c.*

Upon her arraignement to this indictment she pleaded Not guiltie; andfor th e triall of her life, put her self upon God and the countrey.

So as now the gentlemen of the jurie of life and death stand charged with her as with others.

The Evidence against Anne Redferne, Prisoner at the Barre.

The Examination of Elizabeth Southernes, alias Old Dembdike, taken at the Fence in the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster, the second day of Aprill, Anno Reg. Regis Jacobi, Angliæ, &c. Decimo, et Scotiæ xlv. *Against Anne Redferne, the Daughter of Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, Prisoner at the Barre. Before Roger Nowel of Reade, Esquire, one of his Majesties Justices of Peace within the said Countie.*

This examinate saith, That about halfe a yeare before Robert Nutter died, as this examinate thinketh, this examinate went to the house of Thomas Redferne, which was about mid-summer, as shee this examinate now remembereth it, and there, within three yards of the east end of the said house, she saw the said Anne Whittle and Anne Redferne, wife of the said Thomas Redferne, and daughter of the said Anne Whittle, the one on the one side of a ditch, and the other on the other side, and two pictures of clay or marle lying by them, and the third picture the said Anne Whittle was making: and the said Anne Redferne, her said daughter, wrought her clay or marle to make the third picture withall. And this examinate passing by them, a spirit called Tibbe, in the shape of a blacke cat, appeared unto her, this examinate, and said, Turne backe againe and doe as they doe; to whom this examinate said, What are they doing? whereunto the said spirit said, They are making three pictures; whereupon shee asked whose pictures they were? whereunto the said spirit said, They are the pictures of Christopher Nutter, Robert Nutter, and Mary, wife of the said Robert Nutter; but this examinate denying to goe backe to helpe them to make the pictures aforesaid, the said spirit seeming to be angrie therefore, shot or pushed this examinate into the ditch, and so shedde the milke which this examinate had in a kanne, or kitt: and so thereupon the spirit at that time vanished out of this examinates sight; but presently after, that the said spirit appeared unto this examinate again in the shape of a hare, and so went with her about a quarter of a myle, but said nothing unto her, this examinate, nor shee to it.

The Examination of Margaret Crooke against the said Anne Redferne: taken the day and yeare aforesaid, before Roger Nowel aforesaid, Esquire, one of his Majesties Justices of the Peace in the Countie of Lancaster.

This examinate, sworne and examined upon her oath, sayeth, That about eighteene or nineteene yeares agoe, this examinates brother, called Robert Nutter, about Whitsontide the same yeare, meeting with the said Anne Redferne, upon some speeches betweene them they fell out, as this examinats said brother told this examinat; and

within some weeke or fort-night then next after, this examinats said brother fel sicke, and so languished, untill about Candlemas then next after, and then died: in which time of his sicknesse, he did a hundred times at the least say, that the said Anne Redferne and her associates had bewitched him to death; and this examinate further saith, That this examinates father, called Christopher Nutter, about Maudlintide next after following, fell sicke, and so languished untill Michaelmas then next after, and then died: during which time of his sicknesse he did sundry times say, that hee was bewitched, but named nobodie that should doe the same.

The Examination of John Nutter of Higham Booth, in the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster, Yeoman, against the said Anne Redferne; taken the day and year aforesaid. Before Roger Nowel, Esquire, one of his Majesties Justices of Peace in the Countie of Lancaster.

This examinate sworne and examined upon his oath, sayeth, That in or about Christmas, some eighteene or nineteene yeares agoe, this examinat comming from Burnley with Christopher Nutter and Robert Nutter, this examinates father and brother, this examinate heard his said brother then say unto his said father these words, or to this effect, "Father, I am sure I am bewitched by the Chattox, Anne Chattox and Anne Redferne her daughter, I pray you cause them to bee layed in Lancaster castle." Whereunto this examinates father answered, "Thou art a foolish ladde, it is not so, it is thy miscarriage;" then this examinates brother weeping, said, "Nay, I am sure that I am bewitched by them, and if ever I come againe (for he was ready to goe to Sir Richard Shuttleworths, then his master) I will procure them to bee laid where they shall be glad to bite lice in two with their teeth."

Hereupon Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, her mother, was brought forth to bee examined, who confessed the making of the pictures of clay, and in the end cried out very heartily to God to forgive her sinnes, and upon her knees intreated for this Redferne her daughter.

Here was likewise many witnesses examined upon oth *viva voce*, who charged her with many strange practises, and declared the death of the parties, all in such sort, and about the time in the examinations formerly mentioned.

All men that knew her affirmed, she was more dangerous then her mother, for she made all or most of the pictures of clay that were made or found at any time.

Wherefore I leave her to make good use of the little time she hath to repent in: But no meanes could move her to repentance, for as she lived so she dyed.

The Examination of James Device, taken the day and yeare afore-said. Before Roger Nowell and Nicholas Bannester, Esquires, two of his Majesties Justices of Peace within the said Countie of Lancaster, viz.

Anne Redferne the witch.

The said examinate upon his oath saith, That about two years agoe, hée, this examinate saw three pictures of clay, of halfe a yard long, at the end of Redfernes house, which Redferne had one of the pictures in his hand, Marie, his daughter, had another in her hand, and the said Redfernes wife, now prisoner at Lancaster, had an other picture in her hand, which picture she, the said Redfernes wife, was then crumbling, but whose pictures they were this examinate cannot tell. And at his returning back againe, some ten roods off them, there appeared unto him, this examinate, a thing like a hare, which spit fire at him, this examinate.

The Arraignment and Triall of Alice Nutter, of the Forrest of Pendell, in the Countie of Lancaster, for Witch-craft; upon Wednesday the nineteenth of August, at the Assizes and Generall Gaole Deliverie, holden at Lancaster. Before Sir Edward Bromly, Knight, one of his Majesties Justices of Assize, at Lancaster.

ALICE NUTTER.

The two degrees of persons which chiefly practice witch-craft, are such as are in great miserie and povertie, for such the devil allures to follow him, by promising great riches and worldly commoditie; others though rich, yet burne in a desperate desire of revenge; he allures them by promises to get their turne satisfied to their hearts contentment, as in the whole proceedings against old Chattox: the examinations of old Dembdike and her children; there was not one of them but have declared the like when the devil first assaulted them.

But to attempt this woman in that sort the devil had small meanes, for it is certain shé was a rich woman, had a great estate, and children of good hope: in the common opinion of the world, of good temper, free from envy or malice; yet whether, by the meanes of the rest of the witches, or some unfortunate occasion, shee was drawne to fall to this wicked course of life, I know not; but hither she is now come to receive her tryall, both for murder and many other vilde and damnable practises.

Great was the care and paines of his lordship, to make tryall of the innocencie of this woman, as shall appeare unto you upon the examination of Jennet Device, in open court, at the time of her arraignement and tryall; by an extraordinary meanes of tryall to marke her out from the rest.

It is very certaine she was of the grand-counsell at Malking-Tower upon Good-Friday, and was there present, which was a very great argument to condemne her.

This Alice Nutter, prisoner in the castle at Lancaster, being brought to the barre, before the great seat of justice, was there, according to the former order and course, indicted and arraigned, for that she felloniously had practised, exercised, and used her divelish and wicked arts, called witchcrafts, inchantments, charmes and sorceries in and upon Henry Mitton, and him, the said Henry Mitton, by force of the same witchcrafts, felloniously did kill and murther. *Contra formam statuti, &c. et contra pacem &c.*

Upon her arraignment, to this indictment shee pleaded not guiltie; and for the triall of her life, put her self upon God and the countrey.

So as now the gentlemen of the jury of life and death, stand charged with her as with others.

The Evidence against Alice Nutter, Prisoner at the Barre.

The Examination of James Device, Sonne of Elizabeth Device: Taken the seven and twentieth day of Aprill, Anno Reg. Regis Jacobi Angliæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ, Fidei Defensor, &c. Decimo, et Scotiæ, xlvj. *Before Roger Nowell and Nicholas Banester, two of his Majesties Justices of Peace in the Countie of Lancaster. Against Alice Nutter.*

The said examinate saith upon his oath, That he heard his grand-mother say, about a yeare ago, that his mother, called Elizabeth Device, and his grandmother, and the wife of Richard Nutter of the Rough-Lee aforesaid, had killed one Henry Mitton of the Rough-Lee aforesaid, by witchcraft. The reason wherefore he was so killed, was for that this examinates said grand-mother had asked the said Mitton a penny, and hee denying her thereof; thereupon shee procured his death as aforesaid.

The Examination of Elizabeth Device, Mother of the said James Device, against Alice Nutter, Wife of Richard Nutter, Prisoner at the Barre, upon her Arraignement and Triall. Before Roger Nowel and Nicholas Bannester, Esquires, the day and yeare aforesaid.

This examinate upon her oath confesseth and saith, That she, with the wife of Richard Nutter, called Alice Nutter, prisoner at the barre, and this examinates said mother, Elizabeth Southerne, alias Old Demdike, joined altogether, and bewitched the said Henry Mitton to death.

This examinate further saith, That upon Good-Friday last, there dined at this examinates house two women of Burneley parish, whose names the said Richard Nutters wife, Alice Nutter, now prisoner at the barre, doth know.

The Examination of James Device aforesaid, against the said Alice Nutter, the day and yeare aforesaid.

The said examinate upon his oath saith, That upon Good-Friday, about twelve of the clocke in the day time, there dined in this examinats said mothers house, a number of persons, whereof three were men with this examinate, and the rest women, and that they mette there for these three causes following, as this examinates said mother told this examinate.

The first was for the naming of the spirit which Alizon Device, now prisoner at Lancaster, had, but did not name him, because she was not there.

The second cause was for the deliverie of his said grandmother, this examinates said sister Alizon, the said Anne Chattox, and her daughter Redferne; killing the gaoler at Lancaster, and before the next assizes to blow up the castle there, to the end that the foresaid prisoners might by that meanes make an escape and get away; all which this examinate then heard them conferre of.

And he also saith, the names of such witches as were on Good-Friday at this examinates said grand-mothers house, and now this examinates owne mothers, for so many of them as he doth know were amongst others, Alice Nutter mother of Myles Nutter, now prisoner at the barre. And this examinate further saith, That all the said witches went out of the said house in their owne shapes and likenesses; and they all, by that time they were forth of the doores, were gotten on horsebacke, like unto foales, some of one colour and some of another; and Prestons wife was the last, and when shee got on horseback, they all presently vanished out of this examinates sight; and before their said parting away, they all appointed to meete at the said Prestons wifes house that day twelve month, at which time the said Prestons wife promised to make them a great feast: and if they had occasion to meete in the meane time, then should warning be given to meet upon Romleys Moore.

The Examination and Evidence of Jennet Device, Daughter of Elizabeth Device, against Alice Nutter, Prisoner at the Barre.

The said examinate saith, That on Good-Friday last, there was about 20 persons, whereof only two were men (to this examinates remembrance) at her said grand-mothers house at Malking-Tower, about twelve of the clock; all which persons this examinats said mother tould her were witches. And she further saith, she knoweth the

names of six of them, viz. the wife of Hugh Hargreives under Pendle, Christopher Howgate of Pendle, uncle to this examinate, and Elizabeth his wife, and Dick Myles wife of the Rough-Lee, Christopher Jacks of Thorniholme, and his wife; and the names of the residue, she this examinate doth not know.

After these examinations were openly read, his lordship being very suspitious of the accusation of this young wench Jennet Device, commanded one to take her away into the upper hall, intending in the meane time to make triall of her evidence, and the accusation especially against this woman, who is charged to have beene at Malking-Tower, at this great meeting. Master Couel was commanded to set all his prisoners by themselves, and betwixt every witch another prisoner, and then some other strange women amongst them, so as no man could judge the one from the other; and these being set in order before the court from the prisoners, then was the wench Jennet Device commaunded to be brought into the court, and being set before my lord, he tooke great paines to examine her of every particular point; what women were at Malking-Tower upon Good-Friday? How she knew them? What were the names of any of them? And how she knew them to be such as she named?

In the end being examined by my lord, Whether she knew them that were there by their faces, if she saw them? she told my lord she should: whereupon, in the presence of this great audience, in the open court, she went and tooke Alice Nutter, this prisoner, by the hand, and accused her to be one, and told her in what place shee sat at the feast at Malking-Tower, at the great assembly of the witches, and who sat next her; what conference they had, and all the rest of their proceedings at large, without any manner of contrarietie.

Being demaunded further by his lordship, Whether she knew Johan a Style? she alledged she knew no such woman to be there, neither did she ever hear her name.

This could be no forged or false accusation, but the very act of God to discover her.

Thus was no meanes left to doe her all indifferent favour, but it was used to save her life, and to this she could give no answer.

But nothing would serve: for Old Dembdike, Old Chattox, and others, had charged her with innocent bloud, which cries out for revenge, and will be satisfied. And therefore Almighty God, in his justice, hath cut her off.

And here I leave her untill shee come to her execution, where you shall heare shee died very impenitent, insomuch as her owne children were never able to move her to confesse any particular offence, or declare any thing, even in *articulo mortis;* which was a very fearfull thing to all that were present, who knew shee was guiltie.

The Arraignment and Triall of Katherine Hewit, Wife of John Hewit, alias Mould-heeles, of Coulne, in the Countie of Lancaster, Clothier, for Witchcraft; upon Wednesday the ninteenth of August, at the Assises and General Gaole-Deliverie, holden at Lancaster, before Sir Edward Bromley, Knight, one of his Majesties Justices of Assise at Lancaster.

KATHERINE HEWIT.

Who but witches can be proofes, and so witnesses of the doings of witches? since all their meetings, conspiracies, practises, and murthers are the workes of darkenesse. But to discover this wicked furie, God hath not onely raised meanes beyond expectation, by the voluntary confession and accusation of all that are gone before to accuse this witch (being witches and thereby witnesses of her doings) but after they were committed, by meanes of a child, to discover her to be one, and a principal in that wicked assembly at Malking-Tower, to devise such a damnable course for the deliverance of their friends at Lancaster as to kill the gaoler, and blow up the castle, wherein the devill did but

labour to assemble them together, and so being knowne, to send them all one way; and herein I shall commend unto your good consideration the wonderfull meanes to condemne these parties that lived in the world free from suspition of any such offences as are proved against them; and thereby the more dangerous, that in the successe wee may lawfully say, the very finger of God did point them out. And she that never saw them but in that meeting, did accuse them, and by there faces discover them.

This Katherine Hewit, prisoner in the castle at Lancaster, being brought to the barre, before the great seate of justice, was there, according to their former order and course, indicted and arraigned, for that she felloniously practised, exercised and used her devillish and wicked arts, called witchcrafts, inchantments, charmes and sorceries, in and upon Anne Foulds; and the same Anne Foulds, by force of the same witch-craft, felloniously did kill and murder. *Contra formam statuti, &c. et contra pacem dicti Domini Regis, &c.*

Upon her arraignement to this indictment, shee pleaded not guiltie; and for the triall of her life put her selfe upon God and her countrie.

So as now the gentlemen of the jurie of life and death, stand charged with her as with others.

The Evidence against Katherine Hewyt, Prisoner at the Barre.

The Examination of James Device, Sonne of Elizabeth Device, taken the seven and twentieth day of Aprill, Anno Reg. Regis Jacobi, Angliæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ, Decimo, et Scotiæ quadragesimo quarto. *Before Roger Nowel and Nicholas Bannester, Esquires; two of his Majesties Justices of Peace in the Countie of Lancaster. Against Katherine Hewyt, alias Mould-heeles of Colne, viz.*

This examinate saith, That upon Good-Friday last, about twelve of the clock in the day time, there dined at this examinates mothers house, a number of persons: And hee also saith, that they were witches; and that the names of the said witches that were there for so many of them as he did know, were amongst others Katherine Hewyt, wife of John Hewyt, alias Mould-heeles, of Colne, in the countie of Lancaster, clothier; and that the said witch called Katherine Hewyt, alias Mould-heeles, and one Alice Gray, did confesse amongst the said witches at their meeting at Malking-Tower aforesaid, that they had killed Foulds wifes child, called Anne Foulds of Colne: and also said, that they had then in hanck a child of Michael Hartleys, of Colne.

And this examinate further saith, That all the said witches went out of the said house in their own shapes and likenesses, and by that time they were gotten forth of the doores, they were gotten on horse-back like unto foales, some of one colour, some of another, and the said Prestons wife was the last; and when shee got on horse-back, they all presently vanished out of this examinates sight: and before their said parting away, they all appointed to meete at the said Prestons wifes house, that day twelve moneths, at which time the said Prestons wife promised to make them a great feast; and if they had occasion to meete in the meane time, then should warning be given that they all should meet upon Romlesmoore.

The Examination and Evidence of Elizabeth Device, Mother of the said James Device, against Katherine Hewyt, alias Mould-heeles, Prisoner at the Barre, upon her Arraignement and Triall, taken the day and yeare aforesaid, viz.

This examinate upon her oath confesseth, That upon Good-Friday last, there dyned at this examinates house, which she hath said are witches, and verily thinketh to bee

witches, such as the said James Device hath formerly spoken of; amongst which was Katherine Hewyt, alias Mould-heeles, now prisoner at the barre: And shee also saith, That at their meeting on Good-Friday at Malking-Tower aforesaid, the said Katherine Hewyt alias Mould-heeles, and Alice Gray, did confesse they had killed a child of Foulds of Colne, called Anne Foulds, and had gotten hold of an other.

And shee further saith, the said Katherine Hewyt with all the rest there, gave her consent with the said Prestons wife for the murder of Master Lister.

The Examination and Evidence of Jennet Device, against Katherine Hewyt, alias Mould-heeles, Prisoner at the Barre.

The said examinate saith, That upon Good-Friday last there was about twentie persons, whereof two were men, to this examinates remembrance, at her said grandmothers house called Malking-Tower, aforesaid, about twelve of the clock; all which persons this examinates said mother told her were witches, and that she knoweth the names of sixe of the said witches.

Then was the said Jennet Device commanded by his lordship to finde and point out the said Katherine Hewyt, alias Mould-heeles, amongst all the rest of the said women; whereupon shee went and tooke the said Katherine Hewyt by the hand, accused her to bee one, and told her in what place shee sate at the feast at Malking-Tower, at the great assembly of the witches, and who sate next her, what conference they had, and all the rest of their proceedings at large, without any manner of contrarietie. Being demanded further by his lordship, whether Joane a Downe were at that feast and meeting or no? shee alleaged shee knew no such woman to be their, neither did shee ever heare her name.

If this were not an honourable meanes to trie the accusation against them, let all the world upon due examination give judgement of it. And here I leave her, the last of this company, to the verdict of the gentlemen of the jurie of life and death, as hereafter shall appeare.

Heere the jurie of life and death having spent the most part of the day in due consideration of their offences, returned into the court to deliver up their verdict against them as followeth.

The Verdict of Life and Death.

Who upon their oathes found Jennet Bierley, Ellen Bierley, and Jane Southworth, not guiltie of the offence of witchcraft, conteyned in the indictment against her.

Anne Redferne, guiltie of the fellonie and murder, conteyned in the indictment against her.

Alice Nutter, guiltie of the fellonie and murder, conteyned in the indictment against her. And

Katherine Hewyt, guiltie of the fellonie and murder, conteyned in the indictment against her.

Whereupon Master Couell was commanded by the court to take away the prisoners convicted, and to bring forth John Bulcocke, Jane Bulcocke his mother, and Alizon Device, prisoners in the castle at Lancaster, to receive their trialls.

Who were brought to their arraignement and triall as hereafter followeth.

The Arraignement and Triall of John Bulcock, and Jane Bulcock his Mother, Wife of Christopher Bulcock of the Mosse-end, in the Countie of Lancaster, for Witchcraft; upon Wednesday in the After-noone, the nineteenth of August, 1612. At the Assizes and Generall Gaole Deliverie, holden at Lancaster. Before Sir Edward Bromley Knight, one of his Majesties Justices of Assizes at Lancaster.

JOHN BULCOCK, and JANE BULCOCK, his Mother.

If there were nothing to charge these prisoners withall, whom now you may behold upon their arraignement and triall, but their poasting in haste to the great assembly at Malking-Tower, there to advise and consult amongst the witches, what were to bee done to set at libertie the witches in the castle at Lancaster; joyne with Jennet Preston for the murder of Master Lister, and such like wicked and divellish practises, it were sufficient to accuse them for witches, and to bring their lives to a lawfull triall. But amongst all the witches in this company, there is not a more fearefull and divellish act committed, and voluntarily confessed by any of them, comparable to this, under the degree of murder, which impudently now (at the barre having formerly confessed) they forsweare, swearing they were never at the great assembly at Malking Tower; although the very witches that were present in that action with them, justifie, maintaine, and sweare the same to be true against them; crying out in a very violent and outragious manner, even to the gallowes, where they died impenitent for any thing we know, because they died silent in the particulars. These of all others were the most desperate wretches (void of all feare or grace) in all this packe; their offences not much inferiour to murther; for which you shall heare what matter of record wee have against them, and whither they be worthie to continue, we leave to the good consideration of the jury.

The said John Bulcock, and Jane Bulcock, his mother, prisoners in the castle at Lancaster, being brought to the barre, before the great seat of justice, were there according to the former order and course, indicted and arraigned, for that they feloniously had practised, exercised and used their divellish and wicked arts, called witchcrafts, enchantments, charmes and sorceries, in and upon the body of Jennet Deane, so as the body of the said Jennet Deane, by force of the said witchcrafts, wasted and consumed; and after, she, the said Jennet, became madde. *Contra formam statuti, &c. et contra pacem, &c.*

Upon their arraignement, to this indictment they pleaded not guiltie; and for the triall of their lives, put themselves upon God and their countrey.

So as now the gentlemen of the jurie of life and death, stand charged with them as with others.

The Evidence against John Bulcock, and Jane Bulcock his Mother, Prisoners at the Barre.

The Examination of James Device, taken the seven-and-twentieth day of Aprill aforesaid. Before Roger Nowel and Nicholas Bannester, two of his Majesties Justices of Peace in the Countie of Lancaster. Against John Bulcock and Jane Bulcock, his mother.

This examinate saith, That upon Good-Friday, about twelve of the clocke in the day time, there dined in this examinates said mothers a number of persons, whereof three were men with this examinate, and the rest women, and that they met there for these three causes following, as this examinates said mother told this examinate: the first was, for the naming of the spirit which Allison Device, now prisoner at Lancaster, had, but did not name him because she was not there. The second cause was, for the deliverie of his said grand-mother, this examinates said sister Allison, the said Anne Chattox, and her daughter Redferne; killing the gaoler at Lancaster, and

before the next assises to blow up the castle there, to that end the aforesaid prisoners might, by that meanes, make an escape, and get away: all which this examinate then heard them conferre of.

And he also saith, That the names of such said witches as were on Good-Friday at this examinates said grand-mothers house, and now this examinates owne mothers, for so many of them as hee did know were these, viz. Jane Bulcock, wife of Christopher Bulcock of the Moss-end, and John her sonne, amongst others, &c.

And this examinate further saith, That all the said witches went out of the said house in their owne shapes and likenesses, and they all by that they were forth of the dores were gotten on horse-backe, like unto foales, some of one colour and some of another, and Prestons wife was the last; and when she got on horse-backe, they all presently vanished out of this examinates sight.

And further he saith, That the said John Bulcock, and Jane his said mother, did confesse upon Good-Friday last, at the said Malking-Tower, in the hearing of this exmainate, that they had bewitched, at the New-field Edge in Yorkeshire, a woman called Jennet, wife of John Deyne, besides her reason; and the said womans name so bewitched he did not heare them speake of. And this examinate further saith, That at the said feast at Malking-Tower this examinate heard them all give their consents to put the said Master Thomas Lister of Westby to death; and after Master Lister should be made away by witchcraft, then all the said witches gave their consents to joine all together, to hanck Master Leonard Lister, when he should come to dwell at the Cow-gill, and so put him to death.

The Examination of Elizabeth Device, taken the day and yeare aforesaid. Before Roger Nowell and Nicholas Bannester, Esquires, two of his Majesties Justices of Peace in the Countie of Lancaster, against John Bulcock, and Jane Bulcock, his Mother.

This examinate saith upon her oath, That she doth verily thinke that the said Bulcockes wife doth know of some witches to bee about Padyham and Burnley.

And shee further saith, That at the said meeting at Malking-Tower, as aforesaid, Katherine Hewit and John Bulcock, with all the rest then there, gave their consents with the said Prestons wife, for the killing of the said Master Lister.

The Examination and Evidence of Jennet Device, against John Bulcock and Jane his Mother, Prisoners at the Barre.

The said examinate saith, That upon Good-Friday last there was about twentie persons, whereof two were men to this examinates remembrance, at her said grand-mothers house, called Malking-Tower aforesaid: all which persons this examinates said mother told her were witches, and that she knoweth the names of sixe of the said witches.

Then was the said Jennet Device commaunded by his lordship to finde and point out the said John Bulcock and Jane Bulcock amongst all the rest; whereupon shee went and tooke Jane Bulcock by the hand, accused her to be one, and told her in what place she sat at the feast at Malking-Tower, at the great assembly of the witches, and who sat next her: and accused the said John Bulcock to turne the spit there; what conference they had, and all the rest of their proceedings at large, without any manner of contrarietie.

Shee further told his lordship, there was a woman that came out of Craven to that great feast at Malking-Tower, but shee could not finde her out amongest all those women.

The Names of the Witches at the Great Assembly and Feast at Malking-Tower, viz. upon Good-Friday last, 1612.

Elizabeth Device.
Alice Nutter.
Katherine Hewit, alias Mould-heeles.
John Bulcock.
Jane Bulcock.
Alice Graie.
Jennet Hargraves.
Elizabeth Hargraves.
Christopher Howgate, sonne to old Dembdike.
Christopher Hargraves.
Grace Hay of Padiham.
Anne Crunkshey of Marchden.
Elizabeth Howgate.
Jennet Preston, Executed at Yorke for the murder of Master Lister.

With many more, which being bound over to appeare at the last assizes, are since that time fled to save themselves.

The Arraignment and Trial of Alizon Device, Daughter of Elizabeth Device, within the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster aforesaid, for Witch-craft.

Alizon Device.

Behold, above all the rest, this lamentable spectacle of a poore distressed pedler; how miserably hee was tormented, and what punishment hee endured for a small offence, by the wicked and damnable practice of this odious witch, first instructed therein by old Dembdike her grand-mother, of whose life and death, with her good conditions, I have written at large before, in the beginning of this worke, out of her owne examinations and other records, now remayning with the clarke of the crowne at Lancaster: And by her mother brought up in this detestable course of life; wherein I pray you observe but the manner and course of it in order, even to the last period at her execution, for this horrible fact, able to terrifie and astonish any man living.

This Alizon Device, prisoner in the castle of Lancaster, being brought to the barre, before the great seat of justice, was there, according to the former order and course, indicted and arraigned, for that shee felloniously had practised, exercised, and used her devillish and wicked arts, called witch-crafts, inchantments, charmes, and sorceries, in and upon one John Law, a petti-chapman, and him had lamed, so that his bodie wasted and consumed, &c. *Contra formam statuti, &c. et contra pacem dicti Domini Regis, coronam et dignitatem, &c*

Upon the arraignement, The poore pedler, by name John Law, being in the castle about the Moot-hall, attending to be called, not well able to goe or stand, being led thether by his poore sonne Abraham Law: My Lord Gerard moved the court to call the poore pedler, who was there readie, and had attended all the assizes, to give evidence for the kings majestie, against the said Alizon Device, prisoner at the barre, even now upon her triall. The prisoner being at the barre, and now beholding the pedler, deformed by her witch-craft, and transformed beyond the course of nature, appeared to give evidence against her; having not yet pleaded to her indictment, saw it was in vain to denie it, or stand upon her justification: Shee humbly, upon her knees at the barre, with weeping teares, prayed the court to heare her.

Whereupon my Lord Bromley commanded shee should bee brought out from the prisoners neare unto the court, and there on her knees shee humbly asked forgivenesse for her offence: And being required to make an open declaration or confession of her offence: Shee confesseth as followeth, viz.

The Confession of Alizon Device, Prisoner at the Barre; published and declared at time of her Arraignement and Triall in open Court.

She saith, That about two yeares agone, her grandmother, called Elizabeth Sothernes, alias Dembdike, did (sundry times in going or walking together, as they went begging) persuade and advise this examinate to let a divell or familiar appear to her, and that shee, this examinate, would let him suck at some part of her; and she might have and doe what shee would. And so not long after these persuasions, this examinate being walking towards the Rough-Lee, in a close of one John Robinsons, there appeared unto her a thing like unto a blacke dogge, speaking unto her, this examinate, and desiring her to give him her soule, and he would give her power to do any thing she would: whereupon this examinate being therewithall inticed, and setting her downe, the said blacke dogge did with his mouth (as this examinate then thought) sucke at her breast, a little below her paps, which place did remaine blew halfe a yeare next after: which said blacke dogge did not appear to this examinate, until the eighteenth day of March last: at which time this examinate met with a pedler on the high-way, called Colne-field, neere unto Colne: and this examinate demanded of the said pedler to buy some pinnes of him; but the said pedler sturdily answered this examinate that he would not loose his packe; and so this examinate parting with him, presently there appeared to this examinate the blacke dogge, which appeared unto her as before: which blacke dogge spake unto this examinate in English, saying, What wouldst thou have me to do unto yonder man? to whom this examinate said, What canst thou do at him? and the dogge answered againe, I can lame him: whereupon this examinat answered, and said to the said black dogge, Lame him; and before the pedler was gone fortie roddes further, he fell down lame: And this examinate then went after the said pedler; and in a house about the distance aforesaid, he was lying lame; and so this examinate went begging in Trawden Forest that day, and came home at night; and about five daies next after, the said black dogge did appear to this examinate, as she was going a begging, in a cloase neere the New Church in Pendle, and spake againe to her, saying, Stay and speake with me; but this examinate would not. Sithence which time this examinat never saw him.

Which agreeth verbatim with her owne examination taken at Reade, in the countie of Lancaster, the thirtieth day of March, before Master Nowel, when she was apprehended and taken.

My Lord Bromley, and all the whole court not a little wondering, as they had good cause, at this liberall and voluntarie confession of the witch; which is not ordinary with people of their condition and qualitie; and beholding also the poore distressed pedler standing by, commanded him upon his oath to declare the manner how, and in what sort he was handled; how he came to be lame, and so to be deformed; who deposed upon his oath, as followeth:

The Evidence of John Law, Pettie Chapman, upon his Oath; against Alizon Device, Prisoner at the Barre.

He deposeth and saith, That about the eighteenth of March last past, hee being a

pedler, went with his packe of wares at his backe thorow Colne-field; where unluckily he met with Alizon Device, now prisoner at the barre, who was very earnest with him for pinnes, but he would give her none. Whereupon she seemed to be very angry; and when hee was past her, hee fell downe lame in great extremitie; and afterwards by meanes got into an ale-house in Colne, neere unto the place where he was first bewitched; and as he lay there in great paine, not able to stirre either hand or foote, he saw a great black dogge stand by him, with very fearefull firie eyes, great teeth, and a terrible countenance, looking him in the face; whereat he was very sore afraid; and immediately after came in the said Alizon Device, who staid not long there, but looked on him, and went away.

After which time hee was tormented both day and night with the said Alizon Device; and so continued lame, not able to travell or take paines ever since that time. Which with weeping teares in great passion turned to the prisoner; in the hearing of all the court, hee said to her, This thou knowest to be too true: and thereupon she humblie acknowledged the same, and cried out to God to forgive her; and upon her knees with weeping teares, humbly prayed him to forgive her that wicked offence; which he very freely and voluntarily did.

Hereupon Master Nowel standing up, humbly prayed the favour of the court, in respect this fact of witchcraft was more eminent and apparent than the rest, that for the better satisfaction of the audience, the examination of Abraham Law might be read in court.

The Examination of Abraham Law, of Hallifax, in the Countie of Yorke, Cloth-dier, taken upon oath the thirtieth day of March, 1612. *Before Roger Nowell, Esquire, aforesaid.*

Being sworn and examined, saith, That upon Saturday last save one, being the one and twentieth day of this instant March, he this examinate was sent for, by a letter that came from his father, that he should come to his father, John Law, who then lay in Colne speechlesse, and had the left-side lamed all save his eye: and when this examinate came to his father, his said father had something recovered his speech, and did complaine that hee was pricked with knives, elsons, and sickles, and that the same hurt was done unto him at Colne-field, presently after that Alizon Device had offered to buy some pinnes of him, and she had no money to pay for them withall; but as this examinates father told this examinate, he gave her some pinnes. And this examinate further saith, That he heard his said father say, that the hurt he had in his lamenesse was done unto him by the said Alizon Device, by witchcraft. And this examinate further saith, That he heard his said father further say, that the said Alizon Device did lie upon him and trouble him. And this examinate seeing his said father so tormented with the said Alizon and with one other olde woman, whome this examinates father did not know as it seemed: This examinate made search after the said Alizon, and having found her, brought her to his said father yesterday, being the nine and twenteth of this instant March: whose said father, in the hearing of this examinate and divers others, did charge the said Alizon to have bewitched him, which the said Alizon confessing, did aske this examinates said father forgivenesse upon her knees for the same; whereupon this examinates father accordingly did forgive her. Which examination, in open court, upon his oath, hee justified to be true.

Whereupon it was there affirmed to the court, that this John Law the pedler, before his unfortunate meeting with this witch, was a very able sufficient stout man of bodie, and a goodly man of stature. But by this devilish art of witch craft, his head is drawne awrie, his eyes and face deformed, his speech not well to bee understood; his

thighes and legges starcke lame; his armes lame, especially the left side, his handes lame and turned out of their course, his bodie able to indure no travell; and thus remaineth at this present time.

The prisoner being examined by the court, whether shee could help the poore pedler to his former strength and health, she answered she could not, and so did many of the rest of the witches. But shee, with others, affirmed, That if old Dembdike had lived, shee could and would have helped him out of that great miserie, which so long he hath endured for so small an offence, as you have heard.

These things being thus openly published against her, and she knowing herselfe to be guiltie of every particular, humbly acknowledged the indictment against her to be true, and that she was guilty of the offence therein contained, and that she had justly deserved death for that and many other such like. Whereupon she was carried away, until she should come to the barre to receive her judgement of death.

Oh, who was present at this lamentable spectacle, that was not moved with pitie to behold it!

Hereupon my Lord Gerard, Sir Richard Houghton, and others, who much pitied the poore pedler, at the entreatie of my Lord Bromley, the judge, promised some present course should be taken for his relief and maintenance, being now discharged and sent away.

But here I may not let her passe; for that I find some thing more upon record to charge her withall: for although she were but a young witch, of a yeares standing, and thereunto induced by Dembdike her grand-mother, as you have formerly heard, yet she was spotted with innocent bloud among the rest; for in one part of the examination of James Device, her brother, he deposed as followeth, viz.

The Examination of James Device, brother to the said Alizon Device: Taken upon Oath before Roger Nowell, Esquire, aforesaid, the thirtieth day of March, 1612.

James Device, of the Forrest of Pendle, in the countie of Lancaster, labourer, sworne and examined, sayth, That about Saint Peters day last one Henry Bulcock came to the house of Elizabeth Sothernes, alias Dembdike, grand-mother to this examinate, and said, That the said Alizon Device had bewitched a child of his, and desired her, that shee would goe with him to his house: which accordingly shee did; and thereupon she the said Alizon fell downe on her knees, and asked the said Bulcock forgivenesse; and confessed to him, that she had bewitched the said child, as this examinate heard his said sister confesse unto him this examinate.

And although shee were never indicted for this offence, yet being matter upon record, I thought it convenient to joyne it unto her former fact.

Here the jury of life and death, having spent the most part of the day in due consideration of their offences, returned into the court to deliver up their verdict against them, as followeth.

The Verdict of Life and Death.

Who upon their oathes found John Bulcock and Jane Bulcock, his mother, guiltie of the felonie, by witch-craft, contained in the indictment against them.

Alizon Device convicted upon her owne confession.

Whereupon Mr Couel was commaunded by the court to take away the prisoners convicted, and to bring forth Margaret Pearson, and Isabel Robey, prisoners in the castle at Lancaster, to receive their triall.

Who were brought to their arraignement and trialls, as hereafter followeth, viz.

The Arraignment and Triall of Margaret Pearson of Paddiham, in the Countie of Lancaster, for Witchcraft, the nineteenth of August, 1612, at the Assises and General Goale-Deliverie, holden at Lancaster: Before Sir Edward Bromley, Knight, one of his Majesties Justices of Assise, at Lancaster.

MARGARET PEARSON.

Thus farre have I proceeded in hope your patience will endure the end of this discourse, which craves time, and were better not begunne at all, then not perfected.

This Margaret Pearson was the wife of Edward Pearson of Paddiham, in the countie of Lancaster; little inferiour in her wicked and malicious course of life to any that hath gone before her: A very dangerous witch of long continuance, generally suspected and feared in all parts of the countrie, and of all good people neare her, and not without great cause: For whosoever gave her any just occasion of offence, shee tormented with great miserie, or cut off their children, goods, or friends.

This wicked and ungodly witch revenged her furie upon goods, so that every one neare her, sustained great losse. I place her in the end of these notorious witches, by reason her judgement is of an other nature, according to her offence; yet, had not the favour and mercie of the jurie beene more than her desert, you had found her next to old Dembdike; for this is the third time shee is come to receive her triall; one time for murder by witch-craft; an other time for bewitching a neighbour; now for goods.

How long shee hath beene a witch, the devill and shee knowes best.

The accusations, depositions, and particular examinations upon record against her are infinite, and were able to fill a large volume; but since shee is now only to receive her triall for this last offence, I shall proceede against her in order, and set forth what matter we have upon record, to charge her withall.

This Margaret Pearson, prisoner in the castle at Lancaster, being brought to the barre, before the great seat of justice, was there, according to the course and order of the law, indicted and arraigned; for that shee had practised, exercised, and used her devillish and wicked arts, called witchcrafts, inchantments, charmes, and sorceries, and one mare of the goods and chattels of one Dodgeson of Padiham, in the countie of Lancaster, wickedly, maliciously, and voluntarily did kill. *Contra formam statuti, &c. et contra pacem dicti Domini Regis, &c.*

Upon her arraignement to this indictment, she pleaded not guiltie; and for the triall of her offence put herselfe upon God and her countrie.

So as now, the gentlemen of the jury of her offence and death, stand charged with her as with others.

The Evidence against Margaret Pearson, Prisoner at the Barre.

The Examination and Evidence of Anne Whittle, alias Chattox. Against Margaret Pearson, Prisoner at the Barre.

The said Anne Chattox being examined saith, That the wife of one Pearson of Paddiham is a very evil woman, and confessed to this examinate, that shee is a witch, and hath a spirit which came to her the first time in the likenesse of a man, and cloven footed, and that shee, the said Pearsons wife, hath done very much harme to one Dodgesons goods, who came in at a loope-hole, into the said Dodgesons stable, and shee and her spirit together, did sit upon his horse or mare, untill the said horse or mare died. And likewise, that shee the said Pearsons wife did confesse unto her, this exa-

minate, that she bewitched unto death one Childers wife, and her daughter, and that shee the said Pearsons wife is as ill as shee.

The Examination of Jennet Booth of Paddiham, in the Countie of Lancaster, the ninth day of August, 1612. *Before Nicholas Bannester, Esquire, one of his Majesties Justices of Peace in the Countie of Lancaster.*

Jennet, the wife of James Booth of Paddiham, upon her oath saith, That the Friday next after the said Pearsons wife was committed to the gaole at Lancaster, this examinate was carding in the said Pearsons house, having a little child with her, and willed the said Margerie to give her a little milke, to make her said child a little meat, who fetcht this examinate some, and put it in a pan; this examinat meaning to set it on the fire, found the said fire very ill, and taking up a stick that lay by her, and brake it in three or four peeces, and laid upon the coales to kindle the same, then set the pan and milke on the fire; and when the milke was boild to this examinates content, she tooke the pan wherein the milke was, off the said fire, and with all, under the bottome of the same, there came a toade, or a thing very like a toade, and to this examinates thinking, came out of the fire, together with the said pan, and under the bottome of the same; and that the said Margerie did carrie the said toade out of the house in a paire of tonges, but what shee the said Margerie did therewith, this examinate knoweth not.

After this were divers witnesses examined against her in open court, *viva voce,* to prove the death of the mare, and divers other vild and odious practises by her committed, who, upon their examinations, made it so apparent to the jurie, as there was no question; but because the fact is of no great importance, in respect her life is not in question by this indictment, and the depositions and examinations are many, I leave to trouble you with any more of them; for being found guiltie of this offence, the penaltie of the law is as much as her good neighbours doe require, which is to be delivered from the companie of such a dangerous, wicked, and malicious witch.

The Arraignment and Triall of Isabel Robey, in the Countie of Lancaster, for Witchcraft, upon Wednesday the nineteenth of August, 1612, *at the Assizes and Generall Gaole-Delivery, holden at Lancaster. Before Sir Edward Bromley, Knight, one of his Majesty's Justices of Assize at Lancaster.*

Isabel Robey.

Thus at one time may you behold witches of all sorts, from many places in this countie of Lancaster, which now may lawfully bee said to abound asmuch in witches of divers kindes, as seminaries, Jesuites, and Papists. Here then is the last that came to act her part in this lamentable and wofull tragedie, wherein his majestie hath lost so many subjects, mothers their children, fathers their friends and kinsfolkes, the like whereof hath not beene set forth in any age. What hath the kings majestie written and published in his Dæmonologie, by way of premonition and prevention, which hath not here by the first or last beene executed, put in practise, or discovered? What witches have ever, upon their arraignement and trial, made such open, liberall, and voluntarie declarations of their lives, and such confessions of their offences; the manner of their attempts, and their bloudie practises, their meetings, consultations, and what not? Therefore I shall now conclude with this Isabel Robey, who is now come to her triall.

This Isabel Robey, prisoner in the castle at Lancaster, being brought to the barre

before the great seat of justice, was there, according to the former order and course, indicted and arraigned, for that shee felloniously had practised, exercised and used her devilish and wicked arts called witchcrafts, inchantments, charmes, and sorceries.

Upon her arraignment to this indictment, she pleaded not guiltie, and for the triall of her life, put herselfe upon God and her countrie.

So as now the gentlemen of the jurie of life and death stand charged with her as with others.

The Evidence against Isabel Robey, Prisoner at the Barre.

The Examination of Peter Chaddock of Windle, in the Countie of Lancaster, taken at Windle aforesaid, the 12. *day of July* 1612. Anno. Reg. Regis Jacobi, Angliæ, &c. Decimo, et Scotiæ xlv. *Before Sir Thomas Gerrard, Knight and Barronet, one of his Majesties Justices of the Peace within the said Countie.*

The said examinate upon his oath saith, That before his marriage, hee heard say that the said Isabel Robey was not pleased that hee should marrie his now wife; whereupon this examinate called the said Isabel witch, and said that he did not care for her. Then, within two dayes next after, this examinate was sore pained in his bones. And this examinate having occasion to meete Master John Hawarden at Peaseley Crosse, wished one Thomas Lyon to goe thither with him, which they both did so; but as they came homewards, they both were in evill case. But within a short time after, this examinate and the said Thomas Lyon were both very well amended.

And this examinate further saith, That about foure yeares last past, his now wife was angrie with the said Isabel, shee then being in his house, and his said wife thereupon went out of the house, and presently after that, the said Isabel went likewise out of the house, not well pleased, as this examinate then did thinke; and presently after, upon the same day, this examinate, with his said wife, working in the hay, a paine and a starknesse fell into the necke of this examinat, which grieved him very sore; whereupon this examinat sent to one James, a glover, which then dwelt in Windle, and desired him to pray for him, and within foure or five dayes next after, this examinate did mend very well. Neverthelesse, this examinate, during the same time, was very sore pained, and so thirstie withall, and hot within his body, that hee would have given any thing hee had, to have slaked his thirst, having drinke enough in the house, and yet could not drinke until the time that the said James, the glover, came to him; and this examinate then said before the said glover, I would to God that I could drinke; whereupon the said glover said to this examinate, take that drinke, and in the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost, drinke it, saying, the devill and witches are not able to prevaile against God and his word; whereupon this examinate then tooke the glasse of drinke, and did drinke it all, and afterwards mended very well, and so did continue in good health, untill our Ladie-day in Lent was twelve moneth, or thereabouts; since which time, this examinate saith, that hee hath beene sore pained with great warch in his bones, and all his limmes, and so yet continueth; and this examinate further saith, that his said warch and paine came to him rather by meanes of the said Isabel Robey, then otherwise, as he verily thinketh.

The Examination of Jane Wilkinson, Wife of Francis Wilkinson of Windle aforesaid: Taken before the said Sir Thomas Gerrard, Knight and Barronet, the day and place aforesaid. Against the said Isabel Robey.

The said examinate, upon her oath, saith, That upon a time the said Isabel Robey

asked her milke, and shee denied to give her any; and afterwards shee met the said Isabel, whereupon this examinate waxed afraid of her, and was then presently sick, and so pained that shee could not stand; and the next day after, this examinate going to Warrington, was suddenly pinched on her thigh, as shee thought, with foure fingers and a thumbe, twice together, and thereupon was sicke, in so much as shee could not get home but on horse-backe, yet soone after shee did mend.

The Examination of Margaret Lyon, Wife of Thomas Lyon the yonger, of Windle aforesaid; Taken before the said Sir Thomas Gerrard, Knight and Barronet, the day and place aforesaid. Against the said Isabel Robey.

The said Margaret Lyon, upon her oath, saith, That upon a time Isabel Robey came into her house, and said that Peter Chaddock should never mend until he had asked her forgivenesse, and that shee knew hee would never doe; whereupon this examinate said, How doe you know that, for he is a true Christian, and hee would aske all the world forgivenesse? then the said Isabel said, That is all one, for hee will never aske me forgivenesse, therefore hee shall never mend; and this examinate further saith, That shee being in the house of the said Peter Chaddock, the wife of the said Peter, who is god-daughter of the said Isabel, and hath in times past used her companie much, did affirme, that the said Peter was now satisfied that the said Isabel Robey was no witch, by sending to one Halseworths, which they call a wise man, and the wife of the said Peter then said, to abide upon it, I thinke that my husband will never mend until hee have asked her forgivenesse, choose him whether hee will bee angrie or pleased, for this is my opinion; to which he answered, When he did need to aske her forgivenesse, he would, but hee thought hee did not need, for any thing hee knew: and yet this examinate further saith, That the said Peter Chaddock had very often told her, that he was very afraid that the said Isabel had done him much hurt, and that he being fearefull to meete her, he hath turned backe at such time as he did meet her alone, which the said Isabel hath since then affirmed to be true, saying, that hee the said Peter did turne againe when he met her in the lane.

The Examination of Margaret Parre, Wife of Hugh Parre, of Windle aforesaid. Taken before the said Sir Thomas Gerard, Knight and Baronet, the day and place aforesaid. Against the said Isabel Robey.

The said examinate upon her oath saith, That upon a time, the said Isabel Robey came to her house, and this examinate asked her how Peter Chaddock did, and the said Isabel answered shee knew not, for shee went not to see; and then this examinate asked her how Jane Wilkinson did, for that she had beene lately sicke, and suspected to have beene bewitched: then the said Isabel said twice together, I have bewitched her too: and then this examinate said that shee trusted shee could blesse herselfe from all witches, and defied them; and then the said Isabel said twice together, Would you defie me? and afterwards the said Isabel went away not well pleased.

Here the gentlemen of the last jurie of life and death having taken great paines, the time being farre spent, and the number of the prisoners great, returned into the court to deliver up their verdict against them as followeth. Viz.

The Verdict of Life and Death.

Who upon their oathes found the said Isabel Robey guiltie of the felonie by witch.

craft, contained in the indictment against her. And Margaret Pearson guiltie of the offence by witch-craft, contained in the indictment against her.

Whereupon Mr Couell was commaunded by the court, in the afternoone, to bring forth all the prisoners that stood convicted, to receive their judgment of life and death.

For his lordship now intended to proceed to a finall dispatch of the pleas of the crowne. And heere endeth the arraignement and triall of the witches at Lancaster.

Thus at the length have we brought to perfection this intended discovery of witches, with the arraignement and trial of every one of them in order, by the helpe of Almightie God, and this reverend judge; the lanterne from whom I have received light to direct me in this course to the end. And, as in the beginning, I presented unto their view a kalender containing the names of all the witches, so now I shall present unto you, in the conclusion and end, such as stand convicted, and come to the barre to receive the judgement of the law for their offences, and the proceedings of the court against such as were acquitted, and found not guiltie: with the religious exhortation of this honourable judge, as eminent in gifts and graces, as in place and pre-eminence, which I may lawfully affirme without base flattery (the canker of all honest and worthie minds) drew the eyes and reverend respect of all that great audience present, to heare their judgement, and the end of these proceedings.

The Prisoners being brought to the Barre.

The court commaunded three solemne proclamations for silence, untill judgement for life and death were given.

Whereupon I presented to his lordship the names of the prisoners in order, which were now to receive their judgement.

¶ *The Names of the Prisoners at the Barre to receive their Judgement of Life and Death.*

Anne Whittle, alias Chattox.	Katherine Hewet.
Elizabeth Device.	John Bulcock.
James Device.	Jane Bulcock.
Anne Redferne.	Alizon Device.
Alice Nutter.	Isabel Robey.

The Judgement of the Right Honourable Sir Edward Bromley, Knight, one of his Majesties Justices of Assize at Lancaster, upon the Witches convicted, as followeth.

There is no man alive more unwilling to pronounce this wofull and heavy judgement against you, than myself: and if it were possible, I would to God this cup might passe from me. But since it is otherwise provided, that after all proceedings of the law, there must be a judgement; and the execution of that judgement must succeed and follow in due time: I pray you have patience to receive that which the law doth lay upon you. You of all people have the least cause to complaine; since in the triall of your lives there hath beene great care and paines taken, and much time spent: and very few or none of you, but stand convicted upon your owne voluntarie confessions and examinations, *Ex ore proprio.* Few witnesses examined against you, but such as were present, and parties in your assemblies Nay, I may further affirme, What persons of your nature and condition, ever were arraigned and tried with more solemnitie, had more libertie given to pleade or answere to everie particular point of

evidence against you? In conclusion, such hath beene the generall care of all that had to deale with you, that you have neither cause to be offended in the proceedings of the justices, that first tooke paines in these businesses, nor with the court that hath had great care to give nothing in evidence against you but matter of fact; sufficient matter upon record, and not to induce or leade the jurie to finde any one of you guiltie upon matter of suspition or presumption, nor with the witnesses, who have beene tried as it were in the fire: Nay, you cannot denie but must confesse, what extraordinarie meanes hath beene used to make triall of their evidence, and to discover the least intended practice in any one of them, to touch your lives unjustly.

As you stand simply (your offences and bloudie practises not considered) your fall would rather move compassion, than exasperate any man. For whom would not the ruine of so many poore creatures at one time, touch, as in apparance simple, and of little understanding?

But the bloud of those innocent children, and others his majesties subjects, whom cruelly and barbarously you have murdered, and cut off, with all the rest of your offences, hath cryed out unto the Lord against you, and sollicited for satisfaction and revenge, and that hath brought this heavie judgement upon you at this time.

It is therefore now time no longer wilfully to strive, both against the providence of God, and the justice of the land: The more you labour to acquit your selves, the more evident and apparant you make your offences to the world. And unpossible it is that they shall either prosper or continue in this world, or receive reward in the next, that are stained with so much innocent bloud.

The worst then I wish to you, standing at the barre convicted, to receive your judgement, is, remorse and true repentance, for the safegard of your soules, and after, an humble, penitent, and heartie acknowledgement, of your grievous sinnes and offences, committed both against God and man.

First, yeeld humble and heartie thanks to Almightie God for taking hold of you in your beginning, and making stay of your intended bloudie practises (although God knowes there is too much done alreadie) which would in time have cast so great a weight of judgement upon your soules.

Then praise God that it pleased him not to surprize or strike you suddenly, even in the execution of your bloudie murthers, and in the middest of your wicked practises, but hath given you time, and takes you away by a judicial course and triall of the law.

Last of all, crave pardon of the world, and especially of all such as you have justly offended, either by tormenting themselves, children, or friends, murder of their kinsfolks, or losse of any of their goods.

And for leaving to future times the president of so many barbarous and bloudie murders, with such meetings, practises, consultations, and meanes to execute revenge, being the greatest part of your comfort in all your actions, which may instruct others to hold the like course, or fall in the like sort.

It only remaines I pronounce the judgement of the court against you by the kings authoritie, which is, You shall all goe from hence to the castle, from whence you came; from thence you shall bee carried to the place of execution for this countie: where your bodies shall bee hanged untill you be dead. And God have mercie upon your soules. For your comfort in this world, I shall commend a learned and worthie preacher to instruct you, and prepare you for another world. All I can doe for you is to pray for your repentance in this world, for the satisfaction of many, and forgivenesse in the next world, for saving of your soules. And God graunt you may make good use of the time you have in this world, to his glorie and your owne comfort.

MARGARET PEARSON.

The judgement of the court against you is, You shall stand upon the pillarie in open market, at Clitheroe, Paddiham, Whalley, and Lancaster, foure market dayes, with a paper upon your head, in great letters, declaring your offence; and there you shall confesse your offence, and after to remaine in prison for one yeare without baile, and after to be bound with good suerties, to be of the good behaviour.

To the Prisoners found not Guiltie by the Juries.

ELIZABETH ASTLEY.
JOHN RAMSDEN.
ALICE GRAY.
ISABEL SIDEGRAVES.
LAWRENCE HAY.

To you that are found not guiltie, and are by the law to bee acquitted, presume no further of your innocencie than you have just cause; for, although it pleased God, out of his mercie, to spare you at this time, yet without question there are amongst you that are as deepe in this action, as any of them that are condemned to die for their offences. The time is now for you to forsake the devill: Remember how, and in what sort hee hath dealt with all of you: make good use of this great mercie and favour: and pray unto God you fall not againe: for great is your happinesse to have time in this world, to prepare your selves against the day when you shall appeare before the great judge of all.

Notwithstanding, the judgement of the court is, You shall all enter recognizances, with good sufficient suerties, to appeare at the next assizes at Lancaster, and in the meane time to be of the good behaviour. All I can say to you, Jennet Bierley, Ellen Bierley, Jane Southworth, is, That God hath delivered you beyond expectation, I pray God you may use this mercie and favour well; and take heed you fall not hereafter. And so the court doth order you shall be delivered.

What more can bee written or published of the proceedings of this honourable court: but to conclude with the execution of the witches, who were executed the next day following at the common place of execution, neare unto Lancaster. Yet in the end give mee leave to intreate some favour that have beene afraid to speake untill my worke were finished. If I have omitted any thing materiall, or published any thing imperfect, excuse me for that I have done. It was a worke imposed upon me by the judges, in respect I was so well instructed in every particular. In hast I have undertaken to finish it in a busie tearme amongst my other emploiments.

My charge was to publish the proceedings of justice and matter of fact, wherein I wanted libertie to write what I would, and am limited to set forth nothing against them, but matter upon record, even in their owne countrie tearmes, which may seeme strange. And this I hope will give good satisfaction to such as understand how to judge of a businesse of this nature, such as have no other emploiment but to question other mens actions, I leave them to censure what they please. It is no part of my profession to publish any thing in print, neither can I paint in extraordinarie tearmes. But if this discoverie may serve for your instruction, I shall thinke my selfe very happie in this service, and so leave it to your generall censure.

Da veniam ignoto non displicuisse meretur,
Festinat studiis qui placuisse tibi.

The Arraingnement and Triall of Jennet Preston of Gisborne, in Craven, in the Countie of Yorke. At the Assises and Generall Gaole-Deliverie, holden at the Castle of Yorke, in the Countie of Yorke, the xxvii. *Day of July last past,* Anno Regni Regis Jacobi Angliæ, &c. Decimo, et Scotiæ, quadragesimo quinto. *Before Sir James Altham, Knight, one of the Barons of his Majesties Court of Exchequer; and Sir Edward Bromley, Knight, another of the Barons of his Majesties Court of Exchequer; his Majesties Justices of Assise, Oyer and Terminer, and Generall Gaole Deliverie, in the Circuit of the North-parts.*

London: Printed by W. Stansby, for John Barnes, and are to be Sold at his Shoppe, neere Holborne Conduit. 1612.

JENNET PRESTON.

Many have undertaken to write great discourses of witches, and many more dispute and speake of them. And it were not much if as many wrote of them as could write at al, to set forth to the world the particular rites and secrets of their unlawfull artes, with their infinite and wonderfull practises, which many men little feare till they seaze upon them. As by this late wonderfull discoverie of witches in the countie of Lancaster may appeare, wherein I find such apparant matter to satisfie the world, how dangerous and malitious a witch this Jennet Preston was, how unfit to live, having once so great mercie extended to her. And againe to revive her practises, and returne to her former course of life; that I thinke it necessarie not to let the memorie of her life and death die with her; but to place her next to her fellowes, and to set forth the arraignement, triall, and conviction of her, with her offences for which she was condemned and executed.

And although shee died for her offence before the rest, I yet can afford her no better place than in the end of this booke, in respect the proceedings was in another countie.

You that were husband to this Jennet Preston, her friends and kinsfolkes, who have not beene sparing to devise so scandalous a slander out of the malice of your hearts, as that shee was maliciously prosecuted by Master Lister and others; her life unjustly taken away by practise; and that (even at the gallowes, where shee died impenitent and void of all feare or grace) she died an innocent woman, because she would confesse nothing. You, I say, may not hold it strange, though at this time being not only moved in conscience, but directed, for example sake, with that which I have to report of her, I suffer you not to wander any further; but, with this short discourse, oppose your idle conceipts able to seduce others. And, by charmes of imputations and slander laid upon the justice of the land, to cleare her that was justly condemned and executed for her offence. That this Jennet Preston was for many yeares well thought of and esteemed by Master Lister, who afterwards died for it, had free access to his house, kind respect and entertainment; nothing denied her she stood in need of. Which of you that dwelleth neare them in Craven but can and will witnesse it? which might have incouraged a woman of any good condition to have runne a better course.

The favour and goodnesse of this gentleman, Master Lister, now living, at his first entrance after the death of his father, extended towards her, and the reliefe she had at all times, with many other favours that succeeded from time to time, are so palpable and evident to all men as no man can denie them. These were sufficient motives to have perswaded her from the murder of so good a friend.

But such was her execrable ingratitude, as even this grace and goodnesse was the cause of his miserable and untimely death. And even in the beginning of his greatest favours extended to her, began shee to worke this mischiefe, according to the course of all witches.

This Jennet Preston, whose arraignement and triall, with the particular evidence

against her, I am now to set forth unto you, one that lived at Gisborne, in Craven, in the countie of Yorke, near Master Lister of Westbie, against whom she practised much mischiefe; for having cut off Thomas Lister, Esquire, father to this gentleman now living, shee revenged her selfe upon his sonne; who in short time received great losse in his goods and cattell by her meanes.

These things in time did beget suspition, and at the assises and generall gaole deliverie, holden at the castle of Yorke in Lent last past, before my Lord Bromley, shee was indicted and arraigned for the murder of a child of one Dodgsonnes, but, by the favour and mercifull consideration of the jurie, thereof acquited.

But this favour and mercie was no sooner extended towardes her, and shee set at libertie, but shee began to practise the utter ruine and overthrow of the name and bloud of this gentleman.

And the better to execute her mischiefe and wicked intent, within foure dayes after her deliverance out of the castle at Yorke, went to the great assembly of witches at Malking-Tower, upon Good Friday last; to pray, aide, and helpe, for the murder of Master Lister, in respect he had prosecuted against her at the same assizes.

Which it pleased God in his mercie to discover, and in the end, howsoever he had blinded her, as he did the king of Egypt and his instruments, for the brighter evidence of his own powerfull glory. Yet, by a judiciall course and triall of the law, cut her off, and so delivered his people from the danger of her devillish and wicked practises: which you shall heere against her, at her arraignement and triall, which I shall now set forth to you in order as it was performed, with the wonderfull signes and tokens of God, to satisfie the jurie to find her guiltie of this bloudie murther, committed foure yeares since.

Indictment.

This Jennet Preston being prisoner in the castle at Yorke, and indicted, for that shee felloniously had practised, used, and exercised, diverse wicked and devillish arts, called witchcrafts, inchauntments, charmes, and sorceries, in and upon one Thomas Lister of Westby, in Craven, in the countie of Yorke, Esquire, and by force of the same witchcraft felloniously the said Thomas Lister had killed, *Contra pacem, &c.* beeing at the barre, was arraigned.

To this indictment, upon her arraignement, shee pleaded not guiltie; and for the triall of her life, put her selfe upon God and her countrey.

Whereupon my Lord Altham commaunded Mr Sheriffe of the countie of Yorke, in open court to returne a jurie of sufficient gentlemen of understanding, to passe betweene our soveraigne lord the kings majestie and her, and others the prisoners, upon their lives and deaths; who were afterwards sworne, according to the forme and order of the court, the prisoner being admitted to her lawfull challenge.

Which being done, the prisoner at the barre to receive her tryall, Mr Heyber, one of his majesties justices of peace in the same county, having taken great paines in the proceedings against her, and being best instructed of any man of all the particular points of evidence against her, humbly prayed, the witnesses hereafter following might be examined against her, and the severall examinations, taken before Mr Nowell, and certified, might openly bee published against her; which hereafter follow in order, viz.

The Evidence for the Kings Majestie against Jennet Preston, Prisoner at the Barre.

Hereupon were diverse examinations taken and read openly against her, to induce and satisfie the gentlemen of the jurie of life and death, to finde she was a witch; and

many other circumstances for the death of M. Lister. In the end, Anne Robinson and others were both examined, who upon their oathes declared against her, That M. Lister, lying in great extremitie, upon his death-bedde, cried out unto them that stood about him, that Jennet Preston was in the house, looke where shee is, take hold of her: for Gods sake shut the doores, and take her, shee cannot escape away. Looke about for her, and lay hold on her, for shee is in the house. And so cryed very often in his great paines, to them that came to visit him during his sicknesse.

Anne Robinson and Thomas Lister

Being examined further, they both gave this in evidence against her: That when Master Lister lay upon his death-bedde, he cryed out in great extremitie, Jennet Preston lyes heavie upon me; Prestons wife lyes heavie upon me; helpe me, helpe me; and so departed, crying out against her.

These, with many other witnesses, were further examined, and deposed, That Jennet Preston, the prisoner at the barre, being brought to M. Lister after hee was dead, and layd out to be wound up in his winding sheet, the said Jennet Preston comming to touch the dead corpes, they bled fresh bloud presently, in the presence of all that were there present. Which hath ever beene held a great argument to induce a jurie to hold him guiltie that shall be accused of murther, and hath seldome, or never, fayled in the tryall.

But these were not alone; for this wicked and bloud-thirstie witch was no sooner delivered at the assises holden at Yorke, in Lent last past, being indicted, arraigned, and by the favour and mercie of the jurie found not guiltie, for the murther of a child by witchcraft: but upon the Friday following, being Good-Friday, shee rode in hast to the great meeting at Malking-Tower, and there prayed aide for the murther of M. Thomas Lister; as at large shall appeare, by the severall examinations hereafter following, sent to these assises from Master Nowell and other his majesties justices of peace in the countie of Lancaster, to be given in evidence against her, upon her tryall, viz.

The Examination and Evidence of James Device, of the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster, Labourer, taken at the house of James Wilsey, of the Forrest of Pendle, in Countie of Lancaster, the seven and twentieth day of Aprill, Anno Reg. Regis Jacobi Angliæ, &c. Decimo, ac Scotiæ, quadragesimo quinto. *Before Roger Nowell, and Nicholas Bannester, Esquires, two of his Majesties Justices of the Peace within the Countie of Lancaster, viz.*

This examinate saith; That upon Good-Friday last, about twelve of the clock in the day-time, there dined in this examinates said mothers house a number of persons, whereof three were men, with this examinate, and the rest women: and that they met there for these three causes following (as this examinates said mother told this examinate:) First was for the naming of the spirit, which Alizon Device, now prisoner at Lancaster, had, but did not name him, because shee was not there. The second cause was for the delivery of his said grand-mother, this examinates said sister Alizon, the said Anne Chattox, and her daughter Redferne: killing the goaler at Lancaster; and before the next assizes to blow up the castle there; to that end the aforesaid prisoners might by that meanes make an escape and get away. All which this examinate then heard them conferre of. And the third cause was, for that there was a woman dwelling in Gisburne parish, who came into this examinates said grand-mothers house, who there came, and craved assistance of the rest of them that were then there, for the killing of Master Lister of Westby: because, as she then said, he had borne malice unto her, and had thought

to have put her away at the last assizes at Yorke; but could not. And then this examinat heard the said woman say, that her power was not strong enough to doe it her selfe, being now lesse then before-time it had beene.

And he also further saith, That the said Prestons wife had a spirit with her, like unto a white foale, with a blacke-spot in the forehead. And further, this examinat saith, That since the said meeting, as aforesaid, this examinate hath beene brought to the wife of one Preston in Gisburne parish aforesaid, by Henry Hargrieves of Goldshey, to see whether shee was the woman that came amongst the said witches, on the said last Good-Friday, to crave their aide and assistance for the killing of the said Master Lister: and having had full view of her, hee this examinate confesseth, that she was the selfe-same woman which came amongst the said witches on the said last Good-Friday, for their aide for the killing of the said Master Lister; and that brought the spirit with her, in the shape of a white foale, as aforesaid.

And this examinate further saith, That all the said witches went out of the said house in their owne shapes and likenesses, and they all, by that they were forth of the doores, were gotten on horse-backe like unto foales, some of one colour, some of another, and Prestons wife was the last; and when she got on horse-back, they all presently vanished out of this examinats sight; and before their said parting away, they all appointed to meete at the said Prestons wifes house that day twelve-month; at which time the said Prestons wife promised to make them a great feast; and if they had occasion to meet in the meane time, then should warning be given that they all should meete upon Romles-Moore. And this examinate further saith, That at the said feast at Malking-Tower, this examinat heard them all give their consents to put the said Master Thomas Lister of Westby to death: and after Master Lister should be made away by witchcraft, then al the said witches gave their consents to joyne altogether to hancke Master Leonard Lister, when he should come to dwell at the Sowgill, and so put him to death.

The Examination of Henrie Hargrieves of Goldshey-booth, in the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster Yeoman, taken the fifth day of May, Anno Reg. Regis Jacobi, Angliæ, &c. Decimo, ac Scotiæ Quadragesimo quinto. *Before Roger Nowell, Nicholas Bannester, and Robert Holden, Esquires; three of his Majesties Justices of Peace within the said Countie.*

This examinat upon his oath saith, That Anne Whittle, alias Chattox, confessed unto him, that she knoweth one Prestons wife neere Gisburne, and that the said Prestons wife should have beene at the said feast, upon the said Good-Friday, and that she was an ill woman, and had done Master Lister of Westby great hurt.

The Examination of Elizabeth Device, Mother of James Device, taken before Roger Nowell and Nicholas Bannester, Esquires, the day and yeare aforesaid, viz.

The said Elizabeth Device upon her examination confesseth, That upon Good-Friday last, there dined at this examinats house, which she hath said are witches, and doth verily thinke them to be witches; and their names are those whom James Device hath formerly spoken of to be there.

She also confesseth in all things touching the killing of Master Lister of Westby, as the said James Device hath before confessed.

And the said Elizabeth Device also further saith, That at the said meeting at Malking-Tower, as aforesaid, the said Katherine Hewyt and John Bulcock, with all the rest then there, gave their consents, with the said Prestons wife, for the killing of the said Mas-

ter Lister. And for the killing of the said Master Leonard Lister, she this examinate saith in all things, as the said James Device hath before confessed in his examination.

The Examination of Jennet Device, Daughter of Elizabeth, late Wife of John Device, of the Forrest of Pendle, in the Countie of Lancaster, about the age of nine yeares or thereabouts, taken the day and yeare above-said: Before Roger Nowell, and Nicholas Bannester, Esquires, two of his Majesties Justices of Peace in the Countie of Lancaster.

The said examinate upon her examination saith, That upon Good-Friday last there was about twenty persons, whereof only two were men to this examinats remembrance, at her said grand-mothers house, called Malking-Tower aforesaid, about twelve of the clocke: All which persons this examinates said mother told her were witches, and that she knoweth the names of divers of the said witches.

After all these examinations, confessions, and evidence, delivered in open court against her, his Lordship commanded the jurie to observe the particular circumstances; first, Master Lister, in his great extremitie, to complaine hee saw her, and requested them that were by him to lay hold on her.

After he cried out shee lay heavie upon him, even at the time of his death.

But the conclusion is of more consequence than all the rest, That Jennet Preston being brought to the dead corps, they bled freshly; and after her deliverance in Lent, it is proved shee rode upon a white foale, and was present in the great assembly at Malkin-Tower with the witches, to intreat and pray for aide of them, to kill Master Lister, now living, for that he had prosequuted against her.

And against these people you may not expect such direct evidence, since all their workes are the workes of darkenesse, no witnesses are present to accuse them, therefore I pray God direct your consciences.

After the gentlemen of the jurie of life and death had spent the most part of the day, in consideration of the evidence against her, they returned into the court and delivered up their verdict of life and death.

The Verdict of Life and Death.

Who found Jennet Preston guiltie of the fellonie and murder by witch-craft of Thomas Lister, Esquire; conteyned in the indictment against her, &c.

Afterwards, according to the course and order of the lawes, his lordship pronounced judgement against her to bee hanged for her offence. And so the court arose.

Here was the wonderfull discoverie of this Jennet Preston, who for so many yeares had lived at Gisborne, in Craven, neare Master Lister: one thing more I shall adde to all these particular examinations, and evidence of witnesses, which I saw, and was present in the court at Lancaster, when it was done at the assizes holden in August following.

My Lord Bromley being very suspicious of the accusation of Jennet Device, the little wench, commanded her to looke upon the prisoners that were present, and declare which of them were present at Malkin-Tower, at the great assembly of witches upon Good-Friday last: she looked upon and tooke many by the handes, and accused them to be there, and when shee had accused all that were there present, shee told his lordship there was a woman that came out of Craven that was amongst the witches at that feast, but shee saw her not amongst the prisoners at the barre.

What a singular note was this of a child, amongst many to misse her, that before that time was hanged for her offence, which shee would never confesse or declare at her

death? Here was present old Preston, her husband, who then cried out, and went away: being fully satisfied his wife had justice, and was worthy of death.

To conclude then this present discourse, I heartilie desire you, my loving friends and country-men, for whose particular instructions this is added to the former, of the wonderfull discoverie of witches in the countie of Lancaster; and for whose particular satisfaction this is published; awake in time, and suffer not yourselves to be thus assaulted.

Consider how barbarously this gentleman hath been dealt withall; and especially you, that hereafter shall passe upon any juries of life and death, let not your connivence, or rather foolish pittie, spare such as these, to exequute farther mischiefe; remember that shee was no sooner set at libertie, but shee plotted the ruine and overthrow of this gentleman and his whole family.

Expect not, as this reverend and learned judge saith, such apparent proofe against them, as against others, since all their workes are the workes of darknesse; and unlesse it please Almightie God to raise witnesses to accuse them, who is able to condemne them?

Forget not the bloud, that cries out unto God for revenge; bring it not upon your owne heads; neither do I urge this any farther, than with this, that I woud always intreat you to remember, that it is as great a crime (as Solomon sayth, Prov. 17.) 'To condemne the innocent, as to let the guiltie escape free.'

Looke not upon things strangely alledged, but judiciously consider what is justly proved against them.

And that as well all you, that were witnesses, present at the arraignement and triall of her, as all other strangers, to whom this discourse shall come, may take example by this gentleman, to prosecute these hellish furies, to their end: labour to root them out of the common wealth, for the common good of your countrey; the greatest mercie extended to them is soon forgotten.

God graunt us the long and prosperous continuance of these honourable and reverend judges, under whose government we live in these north parts; for we may say that God Almightie hath singled them out, and set them on his seat, for the defense of justice.

And for this great deliverance, let us all pray to God Almightie, that the memorie of these worthy judges may be blessed to all posterities.

A True Narration of the Strange and Grevous Vexation by the Devil of Seven Persons in Lancashire, and William Somers of Nottingham. Wherein the Doctrine of Possession and Dispossession of Demoniakes out of the Word of God is particularly applyed unto Somers, and the rest of the Persons controverted. Together with the use we are to make of these Workes of God. By John Darrell, Minister of the Word of God.

He that is not with me, is against me: and he that gathereth not with me, scattereth.
MATTH. 12. 30.

Printed 1600.

The papists were generally upbraided with the devices to which they had recourse for the purposes of exalting the sanctity of their church and priesthood. The counterfeit possession of the Boy of Bilson was objected to them, with many other instances of a singular kind. (See the Tract entitled "The Foot out of the Snare," p. 49. of this volume.) But the dissenting or puritanic clergy had, as the following pamphlet too manifestly shews, their impostures of the same kind. The comparative ignorance and fanatic enthusiasm of their hearers laid them open to this species

if deception, and it is certain that the Calvinistic divines themselves admitted the *speciosa miracula* of witchcraft and possession much more readily than those of the Church of England. To establish this point, the reader need only compare the number of witches detected and executed under the presbyterian domination of the Long Parliament, which, according to a list seen by Dr Zachary Grey, the Editor of Hudibras, amounted to between three or four thousand persons, with those who suffered even under the witch-persecuting James I., who probably did not amount to one hundred. The same dark superstition stained the criminal annals of Scotland so late as the beginning of the 18th century, and the convictions which then took place are chiefly to be ascribed to the ignorance and fanaticism of the clergy.

The most distinct exposure of the following case of pretended possession is given by Dr Hutchinson, in his Essay on Witchcraft.

"Mr John Darrel, the chief actor in what follows, was first enter'd into the study of the Common Law. He spent one year in it; but in the 30th page of his Detection, he saith, God withdrew him from it, by laying a strange and extraordinary sluggishness upon him in that study. It is hard to guess, by what rules of scripture and sound reason, he could conclude, that an extraordinary sluggishness was an indication that God designed him for a divine: it seems rather a touch of that rash enthusiastick judgment, that troubled the world so much afterward. But however, the notion was so strong with him, that we find him soon after a preacher amongst those, that, in that age, were called puritans; and his behaviour in the ministry was suitable to the reason of his entrance; for one of the first works he undertook, was, a casting out of devils. For when he lived at Mansfield, of the age of four and twenty, one Katherine Wright, a girl of seventeen, happened to have her belly swell, and not like one with child, but as having some hysterick distemper, and a motion sometimes in it; and going to a well for water, she fancied she saw a child without feet. After that she had fits, and thought she saw shapes and apparitions: and she confessed afterwards, that this made a severe father-in-law more kind, she made her fits more and worse than they were. This young woman was brought to Mansfield, to young Mr Darrel, who, some way or other, even then, had made himself known for a man of hope, as they expressed it, for the relieving those that were distressed in that sort. Now a wise man would have thought, a young woman, of that age, swell'd in that manner, had had the green sickness, and that the child without legs, might be her own image in the water: for when any see themselves in a well the legs are out of sight. But Mr Darrel's notions led him the other way; for he gave his opinion, that her trouble was from the devil: and he, and his wife, with three or four of the family, kept a day of prayer for her; and beginning at four of the clock in the morning, by noon she was thought to be dispossessed.

"And to pass over many follies that shewed both great ignorance and presumption; one was, that upon the suggestion of that maid, he accused one Margaret Roper for sending the spirit into her by witchcraft, and carrying her before one Mr Fouliamb, a justice of peace. Mr Fouliamb perceiving how matters had been carry'd, discharged the poor woman, and threatened to send him to jail, if he demean'd himself no better.

"Such a just reproof, from a sober magistrate, might have cured a young man of such enthusiatical ill-grounded notions: and very likely it did for some time; for we find no more actions of this sort till ten years after. Then being in a new place, and Mr Fouliamb being dead, he got fresh credit from the boy of Burton; and the same year he was thought to have dispossessed seven in one Mr Starky's family in Lancashire: and by them gave the Common-prayer book a great foil; for they found by experience, that stinted prayer, read out of a book, had little effect upon the spirits: but at conceived prayers, the parties were much troubled. But I will pass over these facts and come to his two last; for if the first and last be found counterfeits, I will trust it to the reader's judgment to think whether the middle was much better: and besides, the last contains more variety; for the dœmoniack being a fidler's boy, that was strong and nimble, and a crafty mimick, the devil was thought to shew himself more plainly in him; for in our modern possessions, such as the dæmoniack is, such is the dœmon.

"To come then to the case of William Somers and his sister-in-law Mary Cowper; and that I may not mingle any thing that may be thought doubtful, I will pass over some depositions of Somers, in which he charges Mr Darrel to have fore-instructed, and taught him, before ever he began to counterfeit. Not but there are considerable probabilities even of that; but as that rests, as it must needs, upon the boy's own testimony, and because one cannot be sure but that, to extenuate his own fault, he might make Mr Darrel worse than he was; therefore, I will let that part pass, and come to those things, where the boy's testimony was confirmed by notoriety of the fact, and other witnesses, and Mr Darrel's own examination and books.

" This case of William Somers happened towards the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign; he was a servant to one Mr Brakenbury, near Ashby-de-la-Zouch, the place where Mr Darrel, about that time lived. He had some odd kinds of fits there, which Mr Darrel afterwards believed was a possession. He was turned out of his place for them, and having no exorcist, was well of himself for several years: From Mr Brakenbury's he came to Nottingham, to one Mr Robert Cowper, his father-in-law; and his mother bound him apprentice to one Thomas Porter, one of the town musick. After some time he ran away from him and came back; ran away again, but returned to him again, designing to serve out his time; but understanding that his master would make him stay till he had made up the time he lost, to make his master glad to be rid of him, he pretended himself sick; and having really got cold in the water, he huffed up his belly, and made it move, and practised the same tricks he had done at Mr Brakenbury's. Some that came to see him, said he was possessed, and brought with them a book, 'Of the Witches of Warbois, and Mr Throgmorton's children;' and by that he learned several things, and said he was bewitched by an old woman that he had met with, because he would not give her a hat-band that he had found.

" Mr Darrel had a sister lived then in Nottingham, and she said her brother had cured nine such persons; and upon that, Somers, in his fits, called for Darrel, Darrel. If it was a devil, he had a great mind to be cast out. He liked Mr Darrel's way: for it appeared afterwards, that he had known Mr Darrel before at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, and he would not rest now till Mr Darrel was sent for. Whereupon, not the mayor and aldermen of Nottingham, as this new author boldly affirms, but a sister of Mr Darrel's, that lived in Nottingham, and Mr Aldridge, vicar of St. Mary's, wrote to Mr Darrel to come, and he came the fifth of November, 1597.

" Since the gift of discerning spirits is ceased in the church, it is a matter of very great difficulty to distinguish betwixt possession, and some efforts of our own souls in some diseases. Wise men, therefore in cases of that nature, are slow in determining: but Mr Darrel, before he came thither, at a friend's house, where he called, declared his belief of the possession, his purpose for a fast; and that he did not doubt of the boy's deliverance. When he came to Nottingham, before ever he saw him, he told the boy's friends that he was possessed. When he had seen him, the very first night, he declared the same, and added, that the boy was senseless in his fits; and that what he spoke was not from himself, but the devil. When he asked Somers, How he did? and he said, Well: Mr Darrel answered, That it was not he but the devil that said so. Again, he told in Somers's hearing, that he was like the boy of Burton, and Catherine Wright, and the seven in Lancashire; that he would be much worse than he was yet, would lie in a trance, when the devil went out: and how all the rest had seen the devil go out in the likeness of some creatures. The shapes that the other spirits were said to go out in, were this, a mouse, a man with a hunch-back higher than his head, an ugly man with a white beard, a crow's head round, a great breath, ugly like a toad, an urchin, &c.

" He told also in Somers's hearing, many other things that the other possessed persons had done; as casting themselves into the fire and water, gnashing with their teeth, wreathing their necks, as if their faces stood backward, drawing their mouths awry, foaming; and that Satan used by gestures to shew the particular sins that reigned in the places where they dwelt. Mr Darrel complains greatly for being charged with teaching his patients to counterfeit: but this is teaching, speaking such thing before them is sufficient teaching. It doth not appear, that any of the Popish priests, who were detected about the same time, desired any of their patients in plain words to counterfeit; but only they managed them and told stories before them, and foretold how it would be with them; and all that Mr Darrel did, before many witnesses, besides many private conferences, in which the parties say they learned from him more plainly.

" The day after, that is the sixth of November, being Sunday, Mr Darrel was again with Somers, and he had his fits. Mr Darrel persuaded all people to beware of sin, for Somers, he said, was afflicted for the sins of Nottingham; and God had made even the devil a preacher, to deter them from them. At this time, as he had done the night before, Somers acted by signs all the sins of Nottingham, and Mr Darrel explained them to the people, as Somers acted them. Mr Aldridge, minister of the parish, used the argument afterward in his sermon in church; and a ballad was made upon the same subject. Part of it was this:

But when that Mr Darrel came,
The devil was vexed with the same.
His limbs he rack'd, he rent, he tore,
Far worser than he did before:

He play'd the antick there in scorns,
And flouted men, in making horns:
And after that he did bewray,
How men at cards and dice do play.
He shewed the manner of our fardingales,
Our busks and perriwigs, masks and vales;
And by clapping of his hands,
He shewed the starching of our bands.'

" When Mr Darrel, by these explications, and much talk of his dispossessing others, had raised the expectation of the people, he appointed a fast to be kept next day, and desired all the people to refrain from the company of their wives that night, and the next day they would see strange things; and that, if it stood with the glory of God, they would see both the signs of possession, and dispossession; and intimated how unwilling the boy would be to come to the house appointed.

" On the morning, Somers made as much resistance as Mr Darrel had said he would, but was brought struggling upon seven men's shoulders, and laid upon a bed prepared before them, with some labour to hold him.

" There were two sermons preached; the first by one Mr Aldred, the second by Mr Darrel. At Mr Aldred's sermon, Somers lay still, excepting a little struggle now and then; but when Mr Darrel began, he roused up himself; and Mr Darrel declaring fourteen signs of possession leisurely, one after another, Somers shewed all the fourteen as Mr Darrel spake them: he tore; he foamed; he wallowed; his face was drawn awry; his eyes would stare, and his tongue hang out; he had a swelling would seem to run from his forehead, down by his ear and throat, and through his belly and thighs, to the calf of his legs; he would speak with his mouth scarce moving; and when they looked, his tongue would seem drawn down his throat; he would try to cast himself into the fire and water; he would seem heavy, that they could not lift him, and his joints stiff, that they could not bend them.

" After this, Mr Darrel told them, that as they perceived by these that he was really possessed, so now, if it stood with the glory of God, they should see signs of his deliveranee. The three signs of that were, crying, rending, and lying as dead; and Mr Darrel speaking concerning these leisurely, when he discoursed concerning crying, then Somers cried; when of rending, he tore his doublet; and when of lying as if dead, he lay as if he was dead, for half a quarter of an hour. Upon this there was suddenly a great noise amongst the people, crying and praying, and astonished. Mr Darrel stood with his hands lift up to heaven; and two that were there, confessed their sins before the company, being about one hundred and fifty; and when Somers came to himself, he was thought to be well; but Mr Darrel put them in mind, in Somers's hearing, how the devil, very likely, would appear to him in several shapes, and make great promises, and seek to repossess him, and therefore he must be watchful.

" About a week after, Mr Darrel was chose preacher of St Mary's, in Nottingham, and people flocked to hear him, where he entertained them with sermons of devils and posessions, and Somers's case, till the maids were afraid to fetch beer out of the cellars without company with them.

" In this same week, Mr Darrel bought out Somers's time from his master, and placed him with his father-in-law, Robert Cowper, and made a collection for the cloathing of the boy, and his board at Cowper's, for he promised he should be no loser.

" About three or four days after his dispossession, as Mr Darrel had been often talking of his repossession, so the boy began to start, and talk of a black dog that offered him gold and ginger. He said the devil came with six more, in shapes like a cock, a crane, a snake, an angel, a toad, a newt, a set of viols and dancers, so that he had now his fits again; and once lying under a coverlet, and making some accidental motion, as they thought him senseless, Mr Darrel said it was the devil made that motion. The boy hearing that, made other motions with his hands and knees, and noises with his toes, and the company said they were spirits like whelps and kitlings. They played these tricks a fortnight; and if any caught hold of his knee, they said the devil would mingle such things, to make them think that all was counterfeit.

" Another fortnight they spent in discovering witches; for Mr Darrel having said before Somers, that possessed persons used to discover witches, he named many that he had heard reputed bad, and threw himself into fits at their coming, and thirteen were sent to jail. But some that always thought he counterfeited, brought in one of the supposed witches privately under a cloak, and then he never stirred. Three or four such tricks were put upon him, but they had always their

excuses ready, that the devil would put in some such appearances of counterfeiting, to save the witches, and make God's works be disbelieved.

"This William Somers had a sister that was often with him, and Mr Darrel bid her be very careful of herself, for the devil used to possess more than one in a family. A little before Christmas she had a child died, the death of which made her ill at ease, and some women told her she was worse than she thought. Some disorder that she had, made her belly swell, that she thought she was with child. Mr Darrel told her it was no child, but such a child as God bless every good body from. Upon this, as she deposed afterward in her confession, guessing that Mr Darrel had a mind that she should do as her brother did, she began to tumble and toss, and talk idly, and laugh; and Mr Darrel said, certainly that laughing was from the devil. Once she had a company of women about her, in expectation that she should be delivered of some monstrous thing; and she said, she could not forbear laughing to see how busy they were, and, said she, my laughing they termed my fit, and cried, Lord bless her, Lord save her, she is in a sore fit; and when she was weary, and lay still, then they said, she was in a trance.

"But as accusations of witches are usually soon discovered when they come to the better sort, so was it here; for this Mary Cowper accused one Alice Freeman, who, though poor and old, yet was sister to one of the aldermen, but was committed to jail, and in great danger. Soon after her confinement, her brother having intimation of Somers's counterfeiting, prevailed with the mayor and some other aldermen, to remove him to the workhouse, where he might be out of Mr Darrel's hands, and be observed better. When he was there, he had his fits. But one Nicholas Shepherd told him, if he would not leave and rise up, he would set such a pair of knip-knaps upon him, as should make him rue it: and the boy, being loath to venture him, lest he should be as good as his word, rose up before them; and being weary of Mr Darrel's practices, he confessed his dissimulation; and they promising to speak for him to the mayor, that he might not be punished, he voluntarily acted over all his tricks before them. They gave the mayor an account of what had passed, and he confessed the same before him, and some of the aldermen, and shewed them the several ways how he had swallowed his tongue, and foamed, and made the swelling, and acted all before them. And as once before he had been taken with black lead in his mouth, in the time of his fits, he confessed that he used it to help him to foam more easily.

"One would have thought such demonstrations as these should have put an end to a bad practice; for one can hardly think what plainer proof could be made of an imposture; but Mr Darrel hath convinced us that evasions and cavils are endless, for he found out answers, and both in the pulpit, and out of the pulpit, maintained the possession, whether the boy would or no. He said the devil was more in him now than before. He said he possessed his soul, that it was a new compact betwixt the devil and him, to obscure the work of God: for this dispossession, he said, had been a most glorious work; the like to it had not been since the Reformation; it strengthened our hands against the Papists, who upbraided us for want of such works; it gave proof to the gospel, the word that they preached; and therefore the devil helped the boy to counterfeit, on purpose that God might lose the glory. Upon this bottom he plied Somers with threats and persuasions, to make him revoke his confession; and, in the end, to free himself from farther trouble, the boy wrote to Mr Darrel this letter following:

"'Mr Darrel, my hearty commendations unto you. This is to desire you, that you would let me be at quiet: for whereas you said that I was possessed, I was not; and for those tricks that I did before you came, was through folks speeches that came to me; and those that I did since, was through your speeches and others. For as you said I could not hear, I did hear all things that were done in the house, and all things that I did were counterfeit; and I pray you to let it pass, for the more you meddle in it, the more discredit it will be for you; and I pray God and you, and all the world, to forgive me.'

"Mr Darrel, in his confession, owned that he received this letter, and that notwithstanding that, he persuaded the boy to revoke his confession, and defended what he had done with that assurance, that the Archbishop of York granted a commission of gentlemen and clergymen to enquire into the truth of what had passed. The commission was appointed to sit on the 21st of March.—The boy resolved to stand to the truth of what he had confessed, and agreed to fall into his fits before the commissioners, and come out of them at Mr Mayor's word, who had notice that he might call when he thought proper; and on the other side, Mr Darrel's friends were not wanting to do far more than was just and fair; for two of the commissioners, Sir John Byrom for one, riding by the workhouse a day or two before, called for the boy, and told him, that if he was found to have counterfeited, he deserved to be hanged. Many others threatened him as much.

"At the day appointed, the commission sat. The boy, according to agreement, fell into his fits as strange as ever he had done before. He was pricked with pins, and did not stir; Mr Darrel

saith, he did not bleed. Somers listened when the mayor should call, but the company being persuaded of the reality of his fits, expressed themselves with such violence and anger at those that had believed otherwise, that the mayor would not meddle, and did not call him. The boy being at a loss what to do, because the mayor had failed him, and hearing people talk as they did, and remembring Sir John Byrom's words, and other threatnings, and finding, to his wonder, that even his confession could not be believed, he resolved to dissemble again, since they liked that better, and accordingly, when he rose up, he said his possession was true, and he was no counterfeit. Seventeen of Mr Darrel's witnesses were examined, and describing his fits according as their fear and zeal had fancied; their depositions made a strange appearance, and are those that the author of the Compleat History hath printed, without taking notice of the following detections, which convinced even those very witnesses of his falsehood. But in the mean time their depositions, and Somers's new behaviour, made such a face of things, that the commissioners declared in Mr Darrel's favour, and for the truth of the possession, and ordered Somers to a house, where Mr Darrel desired he might be.

"And now William is possessed again: and though while he was at the work-house he said he was not possessed, and confirmed his words by keeping from his fits for a month together, excepting when he acted them at their desire; yet now he is a dæmoniack again, and had his fits afresh; and Mr Darrel and his friends, to establish him in his present way, promised, that as soon as the assizes were over, which were then at hand, he should have another fast for his dispossession, and then should have a place to wait upon a gentleman in Mr Byrom's family.

"In this posture things stood for ten days, and no longer, for then the assizes were at Nottingham, and Sir Edmund Anderson, then Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, being in that circuit, and having had two supposed witches tried before him, and many more accused, and the country in such a ferment that the people were ready to quarrel in the streets about these witchcrafts and possessions; he and the Mayor, and those aldermen that had heard Somers's confession before, and seen his fits, had him again before them, and encouraging him to speak the truth without fear, he confessed himself a counterfeit again, and shewed all his tricks before them: and when my Lord Chief Justice bad him, immediately he started up well: and which is more than all, from that time, without Mr Darrel's fast, he continued well, without any more fits, excepting when he threw himself into them to confirm his confession, and that he did often; once before Mr Darrel himself. When he had shewn two or three of his tricks, Mr Darrel bad him foam; and in a little while, by working the spittle in his mouth, he foamed till the froth ran to his chin: he offered to shew the rest, but Mr Darrel would not stay. He said he had seven devils in him now, and therefore he did not doubt but he might do them again by the same power that he did before.

"This obstinate sophistry of Mr Darrel's keeping his admirers in the belief of the dispossession: and the Lord Chief Justice giving account to the archbishop what ill consequence it had in the country; it was thought necessary to have the matter examined by the High Commission; and accordingly Mr Darrel and Somers were both called to London; and after depositions were taken, and matters prepared, they were tried before the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, (Dr Whitgift) the Bishop of London, (Dr Bancroft) the two Lord Chief Justices, Dr Cæsar, Master of Requests, Dr Bing, Dean of the Arches, and Dr Stanhope. Somers stood firm to his confession, and gave rational accounts of whatever he was asked. These things that I have mentioned, and many more besides them, were deposed; four and forty witnesses were examined, four and thirty of which had been Mr Darrel's friends. Mr Aldridge, the vicar of St. Mary's, who at first was so fully persuaded of the possession, that he was one that sent for Mr Darrel to Nottingham, declared now, that he was satisfied he had been mistaken. Mr Aldred, that preached the first of the two sermons upon their fast, declared, that he did now believe in his conscience, that Somers had dissembled. Robert Cowper, one of the two that had confessed his sins before the company, and who was the boy's father-in-law, and who had been witness of the boy and his sister's behaviour, both in private and publick, and in whose house Mr Darrel himself had placed him, deposed in these words, I do verily think and believe that William Somers did counterfeit all he did, that he was never possessed, dispossessed, nor repossessed; and that Mr Darrel dealt very unjustly in all his course, &c. Several of the witnesses that were examined before the first commissioners, explained themselves: as to instance in one or two, Richard Mee had deposed, That he had seen William Somers turn his face directly backward, not moving his body, and that his eyes were as great as beasts eyes; and that his tongue would be thrust out of his head to the bigness of a calve's tongue. In his re-examination, he saith, My meaning was, that he turned his face a good way towards his shoulder, and that his eyes were something gogling; and by reason that it was candle-light when I saw his tongue

thrust out, and by reason of my conceit of Somers's troubles, it seemed somewhat bigger than, if Somers had been well, I should have thought it to have been.

" A great matter had been made at the time of the said commission, of a black dog that had frequently appeared to Somers, and persuade him to say he had dissembled; and at that time betwixt his fits, when they asked him why he had said he counterfeited? he said, A dog, a dog! And as odd things will fall in with such stories, it happened that there was a black dog in the chamber, that belonged to one Clark, a spurrier. Some of the commissioners spying him, thought they saw the devil. One thought his eyes glared fire, and much speech was afterwards made of it. But those that had had those fancies, being showen the spurrier's dog afterwards, they confess'd, upon their oaths, that they believ'd it was that spaniel that they had seen.

" But to pass by very many material things; the Bishop of London asked Mr Darrel, if Somers was then repossessed, as he maintained, why had he no fits now, but went to chapel, and behaved himself orderly, and had been well for a year together? Mr Darrel wanted not an answer: saith he, When the strong man is in quiet possession, his house is in peace; now the devil lurks and lies close, like an old fox as he is. See *Detect.* p. 101

" Several deposed, That they always thought that he counterfeited, and added by what sign they perceived his craft, when he pretended to be senseless: that Mr Darrel was told of this the first night he came to Nottingham; that Mr Aldridge, and several of the aldermen were offended, and reproved him for troubling the congregation with so many sermons about devils and possessions. To this I find his answer in his Detection; It is true, indeed, saith he, some two or three of the chief friends of counterfeiting natural men, not savouring the spirit, shewed some dislike to my preaching, and advised me to preach of love and charity, saying they were in charity till I came there, &c. and so he goes on blaming them for pretending to direct their teacher.

" But, to add no more of the depositions or his answers, the issue was, that by the full agreement of the whole court he was condemned for a counterfeit, and deposed from the ministry, and committed to close prison, there to remain till order was taken for his farther punishment. And though nothing could cure his tongue, or make him confess himself wrong, yet I never find that he attempted to dispossess any more: and though before this, he thought he had cured ten in the compass of two years; yet after it, though I have three books of his upon this subject, I do not find that he ever meddled any more in those matters. And as that prosecution taught him wisdom, though he would not own it, I think his example ought to be kept in memory for a warning to all rash persons that are apt to run into the same mistakes. And what the author of the Compleat History deserves for printing the first part of this history, and leaving out all that followed, that I leave to the reader's judgment."—*An Historical Essay concerning Witchcraft. By* FRANCIS HUTCHINSON, D. D. Second Edition. London. 1720. p. 242—262.

To Dr Hutchinson's account of this imposture I only beg leave to add, that when the following narrative of Somers' posssession first appeared, Dr Harsnet, Bishop of Norwich, the same who detected the egregious impostures practised by the Roman Catholic priests in a case of a similar nature, published a " Discovery of the Fraudulent Practises of John Darrel, Minister;" to which the exorciser had the impudence to reply by a pamphlet, entitled, a " Detection of that sinful, shameful, lying, and ridiculous Discourse entitled, a Discovery, &c.!"

The pamphlet of Darrel was published during the author's imprisonment, in the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, yet, as connected with the foregoing Tracts, I have thought proper to reserve it for that of King James, to which Tracts of Dæmonology most properly belong. Darrel adds to his narrative a long and very silly essay upon the doctrine of possession, by which he endeavours to establish the cases detailed in the Tract; and which is so far curious, as it contains the chief arguments used in cases of this kind. Most readers will be of opinion, that the grossness of the deception renders the imposture one of the most silly and impudent that was ever attempted. Strype indeed seems disposed (though with hesitation) to call Darrel a " weak but honest man;" an opinion which is also adopted by Neal, in his History of the Puritans, but seems much more charitable than well founded.

To the Church of England.

Verse 41. WE reade in the 11. of the Actes, "that the apostles and bretheren that were in Judea, hearing that the Gentles had also received the word of God" by the preaching of Peter, were offended with him for preaching unto them, " and that when Peter was come up

to Hierusalem they contended against him and rebuked him for the same: but Peter beginninge and expounding the thing in order unto them," and shewinge that he was commaunded of God so to doe, in a vision, "they held their peace and glorified God." Even so, many of the ministers and bretheren in England havinge bene offended with me for sayinge and standing in this, that William Somers, Thomas Darling, Katherine Wright, and 7. in Lancashire were possessed with uncleane spirits, and dispossessed of them by prayer and fastinge, will, I trust, when they shall heare the matter in order sett downe in this treatise following, not onely cease to be offended with me, but acknowledging the workes of God, magnifie him for them. True it is, that the people of God are borne mightelye in hand that these are counterfeits, and have bene theirunto scholed, if not all, yet some of them by me; and the better to persuade this even to the whole Church of England, theire hath bene a booke latelye published by one S. H. entituled, "a Discoverie of the fradulent practises of John Darrell:"[1] but how untruly this is saide, and unpossible to be true, appeareth at large by the detection of that discovery,[2] and partly by this treatise, and peece of the detection here following: which beinge so, this ought no more to hinder us from embracing these workes of God, then the gainsayinge of the Pharises ought to have kept backe the Jewes from beleivinge and acknowledginge the great worke which Christ did, in givinge sight to the man which was borne blind; or that blasphemous speach of others, "he casteth out devils through Beelzebub the prince of devils," from confessing and justifiyng that worke of his, or that false absurd and rediculous reporte of the watchmen, (whereunto they were hired by the hie priestes and elders) that Christ, "his disciples came by night and stole him away while they slept," from beleiving the resurrection of Christ. Let not any then be hereby kept from givinge eare unto that which followeth, but rather provoked to examine throughly what is saide of bothe sides, and then I doubt not but whosoever he be, it shall be as easie unto him to perceive on which side the truth is, as opening his eyes to discerne betwixt light and darkness. And to the end the truth might appeare, and not always lie hid; and that falshood be convinced, which hath hitherto prevailed, I have presumed to publish these followinge lynes, wherein I could not be wantinge, if there were any love in me to the truth, or feare or love to the God of truth, seeing the truth so universally suppressed and troden as it were under the feete of men, as mire in the streets; and the falshood reigne as a queene: what Christian hart or lover of the truth could endure to behold this, and let this usurper alone, if in his hand there was any power to plucke her out of her throne? "We can not (saith the apostle) doe any thing against the truth, but for the truth;" if at all times then we were to contend for the truth, by speach, by writing, and by every good way, as there shall be cause, yea to doe any thing for the truth, the manifestation and publishing of it, and the inducing of men to receive it; much more when the truth is impugned, and this is our present case.

John 9.

Math. 11. 24.

Math. 28. 12.

[1] Darrel alludes to the pamphlet published against him by Dr Samuel Harsnet, the full title of which was, "A Discovery of the Fraudulent Practises of John Darrel, Bachelor of Arts, in his proceedings concerning the possession and dispossession of William Somers at Nottingham, of Thomas Darling, the Boy of Burton, at Caldwall, and of Katherine Wright, at Mansfield and Whittington, detecting in some sort the deceitful trade in those latter dayes of casting out devils." Lond. 1599.

[2] Darrel's answer was entitled "A Detection of that sinful, shameful, lying and ridiculous Discourse entituled a Discoverie of the Fraudulent Practices of John Darrel. Wherein is manifestly and apparently shewed in the eyes of the world, not only the unlikelihoode, but the flate impossibilitie of the pretended counterfayting of William Somers, Thomas Darling, Kath. Wright, and Mary Couper, together with the other seven in Lancashire; and the supposed teaching of them by the said John Darrel. 4to. 1600." Nor did this and the following Tract close the controversy, for Darrel returned to the charge with "an Apology or Defence of the Possession of William Somers, &c. wherein this work of God is cleared from the evil name of counterfeiting." His yoke-fellow also published "A true Discourse," on the same subject, and with the same purpose of confuting Harsnet.

And that it may be more manifest then herein, I have performed a necessarie dutie, such as without sinne against God I could not have omitted: we must remember that we are commaunded to publishe the workes of God, whereof any of us be witnesses, as appeareth by Psalme cv. 1, 2. and cvii. 8. 21. 31. Mark v. 19. Perswaded thereunto by reasons or arguments, as appeareth by Psalme lxxviii. and cxi. 2, 3, 4. Math. x. 32. It is commended unto us in the practise and example of the servants of God, as appeareth by Psalme ix. 1. and lxvi. 5. and lxxi. 17. and lxxviii. 4. Luke ii. 17. Mark v. 20. Acts xii. 17. and xiv. 27. We are threatened if herein we faile, as appeareth by Exodus xx. 7. Math. x. 33. If now every eye or eare witnes of the workes of God is to publish and make knowne the same to others, much more the principall witnesses, and such a one as I; and most of all, they whom God hath given and called to suffer for giveing testimonie to his workes, as he hath done me: such, above all others, must with Peter and John say, "We can not but speake and publish the things which we have seene and heard;" and if at all times we ought to testifie, make knowne, and justifie the great workes of God, much more then, when such a worke is not onely gainsaid, but an evill name, and vile report brought upon it, and him whom the Lord used theirin; and this is our present estat and condition.

Acts 4. 20.

When the Holy Ghost fell upon the apostles in visible manner, so as they begane to speake with other tongs, as the Spirit gave them utterance; some mocked and said, "They are full of new wine." Against this vile slaunder of the wonderfull worke of God and his most righteous servantes, Peter stoode up and made an apologie, saying, "Ye men of Judea these are not drunken as yee suppose, since it is but the third houre of the day; but this is that which was spoken by the prophet Joell," &c. as it followeth there until verse 37. In like sorte dealt our blessed Saviour in this very worke we have in hand, when he cast the devill out of some which were possessed, the people in deede were amaised therat, and wondred, saying, "The like was never seene in Israel." But the Pharises said, "He casteth out devils through Beelzebub the prince of devils." Against this blasphemous speach and report given out by the Pharises, against this great worke, and Christ him selfe, whom theirin they counted for a conjurer, and bare the people so in hand, Christ Jesus maketh a defence, and in the same, by sundrie reasons convinceth them, the which also is written for our learning. And what are we to learn out of these scriptures? surely by their examples and practise to doe the like in the like case, and when such occasion is offered; that is, when any great worke of God is wrought in our eyes, and that some shall goe about to mocke at it, and bring up an evil name of it: that then, and in such a case, we must not be silent, and content our selves with this, that we our selves conceive well of the worke, and profite by it: but we must open our mouthes wide in the defence of it, labouring to our uttermost to stope the mouth of the gainsayer, and to wipe away the slaunder, least others receive hurt thereby, and that God may have the glorie of his work of all men, if it be possible; and as all the beholders of such a worke are upon all occasions to beare witnes thereunto, and to justifie the same when it is denyed or slaundered, as they are able, as shall hereafter further appeare; so those specially, upon whom the worke hath bene wrought, or have bene principal witnesses theirof. If then I desire to walke in the steps of S. Peter, yea, of Christ Jesus himselfe, and to practise that which the Holy Ghost in theire examples and practise, in like case with ours, doth commend unto us; how could I doe otherwise then make this apologie? And if I should have abstayned from the publishing theirof, I see not but that theirin I should have failed in the performance of a necessarie dewtie, and so sinned against God, and preferred my owne quiet before the glorie of God, and good of his people. Neither let any man thinke that it would have suffised to have done this in speach: for to speake all that might be said, in a corner, to some few, would not availe, seeing this vile slaunder and evill reporte of the workes of God, and my selfe, whom God used theirin, hath spread it selfe

Acts 2. 2, 13.

Acts 9. 33, 34. 42.

John 11. 14,

farr and neare, even throughout the whole land, to the obscuring and darkening, yea, annihilating of them, if it were possible: it was necessarie therfore that that which should be said for the convincing thereof, and in justification of these works, should goe as far and wide, which could not be without printinge. This I say considered, it were not sufficient for me, or a sufficient discharge of my dutye, to wysper that which followeth in the eare, or speake of it in a corner, but rather to speake of that in the light which I have seene in darknes, and what I have heard in the eare, and beheld in secret places, to preach on the houses.

Moreover, if it be so that the doctrine of possession and of dispossession, and of the meanes thereof, etc. doe lye in a manner hid and not knowne nor acknowledged almost by any; is it not high time it were revealed and brought to light? is it not parte of the councell of God to the revelation of all which wee are debtors? and when can any thinge be done more seasonably then now, to treat both of the general doctrine and particular workes wee speake of? what can come in better season then even now, a treatise concerninge William Somers his possession, when the eares of all men are opened to heare what can be said as touching the said Somers? how many are their not onlye of the common sorte, but of those which are noble, wise, and learned, which are verie desierious to be informed in the truth of this matter? and could this possiblie have bene done but by this course I have taken? and by whom should this latter be performed but by my selfe, considering I onely have bene a cheife witnes of the possession and dispossession of all these persons controverted and called by God thereunto? I ran not to any of my self, wherin and in callinge me to suffer for the same, the Lord seemeth to me to have singled me out, though most unworthy and more unfite then many others, to this speciall worke. It stoode me then upon, to performe this service whereunto God hath called and appoynted me, otherwise I should have my reward with the unprofitable servant, if either for feare or slouthfulnes I had fayled theirin: heereunto I might add, that I see many erring exceedinglye herein, and greatlie mistakinge this matter both in the generall and particular, and heereof I am most sure and able also to make that evident unto them; should I then have done well to let them alone? Acts 20. 27.

And for asmuch as many, not onely of the irreligious, but of such as professe the feare of God (as in experience I have observed) regard not these workes of God, either receiving the false report that is given out against them, or not earnestly considering of them, to the stirring up of their owne hartes to praise God for the same, and make their use of them; whereupon it cometh that the best of these are unable to defend and cleare these workes from that evill name of counterfeitinge, which is cast upon them, and stope the mouth of the adversarie: and that non of them contendeth according to his place for them, and the convincinge of the adversarie; that these, I say, may see their sinne, and be provoked with others to heare and consider of that which followeth, they must remember, that "all the workes of the Lord are great, and ought to be sought out of all them that love them;" and therefore this, that it is the propertie of a wise man to observe the workes of God, and therefore of fooles to neglect or not regard them. When the prophet had, throughout the 107 Psalme, made mention of the manifould workes of the Lord, and often moved men to "confesse before the Lord his loving kindnes, and his wonderfull works before the sonnes of men," he concludeth thus: "Who is wise, that he may observe these things?" In the 77 Psalme, the prophet, in the name of the church, saith, "I remembred the workes of the Lord; I did also meditate all thy workes, and did devise of thine actes." And David thus: "I meditate in all thy workes. I doe meditate the workes of thine handes." This is the end of the Lordes great workes: "He hath made his wonderfull workes to be had in remembrance." When the Lord then doth any great worke, we must remember and observe it, yea meditate theirin, that so we may the better behold the power, the Psal. 111. 2. Ver. 8. 15. 21. 31.

wisdome, the justice, and mercy of God, and praise and magnifie him for the same. Ver. 11. Psal. 143. 5. Psal. 111. 4. Psal. 91. 4. Psal. 105. 1. "Thou, Lord," saith the prophet, "hast made me glad by thy works, I will rejoice in the workes of thine hands. O Lord, how glorious are thy workes?" And againe, "declare his workes amonge the people; singe unto him, sing praise unto him, and talke of all his wonderfull workes." And as thus we are to observe, meditate, and remember the workes of God, and praise him for them; and not onely so, but to others also talke of his workes, and declare or publish them to his people; so it is the duetie of all the Lords people to justifie and defend them, when there shall be a slaunder raised upon them, as partly is touched before. When Christ had cast the devill out of one, and the Pharisees had slaundered that worke of his, (as is aforesaid) affirminge that he did it by the devill, he did not onely convince them, and shew the hainousnes of their sinne, that theirin they had committed that sinne which should never be pardoned, even the sinne against the Holye Ghost; but besides, admonish those which by their silence did approve that slaunder of the Pharisees, when they should have justified the worke, and defended Christs innocencie. Of these he pronounceth, that he accounteth them also among his adversaries, saying, "He that is not with me, is against me; Math. 12. 30. and he that gathereth not with me, scattereth." He that is not with me, &c., that is, he who is not on my side, meaninge, he who defendeth me not against the adversaries, my workes against the slaunders they give of them, and my doctrines against theire objections, he is against me, that is, him I recken in the number of my adversaries. Wherby we may learne, (to applye this scripture more nearely) that it is not inough not to slaunder or impugne the workes of God which have bene wrought amonge us, as some doe, but that moreover we take heede that we approve not the slaunder of counterfeiting given out against them by our silence, but open our mouthes in the defence and justification of them; otherwise we shalbe reckened by Christ in the number of adversaries. And hereunto tendeth that other sayinge of our Saviour, "Wisdome is justified of her children." As this teacheth all of us our dutie, and that we ought to contend for these workes of God, justifying them, to which purpose I alledge it, so particularlye my selfe, and hath (through the grace of God) provoked me to write the treatise following, in justification of these works, and another treatise for the taking away of that slaunder of counterfeiting, which Sathan hath raised up for the obscuringe of them. The Lord give those who professe themselves to be frends of Christ, and to be of his side, to shew it in taking parte with him against his adversaries.

J. D.

The History of the 7 in Lancashire.

At Cleworth, in Lancashire, within the parish of Leigh, ther dweleth one Nicholas Starchie, gentleman, who having only two children, it went thus with them in the beginning of Februari 1594: First, Anne his daughter, being 9 yeares olde, was taken with a dumpish and heavie countenaunce, and with a certaine fearefull starting and pulling together of her body. About a weeke after, John Starchie, his sonne, of the age of 10 yeares, as he was going to the schoole, was compelled to shout, neither was able to staie himselfe. After they waxed worse and worse, falling into often and extreame fits, M. Starchie seeking for remidy, after 9 or 10 weekes, heard of one Edmund Hartlay, a conjurer, to whom he repaired, made knowne his greife, and with large profers craved his helpe. Hartlay comes, and after he had used certaine popish charmes and hearbs, by degrees the children were at quiet, and so continued, seeming to be well almost a yeare and halfe, all which time Hartlay came often to visit them; at length he fained as though he would have gone into another country, but wether M. Starchie might not know. When he begane to goe his way, John fell of bleedinge,

then presently he was sent for again, who affirmed, that if he had bene 40 rodes of, no man could hav stanched him: and thus it fell out at other tims.

M. Starchie hereupon feareing lest his children would be troubled in his absence, and he uncertaine where to find him, offered to give him his table to tarie with them, and so he did for a certaine space, but after covenaunted with him to give him an annuel pension of 40s. for his assistance in time of neede; which pension was assured him in writing, and began at Michaels-day 1598. Wherwith Hartlaye not beinge satisfed, desiered more, an house and ground; wherunto because M. Starchie would not accord, he threatened in a fume, (M. Starchie being absent, but in the heareing of divers) that if he would not fulfil his minde, he would make such a shout as never was at Cleworth; and so ther was indeed, not only upon the day, and at the instant of there dispossession, but also the day before, when 7 of them, both the afternoone and in the evening, sent forth such a strange, supernaturall, and fearfull noise or loud whupping, as the like undoubtedly was never hard at Cleworth, nor yit I think in England. This he said in September 1596, and one the 17 day of November folowing, they both began to be troubled againe, after so long rest.

On a certaine time, Hartlay went with M. Starchy to his fathers house in Whally parishe, where he was tormented sore all night. The next day, being recovered, he went into a little wood, not farr from the house, where he maide a circle about a yarde and halfe wide, deviding it into 4 partes, making a crosse at every division; and when he had finished his worke, he came to M. Starchie, and desiered him to go and tread out the circle, saying, I may not treade it out my selfe; and further, I will meete with them that went about my death. When M. Starchie saw this wreched dealing of his, and his children stil molested, he waxed wearie of him, but knew not how to rid his hands honestly of him, howbeit he sought other helpe for his children.

Then tooke he his sonnes water to a phisitian in Manchester, who sawe no signe of sicknes. After, he went to Doctor Dee, the warden of Manchester, whose helpe he requested, but he utterly refused, sayinge he would not meddle; and advised him, that settinge aside all other helpe, he should call for some godlie preachers, with whom he should consult concerning a publicke or privat fast. He also procured Hartlay to come before him, whom he so sharply reproved, and straitly examined, that the children had more ease for 3 weekes space after; and this was upon the 8 of December.

About New-Yeares Day, the children (being in good case as it seemed) went to Manchester, invited to a kinsmans house, whom Hartlay accompanied as their overseer, and in ther returne homwardes, they were desirous to see Doctor Dee, according to their promise, and his request. But Hartlay withstood them, and because they went to his house, notwithstanding his prohibition, he told them with an angrie loke, that it had bene better for them not to have chaunged an old frend for a new, with other menacinge speaches, and so went before them in a rage, and never came neare them all the way home.

Upon the Tuesday after New-Yeares Day, Januarie 4, John Starchie was readinge, somethinge gave him such a blowe one the necke, that he was soddenlye stricken downe with an horrible scryke, saying, that Satan had broken his necke, and laye tormented pitifully for the space of 2 howres. The same day at night, being in bed, he lept out on the sudden with a terrible outcry, that amased all the familie. Then was he tossed and tumbled a long time, was very feirce like a mad man, or a mad dogge, snacted at, and bite every one that he laid hold on with his teethe, not spareing his mother, smiting the next, and hurling bedstaves, pillowes, or whatsoever, at them, and into the fire. From this day forwarde, he had no great ease until the day of his deliveraunce.

His sister Anne likewise began againe to be troubled, and 3 other yong children in

the house, of whom M. Starchie had the education and tuition, with there portiones committed unto him by ther parentes. The first was Margaret Hardman, of the age of 14 yeares; the 2 Elinor her sister, of 10 yeares of age; and the 3 Ellin Holland, of 12 yeares. The same day at night, Hartlay himselfe was also tormented, and the next day, in like manner, where many held him, among whom on Margaret Byrom, of Salford, by Manchester, 33 yeares olde, a poore kinswoman of Mistris Starchies, was one, who beinge come thither to make merrie, was requested to sit downe behind Hartlay to hold him, and did so; but when he was out of his fit, she endevored to arise, was so benumd and giddi, that she coulde not stand, yet being lifted up, shee strove to goe, but being unable, fell downe, and was sencelesse and very unruly. Which Hartlye seeinge, saide, I feare I have donne her harme; then she nicknamed and taunted all that were present, though she wiste not what she saide, nor knewe or sawe (any of them save) Hartlye onlye, whome shee both knewe and saide she sawe, albeit her eyes were shut close, that she could see nothing; at him she railed, and angerly smote. After her fit, Hartlay came to comforte her, for hee pretended to bere a lovinge affection towards her; and it was thought he had kissed her. Nowe they judged in the house, that whomsoever he kissed, on them he breathed the divell. He often kissed John for love (as he saide) he kissed the little wenches in jest; he promised Margaret Hardman a thrave of kisses; he wrastled with one Johan Smyth, a maide servante in the house, to kisse her, but he failed of his purpose; whereupon Elnor, in a fitt, saide, if hee had kissed her, 3 men could not have helde her. When he came to comfort Margaret, she could not abide his companye. He demanded of her, Why? she saide, for that she thought he had bewitched her. He asked the reason why she thought so? she answered, for thou art ever in mine eyes, absent and present.

But let us returne to the other 5 who were first possessed, of whome we will say very little, seing we have much to say of Margaret Byrom, and it is sufficient to heare at large of one of them, and were too much to discourse fullye of everye of them, considering the number.

The 2 of February, in the night, John Starchy had verie shorte fittes, and thick, and at the recovery of every one, gave 3 knockes with his hand on the seeling, and said that he must have 20 such fits. The next day he left knocking, and fell to washing his hands after every short fitt; and when soever he washed, he would have newe water; if it were the same wherwith he washed before (for he could tell) he refused it. About the 14 of Januarie, theis 5 beinge in theire fits, one of them began to barke and howle, (according to theire custom) after that 2, then 3; lastly, they were all in like a ring of 5 bells for order and time, and so continued almost a quarter of an houre. After theer howling, they fell a tumbling, and after that, became speachlesse, sencelesse, and as deade.

On the first of February four of them fell a dauncing, Eli Hardeman singing and playing the minstrell, whome Anne Starchie, the five beinge well, followed laughing at their toyes, but after a while she fel down as deade. All the time of their dauncing they wist not what they did; if others called to them, they hard them not, answered not, and yet talked one to an other.

This shewed that the devil transformed himself, and appeared unto them like an angel of light.

The first or second weeke of Lent, Mrs Starchie required them all five to tell her how they were handled, that certain knowledge might be had thereof to the preachers: they all five answered, that an angell, like a dove, was come from God, and that they must follow him to heaven, which way soever he would lead them, though it were through never so little a hole, for he toulde them he coulde drawe them through, and soe they ran under the beds; and Elizabeth Hardman was under a bedde making a hole, and beinge asked what she did? she said, that she must goe through the wall, for she on the one side, and her lad on the other, would soone make a hole. She would (on a time) have leaped out of the casement through the glasse windowe.

About a fortnight or three weekes before their delivery, Elinor Hollande and Elizabeth Hardman foretould how many fits they shoulde have before they slept. And to morrowe, quoth Elinor Holande, in the forenoone, I must have a fit of three howers long; when the tyme came, shee bad them set the hower glasse, they set it behind her out of her sight, her eys also was closed: she was sencelesse and speachlesse, save the noting of the time, which she truely noted: saying, theris a quareter, the halfe hower, and as the glasse was runne out, she sayd turne the glasse, and thus did she three tymes or three howers; after comming to herselfe, she said, Jesus blesse me, which all of them usually said at the end of ther fites. In like manner did Elizabeth Hardman for two howers, who beinge demaunded how the knewe this, answered that a white dove told them so.

About the nineteenth of March, the four youngest went on ther knees all morning until afternoone, and the fleed from all the famillie and neighbours into other chambers, calling them devils with hornes creeping under the bed; when they had the use of theire feete, their tongues were taken from them.

When Maister Hopwood, a justice of peace, came of purpose to take their testimony against Edmond Hartley to Lancaster assises, and had them before him to that end, they were speachlesse, and that daye he gott no answer of them; being called out of one chamber into an other, they sank down by the way speachlesse; when they spake, they complayned that Edmonde would not suffer them to speake against hym.

At the same time, Jane Ashton, a maid servant in the house (the seventh possessed person, of the age of 30 years) began to bark and houle when she shold have gon to bear witnes against Edmond Hartley; whereupon one of them in her fit, said, Ah, Edmond, dost thou trouble her nowe, when she shold testify against thee? This was the second time that she was troubled. Almost a yeare before, it first tooke her in her throat, as if she had a pyn sticking there, whereupon she strayned her selfe so sore that she got up bloud, and for two dayes was very sicke. Mistris Starchie, jestingly, said, Jane is sicke of the hooke; nay, quoth Hartley, I assure you it is no hooke, for if your owne daughter or any other had bene in the same place, they had bene so served. As I remember I hard them say, that Jane Ashton had gone into Hartlays chamber and looked into his chest.

About the twenty-first of March, Elinor Hollande and Elizabeth Hardman, for three dayes and three nights together, could nether eate nor drinke, nor speake to any, except it were on to another, and to ther lads, save that their lads gave them leave (as they said) the one to eate a toast and drink, the other a sower-milk posset. And yit, notwithstanding that permission, thei said he was angry that thei had eaten, and told them that thei should not be quiet until the had cast it up againe; so the vomited saying, take it to thee, here it is againe, for thou gavest us lisence to eat it, and nowe thou art angry; and if the went about to swallow a litle drink the were so taken by the throat, that the pict it up againe. The third night, about eight a cloke, Elinor Hollande being asked, when she would or could slepe, answered, that ther were four houers it to come before she could slepe. About an houre and halfe of that time she tooke a distafe, and spane both faster and finer than at any tym before; when she had done spining, she said unto them, now shall I worke you all, and, thencforth was so extreamly handled, that tuo could scarcely rule and hold her; at lengh reverting, she said, I have bene sleeping three daies and three nights, and now I faint with hunger.

About a weeke before there deliverance, some of the youngest used these kind of speaches: thou naughtie lad, thou makest us sicke, for thou knowest the preachers will come shortly.

This generally was observed in the five youngest, that when the gave themselves to any sporte, the had rest and were pleasaunt, though the time was longe. Their parents report, beyng at a playe in a neighbour gentlemans house many houres together, the

were quyet all the tyme (Hartlay boested that he had kept them so longe quyet), but one the contrary, as soone as the went about any godly exercise the were trobled. And thus much brifly touching those six at Cleworth, and the strange accedents which fell out there, as also how in all probabilitie it came to be so with them. Now let us returne to Marg. Byrom of Salford, who came to be vexed in like sort, by the appoyntment of God, and by the same mediat hand, the devil and Hartlay the conjurer.

The tenth of January, (beyng the fourth day after her trouble begane) as shee sate by the kitchyne fyre, shee was throwne towardes the fire, lyinge alonge hard by the chimneye barres, as though shee should have bene rosted. Thence the drwe her, and havinge continued a longe tyme in the fitte, and recouverynge about halfe an houer after, as shee satte in a chaire, she was throwne headlonge under the boarde, but had no harm, and thus was she suddenly and violently cast sundrie times after.

She being desired to tel how her fits held her, said that she thought somthing rouled in her belly like a calfe, and laye ever on her left side; and when it rose up from her belly towardes her hart, she thought the head and nose thereof had bene full of nailes, wherwith being pricked, she was compelled to scrike aloud with veri paine and fear; when her belly was swollen, it lift her up, and so bounsed, that it would picke of the hand of him that held her downe, and somtyme the parti himselfe that held her far of; when her belly slaked, there went out of hir mouth a coulde breath, (that made her mouth very coulde) which caused her to barke and houle, then plumpte it downe into her body like a colde longe whetstone on her left side; when her belly was smale, then was the rest of her body be numed with colde, wherwith shee so quaked, that her teeth chattered in her head, and if she went to warme her, she was presently pickt backward.

About the end of January, from M. Starchies, hom she went to Salford, a towne adjoyning to Manchester, accompanyed with Hartlay, and on other. The next morninge, as Hartlay prayed over her in a fite, came one M. Palmer, a preacher of Manchester, who asked him what he was doinge: he answeared, prayinge. Thou pray, thou canst not pray, quoth he, what prayer canst thou say? None, saide he, but the Lordes prayer. Say it, quoth he. The which, as I remember, he coulde not say. He then as a privat man examined him, and after had him before two justices of peace, from whom he brought him by ther appointment to Marg. Byr. to hear what she could say against him; but as soone as she saw him, she straightwaye became speachlesse, and was cast downe backwardes, and so did the second tyme, and five tymes was dumbe when Hartlay came in her sight. This morning as she came to the fier, she sawe a great blacke dogge with a monstrous taile, a long chaine and open mouth, comming apace tawardes her, and running by her left side, cast her on her face hard by the fier, houlding her tongue for halfe an hower, but leavinge at libertie her eyes and handes; a litle after, a bygg blacke catt, staringe fearefully at her, came runinge by her left side and threwe her backwarde, taking from her the use both of her eyes and handes, which with yesking were ever losed; about halfe hower after that fit, it came like a bige mouse, and lept upon her left knee, cast her backward, tooke awaye her tongue, eyes, and sences, that she lay as dead; and when she came to any feeling, it puft up her bellye as afore. These visions and fites ordinarely troubled her for six weeks every day, on the day time as is said; and commonly everi night it sat (as she thought) on her head very heavi, laying (as it seemed to her) four great fingers on her browes, that she was not able to open her eies. Often times she cried to her mother, that the should sit from of her head, asking who it was that held her soe straight, and though she could not ster her head, it hir kerchefe pulled of her head thrice commonly, she notwithstanding lying still as a stocke from nine to three in the morning, about which time it departed; and in departing, sometimes gave her a great thumpe on the hinder parte of her head, that it was verye sore for two days after.

Sixe times within those six weekes the sperit would not suffer her to eate or drincke,

it tooke awaye also her stomake; if she offered to drincke (at the earnest motion of others), it cast her and the drincke downe together. At other tymes shee did eate greedily, slossinge up her meate like a greedy dogge or hogge, that her mother and her friendes weare ashamed of her: styll she was hungrye and cryed for more, saying shee had nothing, though she spared no kind of meate: all was fish that cam to nett. After abundance of meate, her belly seemed never the fuller, that she marveiled which waye it went.

The tenth of Febuari it pulled her as she thought in a hundred peeces. There came out of her mouth such a stincking smoke and breath, that she could not endure it herselfe. Her voyce and crying were quite altered, and so continued till night; but her breath stank so yll a day and a nyght after, that her neighboures could not enduer to come neare her.

Often her sences were taken away, and she maid as styfe as iron, and oft as dead even breathlesse: it made her speake sharplye, hastely, and by snatches: somtimes it made a loud noyse in her bellye, like that in the bellye of a great troting horse.

The two next nights before the day of her examination concerning Hartlay, appeared the devill in the liknesse of Hartlay, requesting her to take head what she sayd, and to speake the truth, for the time was come, promissing her silver and gould; she answered, (thinking it to be Hartlay), that the truth she had spoken already, and that she would not favour him neither for silver nor gold: the second night he departed saying, doe as thou wilt. The day before Hartlay his execution was a sore day unto her, after which, every day she went to morning prayer, and was never troubled in the church save the first day, wheron it tock her about the middest of the sermon, in heaving up her shoulders, depriving her of her sences; after the recovery of her sences, it took away the use of her legs; and thus it molested her in the church, to the admiration of the people, about an hower and halfe.

At the assices at Lancaster was Hartlay condemned and hanged, the making of his circle was chefly his overthrowe, which he denyied, but breaking the rope he after confessed it.

After this time, she had more ease in the day then she was wont, but in the night she lay stif and stark, quaking and trembling, till the day she came to Cleworth.

It going thus with the six at Cleworth, and the seven at Salford, M. Starchye, according to the counsel before given him, procured first one preacher, then an other to see them; but they knew not well what to say to their affliction. After having intelligence by D. Dee his butler, of the like grevous affliction of Thomas Darling his uncles son, an recovery upon the advice given by myself, he requested D. Dee his letter unto me (though unacquainted) and obtened it, wherwith he sent his owne also, which prevayled not with me.

Theruppon he procured other letters wherof one was from a justice of peace therby, and sent the second time unto me: then I cravinge first the advice of many of my brethren in the ministery, met together at an exercise, yealded to M. Starchyes request, and about three wekes after went thither.

On the sixteenth of March, 96, M. George More, pastor of Cawlke in Derbyshire, and my self, came to Cleworth. Whither when we were come, M. Starchy tould us that his sonn had bene well about a fortnight, and his daughter four dayes; and surely to se to, they were at that instant as well and free from any possession by Sathan, as any other; which we suspected to proceede from the subtilty of the devil, and so it proved. Shortly after our coming, as we sat at dinner, came in Margaret Hardman and hir sister, and Elinor Holland, on after another, like players, to bid us welcom; for asmuch as no body sent for me, said one of them, I am come of my owne accord; and having thus spoke, shee was throwen backward on a forme, and so all three were straugely and grevously tormented. Their faces (as I remember) were disfigured, their bodyes (I am sure) greatly swelled, and such a sensible stiring and rumbling within

their bodyes, as to one sight and feling, they had some quick thing within each of them; and not only so, but such a violent moving there was also in their inward parts, (especially in M. Hardman) as was easily harde of us that were present. I remember also, among the manifold pleasant speaches they used, one or moe of spake jocondly conscerning Edmond Hartlayes hanging, who was then newly executed, and it was to this effect: Do they thinke they coulde hang the divel? I wis no. They might hang Edmond, but they could not hang the divel; no marvel though the rope brake, for they were two, Edmond and the devil. By that which I hard of his fits (wherof wee have partly hard before) I for my part then thought, and doe so still, that in the end he who had so sweetly (by kisses forsooth) sent the divel into so many, had by the just judgment of God, the divell sent into him.

Then harde we Jane Ashton howling, and perceiveing it was supernaturall, and hearing also other strang things concerning her, especiallye that which was new fallen out of the swelling of her belly, wherof you shal heare, we affirmed that we thought that she also was possessed, which neither the family, nor the maid her self mistrusted or feared, and it ther was cause. For besides her first taking with the hoke and the wordes Hartly used therupon, and kisses before, with promis of mariag, (which all were perhaps forgotten) she was taken with barking as the rest were, when M. Hopwoode cam to examine them. Againe, the children said no lesse in their fits, for when she cam in their sight, they would say, come and helpe us, for thou art one of our company. And though they neither knew nor speake to any other, yet Jane they knewe, and speake to her onlye in these wordes, thou wilt shortlie come in amongst us. And she her selfe acknowledged, that som times as she carried up hot janoks, she thought that she could have eaten up a janoke, and often did eat much by stealth, being passing hungry like M. Byrom and the children, who likwise were sometimes exceedinglye greedie of meate. This day also, an hower or two before we came, her belly began to swell greatly, so that she compared her bellye to a womans great with child. When it abated a little, a breath came up her throat, which caused yelling, after it fell downe into hir body like a cold stone, as it did with M. Byrom; and as sone as tidings came that we were come, presently her belly was fallen, and as litle as in former time, and so continued.

Not long after our comming, all 7 being had into a chamber, the one of us applied his speach according to the present occasion; and then behold all of them, even Jane Ashton, and M. Starchies children were presently most greviously tormented. Yea, Satan in John Starchie exceeded for crueltie.

And thus they continued all that afternoone; 3 or 4 of them gave themselves to scoffing and blasphemy, calling the holy Bible being brought up, Bible bable, bible bable, and thus they did aloud and often. All or most of them joined together in a strange and supernatural loud whupping, that the house and ground did sound therwith againe; by reason wherof we were driven (as I may say) out of the chamber, and keept out for that daye.

This evening we did use some words of exhortation, for the sanctefying of ourselves and the family against the next dayes service: immediately before which, they all sent forth, as they had before, a supernaturall loud whupping and yelling, such as would have amased one to have gone into the roome wher they were; but as one of us opened his mouth, they were presentlye silent, and so continued.

The next morning, all 7 being had into a faire larg parlor, and laid ther on couches, M. More, M. Dickens, (a preacher, and their pastor) and my self, with about 30 more, assembled togither, spent that day in prayer, with fasting and hearing the word, all the parties afflicted remaininge in their fits the said whole day. Towards the end wherof, they all of the sudden began to be most extreamly tormented, beting up and downe with their bodies, being held by others, crying also (6 of them) aloud, in strang and

supernaturall manner, and after they lay as dead; wherewith they which were present were so affected, that leving that good order which all the day had ben kept, confusedly every on with voice and hands lifted up, cried unto God for mercy in their behalf; and the Lord was pleased to heare us, so as 6 of them were shortly delivered, wherin we with them rejoiced, and praised God for the same.

The first that was dispossessed was M. Byrom, then all the residu, (save Jane Ashton) one shortly after an other, between 5 and 6 at night; she began to be vexed by Sathan about 4 or 5 in the morning, and never had rest until her deliverance. All that day she hard only a humming and a sound, but knewe nothing what was said; she could thus heare, but not see. Sometime she sawe, and then marveyled what the company did ther, and how she got thither; howbeit, she heard every idle word that the children possessed had, she was more extreamly handled that daye then any before, though she had had many sore dayes. She was ever full of paine, and it seemed to her as though her hart would have burst; she strained up much fleamy and bloudy matter. Lastly, she lay as dead for the space of half an houre, taking no breath. Then start she up most joyfully, magnifying God, with such a cherefull countenance and voice, that we all rejoiced with her, but were somwhat amazed at hir suddain lauding of God with such freedome and earnestnes in speach and gesture.

John Starchy, the next, was so miserably rent, that aboundance of blod gushed out both at his nose and mouth. As the day before, so that day, he gnashed fearfully with his teeth, he also lay as dead about the like time, soe that some said to us, he seemeth to be dead. Then start he up likwise on the suddain, and praised God in most cherful and comfortable manner. And so did the rest, who also made sundry times greate showe of vomiting, and nowe and then vomited indeede somthing like fleam and thick spettle. Theis 4, especially 3 of them, used much light behaviour and vain gestures, sundry also filthy scurrilous speaches, but whispering then for the most part among themselves, so as they were no let to that holy exercise we then had in hand. Somtimes also they spake blasphemy, calling the word preached, "Bible bable; he will not have have done prating, prittle prattle."

M. Hardman, whilest M. More was preaching, used these words: "I must goe, I must away; I cannot tarrie, whither shall I goe? I am hot, I am too hot; I will not die," iterating them all; which wordes did greatly incourage us.

When these 6 were delivered, some desired to know how they assured themselves therof, and they answered as followeth: M. Byrom said, That she felt it come up from her bellye towardes her brest, thence to her throat; when it left her throate, it gave her a sore lug, and all this while a darke mist dazeled her eyes. Then she felt it go out of her mouth, but it left behind it a sore throat, and a filthy smel; that a weke after, her meate was unsavary. It went out in the liknes of a crowes head, rounde, (as to her semed) and sate in the corner of the parlor, with darknes about it a while. Then went it with such a flash of fier out of the windowe, that all the parlor semed on fire, to her onlye.

In like sort William Somers had a sore throat after the departur of the spiritt.

John Starchie said it went from him like a man with a bulch on his backe, very ill favored, and presently he returned to have reentered, but he withstood him strong in faith. The same in effect said M. Hardman. Anne Starchy said, he went like a foule ugly man, with a white beard, and a great bulch on his brest as big as a mans head, and straitway returned to have reentered, but she faithfully resisted. Even so said El. Hol., the whit beard excepted.

El. Hardman said it was like an urchin, and went through a very litle hole (as she thought) out of the parler, but out of hand returned againe, in a very foule shape, promising her golde, and whatsoever shee would desier, if she would give him leave to enter againe, but she yealded not; then he threatened to cast her into a pit, saying,

somtime thou wilt go alone. He said also, he would cast her into the fire, and breake her neck, but she resisting, he departed like an urchine.

And thus the first dayes worke was happily ended. But behold the slight of the wily serpent; for when we were all at rest, the sperits sett upon the 5 little children, like so many wulves the seely lambes. The poore children being newly recovered, and suddenly invaded, were so frighted, that they clasped fast about their middles that lay with them, and hid their faces with ther bed-clothes. M. Dickons was called down, who comming, saw them resisting, and encouraged them to stand fast, never to yeald, but to pray and resist with faith; and shortly they were well, and fell a slepe.

The next day we inquired how the were assalted; M. Byrom said it cam to her like an ugly black man, with shoulders higher then his head, promising her enought if she wold consent, and that he would lie still; when she utterly denied him, and prayed against him, he threatned to cast her into a pitt as she went home. But when she resisted, he cast her to the ground, and departed twise as big, and foule as hee came, with two flashes of fier, one before, and another after him, making a noise like a great wind among trees. She was not assaulted at midnight with the 5, but after supper, before she went to bed.

John Starchy said he came in the former likenes, making many large proffers, baggs of gould, &c.; but when he sawe he nothing prevailed with sugred wordes, he used terrible menaces, saying, he would breake his neck, &c. Anne Starchy said he came in the former likenes.

M. Hardman said he came in the same forme he went out, proffering golde, but she refusing, he threatened to breake her necke, cast her into a pit and drowne her, and so departed.

El. Hardman said he came like a beare, with a fier in his mouth, wherwith she was so terrified, that she lept quite out of her bed, and ran from him, she wist not whither, but one of the company stayed her. Then he desired her to open her mouth, as he opened his, shewing her two bagges, one of silver, an other of gold, promising her 9 times as much; but not prevailing, he ran away as a beare that breakes loose from the stake. When she was laid downe and prayed, he came again like an ape, promising her golde, &c. at her pleasure. Then he menaced to cast her out of the windowe, and into the fier, if ever she stood neare it, and so departed, very foule, and with an horrible scryke.

El. Hole said he came like a great beare with open mouth upon her, and presently turned it selfe into the similitude of a white dove; but she resisted, and it departed.

Thus we have heard of the dispossession of 6, and what things fell out therein, as also presently after the same it resteth, that we convert our speach to Jane Ashton, the 7. Sathan, upon the aforesaid day, towardes evening, put her to extreame paine, and continued the same longe very neare 2 houres after their deliverance, intising her to say he was gon, and to make shew of welfare, promising that he would not molest her at all. She, to be at ease, consented, and pretended in wordes to be as well as the rest, but we thought otherwise, because the signes of dispossession were wanting. After she had herein yelded to the divell, (which she concealed untill after her deliverance) she was as free from any vexation by him as the rest, notwithstanding we prayed, or shee prayed; wheras before, for 3 houres togither, her fit beinge ended, the shortest prayer that might bee, being used, she wold be in an other, most grevous to beholde.

All night shee was very well, the next morning also, untill we 3 (who were to be leaders that day also, in that holy action we had in hande,) having shut our dore, had cast doune our selves before the throne of grace, to crave the direction and assistance of Gods spirit in the worke we were to enter upon. This (I say) we had no soner don, but behold the chamber wher we were, yea the whol house, did ring of her againe, wherby we were not a litle comforted and incouraged to enter the second time into

the feild; for therby we were assured that we were not deceived, and that Satan was certainly in her. After we cam downe into the parlor, whither many more resorted that day then the other, to the number of about 50, we all being exercised as the day aforesaid. This morning she was sore tormented; she often semed to vomit up all, and it got up only a litle fleame; and when shee hanged downe her head to vomit, often the sperit would all to shake her as an angrie mastife a litle cur dogg, so that after her delivery, she was very hoarce and weake. About on of the clocke, she being very extreamly tormented, fel a weping, that teares trickled downe; and after lay as dead a litle space; reverting, she said, he is gon, and gave thanks for her deliverance. It went out like a great breath, ugly like a toad, round like a ball; and within an houer after, it returned like a foule big black man, but she resisted, and it departed. When we saw clearly that she was dispossessed, we asked her, Why she dissembled the other night? She tokl us, that the said evening it was com up from her belly to her brest, thence to her throat, wher it held her as at her first taking, thence to her head. Then she said it desired her to tell us that he was gon, and promised her not to move or hurt her, and that she should lack nothing. Why, said we, would you harken to the devill? Because, said she, I was very sore, and he promised me ease, but he hath deceaved me. Quoth M. Dickons, beleve the devil againe; beware of lying, he teacheth to lie, and you are taught for lying.

This day, and 2 or 3 following, the uncleane spirits returned ever and anone, in visible formes, upon all 7, throwing some of them violently downe before us all, depriving others for a litle space of the use of som members of thir bodies, as arme or legg, seeking also both by goodly promises of silver, gold, silks, velvit, which they thought verily they saw, and such like, and fearful threats, their consents to reenter, without which it should seeme Satan cannot reenter, though he cane first enter. But from giving such consent, and yealding unto Satan, therin God in mercy keept 6 of them, who since that time (praised be God therfore) were never more nor lesse, they nor any of them, molested by Satan until this day, neither was the 7. Jane Ashton, untill a good space after, when she leaving M. Starchies house, went and dwelt in a place of ignorance, and among Papists, and became popish herselfe, as I have hard; for which opertunitie and advantag the devill watching, and noe doubt compasing, he then recovered her, and now dwelleth their whose last estat with Kat. Wrights and Will. Somers, shall be worse then their first. Luke 11. 26.

Here followeth the story of William Somers.

The History of Somers.

William Somers of Nottingham, now about the age of 22 yeares, sonne-in-lawe to Robart Cowper of the said towne, and by trad of life a musitian; about 8 or 9 yeares past, as he journyed from Bellyn, in the countie of Wigorn, (wher he then dwelt, with one M. Anthonie Brackenberie) to Bramsgrove, a market towne in that shire, accompanied with an old woman dwelling in the said Bellyn, found an hat with a copper band; the woman requiering the same, he gave her the hat, though unwillingly, but the band he utterly refused to give, supposing it to be of gould, wherupon she threatning him, said, that it had bene as good for him to have given it her. After this, in the night, he saw a strang light in the chamber wher he lay, which cast him into a great feare, and thus he continued frighted for a time. Shortlye after, M. Brackenberie, his master, removed to Holme, neare to Newark upon Trent, in the countie of Nottingham. Being ther sent about his masters busines unto Newark; in the way, as he went thither, he was suddenly throwne into a ditch, som 8 yards distant from the high way, wherin he went; after he had layen ther a certaine tim, he got up and went

forward in his journey, but by that he had gone a very little way further, he was taken againe, and cast into a thorne bush about 60 yards distant from the high way; but how he cam into it, or the ditch, he knew not. In these two places he lay for the space of som 4 houres, as he perceived after, by the time of the day. Notwithstanding this let, to Newark he went; when, in his returne, he drewe nere Holme, he begane to be sicke; from sicknes he came to carie himself after that strang manner by fits, that his master supposed him to playe the counterfeite, and theirupon he whipped him. But notwithstanding all the whipping was used, (which he felt not at all) he continued after that same manner, and was more stranglie handled every daye then other. At length it well appeared to be some strang visitation and hand of God, wherupon his master procured on in the ministrie to come to him, he being for the space of 3 weekes or ther abouts, a continuall trouble, and his master not knowing by what meaines to procure his amendment, sent him, accompanied with 3 persones, to Nottingham, to his mother, being then a widowe. Whilste he was at Holme, he hard somthinge say unto him, that upon such a day, he would leave him, and not com unto him (soe far as I remember he said) untill the end of 6 yeares. Now, after he had bene about 5 weekes at Nottingham, afflicted after his accustomed and strang manner, and that the said appointed day was come, he indeede amended in the judgment of man, and soe continued; insomuch, that shortly after he was bound prentise to one Thomas Porter of Nottingham, a weaver and musition, who after gave over his trade of weavinge, and betooke himselfe wholly to the other, from whom the said William Somers did twise rune awaye.

About the 20 day of March, 1596, his aforesaid master, Thomas Porter, sent him to Walton in Darbyshire, the now dwelling-house of Sir William Bowes, to a sister of his wifes there, named Mary Milwood. In his going thither, ther met him in Blakewell More, at a deep colepit, hard by the high way side, an ould woman, (as he thought) who asked him where he dwelt, and whithor he was going? without any more wordes. About a mile and half further, (he having gon forward a journying pace without stay) she met him again, and passed by him without any words. The next day he retorning from Walton homewardes, she met him at the aforesaid pit, and asked him how he did? saying further, I must have a penny of thee; he answered, that he had no monney: Thou hast (quoth she) Mary Millwood gave thee 3 pence, I will have a penny of it, or I will throwe thee into this pit, and breake thy neck. Hereupon, for feare, she giving him 2 pence, he gave hir 3 pence, which indeed had ben given him by the said Mary. After this, she put hir hand to a bag she had about hir, and taking thence a peece of bread with butter spred on it, bade him eate it. He refusing, she threatned him againe to throwe him into the pit, and breake his neck, if hee would not eate it. Wherupon (greatly against his wil, and for feare) he did eat it; and in the eating it semed to him as sweet as any honney. She said moreover unto him, Doest thou not knowe Katheryn Wright? No, quoth hee; She is my neighbor, (said she) and shee and I will come to Nottingham one of theis dayes, and see how thou doest. Then a catt (as the boy thought) leapt up into her bosome, the which she imbraced, and with hir armes claspt it unto her, and thus they parted each from other.

By the manner of meeting the 2 time, and wordes uttered to him the 3 time, it should seme rather to be the devill in the liknes of an old woman, then otherwise.

This Kath. Wright is a yong woman dwelling at a place called Bridgway-lane, not far distant from Blackwel More, who about 14 yeres past, being possessed, was by prayer delivered, but is since repossessed.

About the beginning of October, 1597, the said Somers (being at Nottingham, in the house of his maister, Thomas Porter,) did use such strang and idle kinde of gestures in laughing, dauncing, and such like lighte behaviour, that he was suspected to be madd. Sundry times he refused all kind of meate for a long space togither, insomuch as he did seeme therby to pine away; somtimes he shaked as if he had had an ague; there was hard a strange noise or flapping from within his bodie; he was often seene to gather himself on a round heape under his bed-cloathes, and being so gathered, to bounse up a good height from the bed, also to beate his head and other parts of his body against the ground and bedstead, in such earnest manner, and so violentlye, that the

beholders did feare that thereby he woulde have spoiled himself, if they had not by strong hand restrained him; and yet thereby received he no hurt at all. In most of his fitts, he did swell in his body, and in some of them did so greatly exceede therein, as he seemed to be twice so big as his naturall body. Oft also was hee seene to have a certaine variable swelling or lumpe, to a greate bignes, swiftlye running up and doune betwene the flesh and skin, through all the parts of his body; and many times when that swelling was, theis or the like wordes were hard out of his mouth: I will go out at his eyes or eares, or toes. At which speaches the said swelling evidently appearing in such parts, did immediatly remove and vanish away. This swelling did not only run from eye to eye, from cheke to cheke, and up and doune along still in the body; but besids, being now in the one leg, presently it wold be in the other, and so of the armes in like manner; and looke in which arme or leg it stayd, (as often it did for a certain space) the same member was inflexible and excedingly heavy, as it had bene so much iron. Thus it went with him though not in al, yet in many of his fits, wherin over and besides these things, he was strangely handled; for suddenlie (if he were standing when the fit came) he wold be cast headlong upon the ground, or fall doune, drawing then his lips awry, gnashing with his teeth, wallowing and foming. In sundry of his fits, he did utter so strang and fearfull scriking, as cannot be uttered by mans power, and was of such strength as sometimes 4 or 5 men, though they had much advantage against him by binding of him to a chaire, yet could they not rule him: and in shewing that strength, he was not perceived to pant or blowe, no more than if he had not strained his strength, nor strugled at all. Sometimes he cried extreamly, so as teares came from him in great abundance. Presently after he would laughe aloud and shrill, his mouth being shut close. And being demaunded concerning those accidentes, he protested he knewe of no such mater, neither felt he any paine. Moreover, he was often times cast into the fire, some bare part of his body also lying in the fier, and yet was not burned, and somtimes cast violently against the ground, and againste the wall or poastes of the house, without any hurt of his body, and did many wayes seeke to destroy himself; by reason whereof they were driven to take away his knife, girdell, garters, &c., yea, with the sheete of his bed, he had like to have strangled himselfe: whereupon, as also through the increasing of his fits, they were constreined to watch him continually, even day and night. His behaviour generally towardes all that came, was very pleasant, most impudent also, and shamelesse, with much uncleannes. His speaches were usually vaine, delivered in very scoffing manner, and many times filthy and uncleane, very unfit once to be named, or blasphemous, swearing most fearfully, using one blody oath after other; sometimes saying I am God, and somtimes there is no God. Being moved to say the Lords prayer, when he came to thes wordes, "leade us not into temptation," he would say, leade us into temptation. Divers fond speaches did he use to interrupt them that prayed for him. Many strange speaches also were uttered by him, not in his owne name, but as spoken by an evill spirit possessing him, upon occasion of some question or speach used by some in ther simplicitie and ignorance; as that his dame had sent him, that his name was Lucye, that he was king, that he was prince of darknes, you thinke I have no power of him, yet I can use his tongue, his teeth, lippes, handes, legges, his bodie, and all partes of him; and as the spirit named each part, he used it. And this speache, with the action, was verie common, Was I (said he to one John Wiggin) never in heaven? yea, quoth he, but God for thy pride thrwe thee downe into hell, there to remaine. One John Sherwood, charging him to tell who sent him thither, he answered, a woman. He charged him againe to tell wher shee dwelt; he answered, in Worcestershire. Whether is shee living or dead? dead, said he. Wherfore did shee send thee? for a hatt and hat-band. Then the boye, when the fite was done, was questioned with concerning these thinges; whereunto he returned for answeare, that which is set downe in the beginninge of this

The like in my owne hearing did Kat. Wright being possessed.

storye, which he had concealed untill that time. Hereunto I might add certaine direct answeares he made in Lattin to those speaches, which in Lattin were used unto him; a little Greeke also he speake, beinge ignorant in those languages, altogether in the one, and understanding little or nothinge in the other.

In going thus with the boye, I was importined in his behalfe, first by two letteres, after, by another from the mayor, and theireupon I went unto him. As when and about the time I condisended to goe, (beinge 14 miles of him) he speake theirof to them which were about him; so when I was come to Nottingham, he instantlye tould the same, and foretould my comminge unto him when I drewe neare the house, as he had also foretould M. Aldridge (the preacher of the towne) his comming at sundrie times.

Towardes that evening I came, being the 5 of November, he seemed to be sicke, and his sicknes greatlye to increase upon him, soe as they feared he would have dyed, or had bene dead, for he laye an hower with his face and handes blacke, cold as ice, noe breath being perceived to come from him. Whereupon I was noe soner light, but tidinges hereof was brought to me, by one of they neighbour woman, Joahn Pye by name, who came purposlie from him to signifye the same unto me; to whom I answeared, it was the mere acte or operation of the devill, and that the boye was nothinge lesse then either dead or in daunger therof. Forthwith with her I went to him, whom wee found verye livlye, and in one of his accustomed fites, manye being present with him.

My speach I caried for a season doubtfullie, but after a while, perceivinge how it was with him, I did assure him, that he was possessed, and had in that bodye of his a devill, and withall did soe frame the wordes of my mouth, as might best serve to prepare and stir him up to a sperituall fight against Satan, or resistance of him in faith. This evening he acted many sines, by signs and gesturs, most livly representing and shawdoing them out unto us; as namlye, brauling, quarriling, fighting, swaring, robbing by the high wayes, picking and cutting of pursses, burglarie, whordom, prid both in men and women, hypocrisie, slugishnes in hearing of the word, drunckennes, glotinye, also dauncing with the toyes therunto belonging, the manner of antique dances, the games of dicing and carding, the abuse of the viole with other instruments; at the end of sundrie of these, he laughted excedingly, divers times clapping his hands on his thighes for joye; and at the end of some of them, as killing and stealing, he shewed how he brought them to the gallowes, making a signe therof. During this time, which continued about an houre, as he was altogether silent, so was he most active, though his eyes were closed, and in many things he did, ther was great and necessarie use of sight. In a word, these thinges were in such livly and orient coloures painted out (as I may say) unto us that were present, being to the number of some 60, that I for my owne part, (and I am perswaded the rest of the beholders are of my mind) doe verily thinke, that it is not in the skile and power of man to doe the like. Whilst we were recommending him and his grevious estate to the Lord, and intreating his majestie in his behalfe, he uttered these wordes, I must begonne.

The next daye, being the Lordes day, I came not at him until about 3 o'clocke in the afternoone, (finding company with him) at which time I used some speach, wherin I indevoured to prepare both him and his masters familye, as also his parents, (whom that judgment principallye concerneth) unto the holye exercise the day after to be performed. Towardes evening, much people resorted to the house, then some words of exhortation were used by my selfe, for the sanctifyng of soe manye of us as whose spirites God should stir up, to joine in that solemne service and worship of God to be performed on the day following. As the night and day before he had litle or no rest from Satan afflicting him, so this evening, and all the night long, he had led him more extreamly then before. At this time, among other things, the spirit retorted his tongue

into his throat, and this he did often, wherupon many loked with a candle into his mouth, wher they could se no tongue nor part of it, only in his throat they beheld the root therof. He uttered often thes words, For corne, for corne, with a fewe more therunto appertaining, noting the unsatiable desier of gaine or raising the price of corne in corne men. This night was spent by som well-disposed people in reading and praying. This evening I requested the minister of that congregation, M. Aldridge, and with him on M. Aldred and M. Halam, pastors of 2 severall towns neare adjoining unto Nottingham, to joine with me on the morrowe, in the ministration of the word and prayer, wherunto the condiscended. And this I did the rather, that therby I might proclaime and make knowne unto all men, that as I have no speciall or greater guift herein then the rest of my brethren; so neither doe I arrogate, or challenge any such thing to my selfe.

In the morning, (being the 7 of November) many of us were assembled together in the next convenient and seemly roome to the place of his abode. The boy was brought with strang and fearfull scrikings by 6 or 7 strong men, who had all of them inough adoe to bring him, and laid on a couch in the midst of us. M. Aldridg began, and after prayer proceeded to the interpretation of the 4. of Hos., the two first verses. When he had finished, my self intreated of that story set doune in the 9. of Marke, from verse 14 until the 30, wher the father bringing his possessed child to Christ to be cured, had him healed accordingly. All this day he was continually vexed and tormented by Sathan, having little or no rest at all, so as the same, for vexation by the spirit, far exceded any of the dayes before. His tormentes in his fittes were most grevous and fearefull to behould, wherein his body being swelled, was tossed up and doune. In theis fits, his strength was very great, so as being held doune with 5 strong men, he did, notwithstandinge all their strength, against their wils, rise and stand upright of his feete. He was also continually torne in very fearful manner, and disfigured in his face; wherein somtimes his lips were draune awry, now to the one side, now to the other; somtimes his face and neck distorted to the right and to the left hand, yea, somtimes writhen to his back; somtimes he thrust out his tongue very far and big, and somtimes turned backwardes into his throat, gaping so wide, that we might afar of perceive it; now he gnashed with his teeth; now he fomed like to the horse or boare, roping doune to his brest, notwithstanding there was one purposely standing by with a cloath ever and anon to wipe it away, not to say any thing of his fearfull staring with his eyes, and incredible gapinge.

This daye, notwithstanding he was so held as is aforsaid, hee went about to have choaked and so destoryed himself. Speaches he used none, save once in a great voyce, Corne; and when I applied that speach of our Saviour, "All things are possible to him that beleeveth," he used theis words, Thou lyest. Divers times he scriched or cryed aloude, in a strange and supernatuall manner; sometimes he roared fearfullye lyke a beare, and cryed like a swine.

Towardes the evening, as I was treating of these wordes, "Then the spirit cryed, rent him sore, and came out, and he was as one dead, insomuch, that many sayd he is deade." The boy was rent sore indeed, cryed, and that aloud. Then they people which were present, as men astonished, and with the grevioues sight and crye unspeakeable affected in the boweles of compassion towards him, breaking ther hitherto continued silent, cryed out all at once, as it were with one voyce unto the Lord, to have mercy upon him; and within a quarter of an hower (they and he still cryinge aloud,) he held downe one a bed by five men, and offering as though he would have vomitted, was one the sudden violently cast, and his body therwith turned, so as his face lay donwards to the ground, and at the beds fete, and his back upward with his fete on the beds head, and thus he lay, as if he had been dead for a season. Thus we have hard not only how it went with Somers, in the time of his possession, and at and little before his dispossession,

but also how, and by what meanes I came unto him, and being ther, caried myselfe in this present action.

Math. 21. 43. Accordinge now to that in the gospell, "when the uncleane spirit is gone out of a man, he sayeth to himselfe, I will returne into mine house from whence I came," &c. it fell out here; for the uncleane spirit being gone out of Somers, returned, and sought to enter againe into him; and as for the compassion of his former habitation with the 7 in Lancashire, he visiblely appered unto them, and for a season molested them in thire bodies, even so did the spirit with Somers. The same night he was dispossessed, as he lay in his bed, a thing like a rat patted one his mouth, and after, crept dounne along on his body, untill it came to his privye parts, from whence it vanished away. Thus did the spirit many times, and sundry wayes; and about a quarter of a yeare after, recovered him, and entered againe, as appereth by the signes of possession, wherunto some of the seventeen witnesses after mentioned, have deposed, as appeareth by the depositiones of divers, if the time when the thinges wear done which they deposed be observed; after this, Satan drewe the boy also, upon whom the worke was wrought, to confese and affirme that he had dissembled. And to bring this to passe (which passeth whatsoever else could be imagined, to perswade the world that he had counterfeited,) the old serpent so ordered the matter, that he was charged to have bewitched one Sterland to death, and brought theirupon into the towns haul before the magistraits, by the meaines and procurement of M. Freeman. Sterland's wife and som of her neighbors cam with an accusation of witchcraft against him, to wit, that upon such a day in Nottingham market, Somers should tread on the hele of the said Sterland, wherupon he should presently fall sicke, and dyed four or five dayes after. Her neighbours they witnesed, that Starland being dead, his hele locked blacke, or some such thing. Hereupon Somers was committed to prison, but a little after bailed. Not long after this, these magistrats, (under couler to fynde out this counterfeiting) tooke this witch (forsoth) and it percase a counterfete, from his parents, and committed him to their house of correction, called St Jones, and their to the costody of two most leud fellows; which no sooner had him, but forthwith about thire worke the went: the one John Couper, threatning to whyp him, the other Nich. Shepard to pinch him with pincers, thereby to drawe him (indeede) to confesse that he had counterfeited, as appeareth by thire depositions. Besides the above named Nottingham magistrats promised him 10l., and that he should set up any trade, so that he wold confese his dissemling, as M. Jackson, alderman, confessed in the towne haul before manye, but this, said he, they did in policy. Lastly, the devil himselfe visiblie appeared unto him, (as experience hath taught he doth usually to those that he possesseth) promising and threatning, and all to compase his confession which by these meaines he effected.

When Somers had bene at St. Jones, under the custodi of his said kepers about three days, and all those meanes you here of used, for the compasing of a confession of counterfeiting, he acknowledged that he had counterfeited, and therwithall was freed from all vexation in his body by the devil, (then repossesing him,) which immediatly before and till then al the tym of his repossession he had tasted, and many others beheld.

The case being thus, myselfe with others thought good to procuer a comission from the Archbishop of York, for the examining such as had sene Somers do or suffer, sundry things impossible to be counterfeted; for it was thought that the depositions of men would be available to overthrow this wretched confession of his, when percase the bare assertions of men would not. To this end a commission was graunted and directed to John Therrald, Esquire, (then) high sherife of the counti of Nottingham, Sir John Byron, knight, John Stanhop, Robert Markham, Richard Perkins, Esquires, Peter Clerk Mai. of the towne of Nottingham, M. Walton, Archdeacon of Darbyshire, Miles Leigh, officiall of Nottingham, John Ireton, John Browne, Robert Evington, and Thomas

Boulton, ministers and preachers of God's word. These commisioners, upon the 20th of March 1597, examined seventeen, every of which deposed more or les to some thing don or suffered by Somers, which nether natur nor art can compase, as apeareth by ther depositions now in print. This done, Somers himselfe was caled before the comissioners; and he, who for the space of a moneth before, even from the tym he said he counterfeited until that present, had not at all ben vexed by Satan in his body, as if he had had no gesse nor inhabitation no more then any other, (which cam from the subtelty of the divil,) was violentli throwne doune, even as he was facing out his counterfeiting; and so oft and miserably tormented by the divil, until both himselfe to the commissioners acknowledged that he had not counterfited, and the greatest contender for counterfeiting, and enimy to the said worke of God, M. Walton, Archdeacon of Darbyshire, and a commissioner, that it was the finger of God. The divers fits he had in the presence of these comissioners, besides the great violence offered unto him, he was in the first of them thruste deepe into the hand and leg with pins, but stirred not therat, neyther did any bloud issue at either of the places so pricked. The said fit ended, being demaunded what he had done, as also what had bene don unto him, he knew not of any thing more or lesse. At this time also his two kepers were examyned, who, for all their minsing, acknowledged, that on of them threatned to whypp him, the other to pinch him with pincers, which he called knipknaps. Thus the matter being manifest to the commissioners, partly by the depositions of men, partly by that themselves sawe, and partly also by the confession of Somers himself, they surceased to examine any further; and shortly after, togither with the sayd depositions, retorned to the Archbishop of Yorke, no counterfeiting. Now was Somers taken from his aforesaid kepers, and committed to the custody of one Edmond Garland, where he was continually tormented of the divel, and that more fearefully then ever before; whereby his repossession and the lurking of the spirit was evident.

Who, because he was an adversari, he was made a comissioner, and with him two others, Peter Clark, Maior, Miles Leigh official.

Confessing now that he never counterfeyted, (which also was manifest to those that beheld his vexation by Sathan,) and being thereupon demanded why he had before affirmed the contrary, as in wordes he rendred the reason thereof, so in writing himself set downe the same in these wordes folowing, which under his owne hande is yet to be seene.

Being at Sainct Jones, there came unto me a thinge like unto a dog, and said unto me; and if I wold consent unto him and say that I was a counterfeite, he wolde give mee a bag of gould, and if I would not, he would make mee be hanged, or els he wolde teare me in peeces; and if I woulde, I should do any thing that I would tak in hand, and he would come to me lik a mouse, and helpe me. And then came to mee a thinge like an asse, and said that if I wold not say that I was a counterfeyt, he wold cast me into the well, and so went away. And Nicholas Shepheard said, and if I were in a fitt againe, he wold fetch a pair of knipknaps and a rope, and he woulde make me confese, or els hang me. And John Cowper and Shepheard said, and if I would say that I was a counterfeyt, that Maister Maior and the Aldermen would give me tenne pounds, and I should set up any trad that I would; and I had better say that I was a counterfeyt and live like a man, then to have nothinge; for if I should say that I were not a counterfyet, and goe into the clergies hand, I should have nothinge.

Say I counterfeited.

Somers being at Edmond Garlands, was daylie in grevous manner tormented by the divel, oft cast into the fyer, but not burnt; and to let his other vexations go, was of extraordinary strength and supernaturall knowledge; wherwith was made manifest that he was reposessed, notwithstanding no such thing had appeared for the space of a moneth before. But by that he had bene about ten dais at Edmond Garlands, the Maior, with some of the Aldermen and M. Will. Gregory, the towne clarke, who, at Satans discovery before the twelve commissioners, were greatly abashed and confounded in them-

selves, gathered hart to themselves, and incouraging one another, they sent and procured that whereby they gott Somers into theire owne possession agayne; and this doubtles they did the more speedily, for that, (as I take it) they hard that we were purposed now to have used the meaines for his dispossession publicklye in the church, which they sure feared, would have turned to ther great shame, who had soe hotly and openly contended for counterfeyting. They noe sooner had him, but he was at quyet, as if he had bene a counterfeite indeed, and nothing lesse then a devill within him. About a weeke after, (the assyses being at Nottingham, before the Lord Anderson,) Somers was called, said he had counterfeted; and being commanded by my Lord Anderson to do his tricks, as some call them, he thrwe himselfe downe; and then the spirit trifled, and so caried himselfe, as might best make to perswade those present that he counterfeited; and it so as theirin (through the overruling hand of God,) their was sufficient to kepe man from that perswasion; for since twise in open court at Lambeth, by two no mayne adversaries then present, it hath been said, although to another end, that one of his leggs were as heavie as if it had bene irone. Shortly after to London he went, and dwelt with a barber in Eastsmithfield, from whence he went to the Bishope of London, wher, after he had bene about a month, and myselfe somwhat longer in the Gathouse for herisie, he proceeded further, and added this to his former iniquitie, that I had taught him to counterfeit; which accusation hath bene in such sort pursued against me, as is shewed in the several treaties published by some frendes to the cause: the other charge of herisie, for which I was sent to prison, 'as appeareth by the warrant,' lyinge in the dust, never word beinge spoken therof untill this daye. No, not so much as the herisie or heriticall opinion once named, that I should hold and mayntayne.

FINIS.

The Doctrin of the Possession and Dispossession of Demoniakes out of the Word of God. Particulerly applied unto Somers, and the Rest of the Persons controverted together. With the Use we are to make of the same.

We have hard in the former treatyse of 8 persons that weare vexed with evill spirits, viz. 7 in Lanchashire, and one at Nottinham; and of divers strange actiones or passions done or suffered by them. Now that the glory of God, and the edification of the Christian reader, (which two thinges only I have aimed at, in the publishing of this story,) may be the better furthered thereby, I have thought it necessarie to treate of these 3 thinges: 1. That all those persons were indeed possessed with uncleane spirits, and did not counterfeit a possession, as is affirmed by some. 2. That they were all (undoubtedly) dispossessed, and that by prayer and fastinge, the meaines which God hath thereunto appoynted. 3. What is the holy and right use we should all make of this rare and great work of God; which every on should specially in the reading hereof ayme at, though it can not be attained, without the certaine knowledge of the two former poyntes.

1. *That they did not counterfeit a Possession, but were verily possessed with uncleane Spirites.*

I doe not say with the poet, *Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas*, he is a happie man, who can find out the causes of things; but this I affirme, it is the parte of a wyse man, to search out the cause of a thing. He, therefore, yea he onlye shall carrye him-

selfe wyslye in the present controversie we have in hand, and judge aright therin, who shall laboure to find out the true and proper cause of those strang accidents, whereof a true reporte hath bene made in the former treatyse. I wyll not stand here to iterate and heape up those strange things which are before specyfyed, all which may be referred either to ther extraordinary and supernaturall strength, or their supernaturall knowledge, or their extraordinary and supernaturall actions or passions of their bodyes: only in the spirit of meekness, and with all humilitie, I demaund of them, which deny and call in question or doubt of their possession, whence or from what cause the actions or passiones acted or suffered by them came? can theire any natural cause be given of them? or is there any thing in nature that might send forth such effects? verilye, though it myght be graunted of some of them, yet undoubtedlye it cannot truly be affirmed of all: but that some of them are not humain, but it cam from som other thing then the nature or industri of man. And what should that be but wicked spirits within them, according as in times past it hath bene with others in the like case? except we will be so grosse as to imagine, either that God wrought them immediately, without the ministrie of any creature, or by the service of an elect angel: neither of which can possibly be, considering theire vanityes, toyes, and fooleries, the distorting and disfiguring of ther faces, with other accidents of that kind, and the uncleane and blasphemous speaches above mentioned. On the contrarie side, they all well be seeme the uncleane spirit, and sute exelentlye with his nature, and therfore make greatlye for confirmation for theire possession.

Such effects as have bine down by these parties possessed cannot proceed from the nature or skile of man.

If any graunting that these things were done by wicked spirits, shall saye that it followeth not theireupon that the spirites were in them, and so possessed them, I answere, that a spirit without man may divers wayes greatly trouble and afflict him, as by sightes and visions, yea even in his body, as he did Job. So likwise, after the deliverance of the above-named persons (as also of on Thomas Darling, a boy not long since dispossesed, dwelling in Burton upon Trent, in the countye of Stafford) they spirits in their returne to repossese them, did many times and sundry wayes (that by fearing, astonishing, and threatning of them they might prevaile) mightily molest and trouble them.

How spirites being with out man do vexe him. Job 2. 7.

It is impossible for Satan being without man to have the whole rule and disposition of the body.

But that the divil being without man, can rule and dispose of the whol body of man, and every part therof according to his pleasure, as he dyd with these, and doth with all those he posseseth, it is absurde to affirme. For what more can Satan doe to the body of man, then rule and torment it thus in the inward and outward partes, and in every parcell and member theirof, accordinge to his lust and pleasure? The which if he could do being without, he would never desier nor seek entrance into man to posses him, the which no man will deny but he doth; for what would his said entrance advantag him to the hurting or tormenting of man in his body, more then his being without him. Secondly, Satan being without man, can not cause or send forth those effects (which are indeed signes of possession) wherof we have hard before, and more shal be spoken afterward, because then God should have left his church destitute of all meaines, wherby to discerne of possesion, which can not be, the wisdom of God considered on the on sid, and the necessitie of man to be directed herein, on the other. Againe, if it were true that the evil spirit could so torment a man on everye sid being without him only, how could the common people among the Jews have knowne when men were possesed, as it is evident by the gospell they did? for it is certaine that by no other meaines but the manner of their handling, or vexation by Satan they knewe it, as may partly appear out of the 9th chapt. of Marke; now might not this same objection as well have bene objected unto them, as it is against us at this present? The devil, by some outward operation, can do all that which leadeth you to thinke that such and such are posesed, you may therfore erre and be deceived in so thinking and affirming.

Matth. iv. 22. Mark ix. 22.

Ver. the 7. 18. 22.

Against the silie shift of pretending counterfeiting.

But it hath bene objected, that these things came, though not from nature, yet from the corruption of nature, in that they were counterfeytes. I answer, that he which well considereth of the strange accidents whereof we have harde, may easily perceave, that there are manye particulers there mentioned, which can not possibly be donne by any arte or skil of man, but that they far surpas his cunning and all human power. It can not be then that they counterfeyted. If any man shal doubt that the history is not truly reported by me, lett him consider, that there hath bene that course taken in these treatises which hath bene ever thought best, and most likely to procure credit to any story: for herein we have observed all necessary circumstances, the persons which were thus afflicted, the time when, the place where, and hereafter sundry of the witnesses before whome these things fell out shall be produced. If I only had bene a witnes of these thinges, though I might happely have made report of them to some of my acquaintance who knew me to be one that, through Gods mercy, have learned to make conscience of a lie; yet should I have bene afrayd to have put them in print, for so many to reade, and unto whom I am altogeather unknowne; but seing that these things have not bene done in a corner, but in places that are populous and famous inough; not beyonde the seas, but in such parts of our owne land, as any man that is desirous to search out the truth in this matter may either go to them him selfe, or receive certaine intelligence from thence, without any greate trouble, before such witnesses, of whom many are well knowne to be of such integrity as they would not be corrupted, and of such wisdom as they could not be deceived, specially using so many meanes as they did to try and boult out the truth. Further, that not the witnesses onely, but also the parties themselves, which were so possessed, are alive: and, lastlie, that there are such a cloud of witnesses, even hundreds, wherof some 30 upon their corporall oathes have deposed the impossible thinges to be counterfeyted, which we have reported of Somers. If any man (notwithstanding these helpes against his incredulity herein) shall stil either deny or doubt whether this matter of fact hath bene trulie reported, I see not why he may not as well deny or doubt, whither any thing be true that is written in other stories: yea much better may on call in question almost any other human story: considering that thos parties whome histories past conscerne are deade, but these alive, and their histories are not deposed unto, at least by so many witnesses as oures is: yea further, if those things that are deposed touching Somers were not most true and evident, it could not otherwise be, but that (in so greate a heate of his supposed counterfeyting) the magistrates of the towne where these thinges were donne, and others in high place and aucthority both in church and common wealth, wold have disproved the witnesses, at least some of them, and punished them openly in the face of the kingdom, even to the uttermost of theire deserts, as lyers, perjured persons, spreaders of false newes, and seducers; but no such thing is done; wherefore it cannot be said that thes things were pretended and counterfeyte.

Ob. Somers confesseth he counterfeited. It is impossible to be so, and therefore he is not to be beleived.

But it wil be objected that Somers himselfe confesseth that hee counterfeyted.

Thereunto I answer, as I have before in my apology, that no man confessing or reporting an impossibility of himself is to be credyted, which Somers doth in this his reporte of himself.

If William Somers should say, that he (by his good footmanshipe) hath gone one foote in one daye, from Barwicke to Dover, none would beleve hym: why then do any credite hym in thys hys confession? for it is noe more impossyble for hym to goe that jorneye in that time, then to doe those things above specifyed: which he, in sayinge he counterfeyted, affirmeth that he hath done.

If thys be a certayne truth, that those thyinges he could not possiblye doe which all men will graunt; then, forasmuch as thirtye witnesses or there aboutes have upon their oathes ascrybed the same unto hym, or some other power in or by him, it must

necesarylye and inevitablye followe, that, if they have sworne truely, and the hundredes say trulye, which dailye beare witnes theireto, and are ready to depose the same, if they myght be called: then he is a lyer in sayinge he counterfeyted.

Choose nowe whyther you will beleeve William Somers, or thys other companye. If he saye trulye they are perjured; for upon theire oathes they have avouched those thinges by hym, which he cannot possiblye counterfeyte, and if they sweare trulye, he lyeth, in affirminge he dissembled.

And heere we must remember that the questyon is not, whether W. Somers did (or suffred) the thynges before mentyoned, as whether he had such a varyable swellynge runnynge up and downe along hys bodye, and soe of the rest, for that such thynges were seene in hym is alreadye deposed: but whether William Somers hymselfe, by some sleyght and cunnynge of hys dyd them, or (that beynge unpossyble) some other power in or by him.

For further answer I referre the reader to my Apology, where the meanes whereby this confession was compassed are set downe, and it made playne, that there was very much in carnall reason to leade him to the saide confessyon, although it was altogeather agaynst the truth.

Seing then it is certaine that the strange effects and workes we have heard of before in the persons aforesaid, must nedes proceed from some working cause, and that the same could not come neither from the ymdiate hand of God, nor other mediate then hath bene said; as neither from nature nor the corruption of nature, nor by the ministery of an holy spirit, neyther yet uncleane spirit being without them, and that there is none other means or second cause, wherby the saide effects could possibly have bene brought forth that we speake of, and whereunto we attribute them excepted. It remayneth therefore, that they did proceede from wicked spirits within them; and this will we further and soundly (I trust), prove out of the holy scriptures; for by the scriptures only can we discerne and know when one is possessed with an uncleane spirit.

All the witt and learninge of man sufficeth not theireunto. If God in his worde had not left us a direction herein, we could noe more judge and tell when one is possessed with the divell, then can a blind man judge of cullores. Let us heare then what the holye scriptures say to this matter.

Possessions are onlye to be judged by the scriptures.

If they shall pronounce that of William Somers, and the rest which I contend for, then let us hould him and them for possessed indeede, and the case beynge soe, it is not I, but God in his worde, that giveth that sentence of them.

If, by the scriptures, the same shall not appeare, and from thence be concluded, then surelie we weare greatlie to blame soe to conceave and reporte of them, and God keepe his people far from giving eare unto us. To this end, wee will first compare the manner of the handlinge of these persones afflicted by Sathan, with those mentioned in the gospell, whom the Holy Ghoste saith were possessed, and then we will inferr and conclude there uppon, as there shall be cause. In that storie which is recorded in the 9th of Marke, where the father bringeth his possessed child to Christ to be cured, we find sundrie signes of Sathan his possessing one, and the manner of his handling or vexing of them whom he possesseth, set downe at large.

"I have brought," saith he, "my sonne unto thee, which hath a dumbe spirit; and wheresoever he taketh him, he teareth him, and he fometh, and gnasheth his teeth, and pyneth away;" and it followeth, "so they brought him to Christ, and as sone as the spirit saw him, he tare him, and he fel doune to the ground, wallowing and fomying. Then he asked his father how long time is it since he hath bene thus? and he said of a child, and oft times he casteth him into the fier, and into the water to distroye him." And in the 25th verse it followeth, "When Jesus saw that the people came running to-

Ver. 17. Ver. 21. Ver. 22.

gether, he rebuked the uncleane spirit, saying unto him, thou dumbe and deafe spirit, I charge thee to com out of him, and enter no more into him."

Signes of possession. 1. They are sore vexed by Satan. Luke 9. 39. 42. Acts, 5. 16. Math. 17. 15. Math. 15. 22.

In this example we must first mark, that the spirit is said to teare the child, by which word the Holy Ghost noteth the grevous and inwarde vexation of those that be possessed; which partli may appeare by that which Luke addeth, " he teareth him that he fometh ;" and by this, that thos which were possessed, are said to have bene " vexed with uncleane spirits ;" and that which is more, to have bene " sore vexed," and " miserably vexed with the divell." Now, by that we have hard, we may perceive, that these persons were grevously vexed in their bowels and inward partes. The same also is most true of Katheryn Wright (a mayde in Darbyshire), and of the abovenamed Thomas Darling, (both which my self have seene, and suppose likewise to have beene possessed with wicked spirits) and is hereby confirmed, in that they both had a very strange and unnaturall swelling, and styrring in their bodies, so as the maide went therefore dailie laced very slack; and the boy, though but 13 yeares of age, sundry times burst the buttons of his doublet, and the aglet holes before, both of his doublet and hose. These thinges (which are notoriously knowne to many) coulde not be without greate vexation in theire bowells and inwarde parts. [1]

2. They are taken on the sudden.

Secondly, we are to observe, that the fits of this possessed childe came suddenly; for it is saide, " whensoever he taketh him, he teareth him ;" and after, " oft times he casteth him into the fyre, and into the water." Nowe, had not the spirit taken him very suddenly, his father or some other wold have kept him out of the fier and water, and from the danger thereof. And St Luke, in expresse wordes, affirmeth the same, saying, " and loe a spirit taketh him, and suddenly he cryeth," meaning that he did suddenly take him, and then he cryed. Even so it was with these persons, and Kath. Wright likewise, and Thomas Darling, their fits came ever on the sudden; they would be now well, and in the twinckling of an eye handled in very strange and grevous manner.

Luk. 9. 39.

3. Often times tormented.

Thirdlie, that he was not seldome tormented by the divel, but often times; for it is saide, that " often times he cast him into the fier and into the water." Now, that the spirit cast him often into the fier and water, notwithstanding the greate care and circumspection of the parents, it must needs be, that infinite times he threw him doune and afflicted him in other places. Even so was it with these and the two other, they were not now and then cast into a fit, as once a moneth or weeke, but dailie, yea manye times in one daye.

4. Gnash there teeth.

Fourthly, it is said that this child " gnashed his teeth." The same was also discerned, if not in all these, yet in sundrie of them; in Margret Byrom, John Starchie, but specially in William Somers, with whom it was usuall.

5. Pine away.

Fiftly, we read that this boy (wherof Marke speaketh) pined away. The same was perceived not onlye by the face and countenaunce of Som, but also by his spare feeding. But was more evident in Katherin Wright, who did continually eat very litle, and that with much a doe, the which fell out also somtimes with some of those 7 in Lancashire.

6. Wallow.

Sixtly, of this child in Marke it is said, that, lyinge on the ground, he wallowed. In like sorte did Somers wallow, or tumble and roule him selfe, with his bodye stretched out to the full length; and as at other times, and before others, he did thus wallow, lying on a bed, from the very edge of the one sid of the bed to the other, never falling off, nor yet in daunger theirof, to the great admiration and astonishment of all those which beheld him; soe, in the presence of they commissioners, did he likwyses as he lay on the flowre; and this was done so swiftly, that they company about him were glad

[1] This marvellous piece of evidence is worthy of particular notice; yet it may be questioned whether Daffy's Elixir had not been more germain to the matter than either prayer or exorcism.

in hast to give place to him so wallowing; and as to this wallowinge the commissioners can beare witnesse, so I beseech them to report thereof, according to that they sawe, and whither it was not a fearefull sight to behold, to se the body of man so carried forward and backward at the pleasure and will of Sathan; for I doubt not but that the conscience of every one there present, told him at that time that it was the work of the divell.

Seaventhly, in this example it is noted, both by Marke and Luke, that he fomed in his fits.[1] This signe as the former, though I my selfe saw it not in the rest, yet in Somers (whose possession nevertheles is moste doubted of and gainsaide) we that were with him the day he was dispossessed, did see it, and were astonished greatly thereat, both for the quantity of it, in that he sent forth somuch foming for an houre togither, and so as it roped doune along his brest, which was continuallie wiped away, as is deposed, as also for the quality of it, being so white and thick, and like to that which commeth from the horse or boare, as might be. He was often also before that day sene to foame; and the same I have heard by Katheryn Wright. Luk. 9. 39. 7. Fome.

Eightly, it is said, that "as soone as the spirit sawe Christ, he tare him, and he fell downe on the ground, wallowing and foming;" the divell begininge then to rage after his manner. Yea, Luke reporting this story, saith, that when Christ had said to the father, "bring thy sonne hither," meaning to him, and he would heale him, "whiles he was yet comming, the divell rente him, and tare him." The reason hereof was, because our Saviour Christ was about to cast forth the spirit, as is noted both by Marke and Luke. "Sweare to mee," said he that was possest with a legion, "that thow torment me not; for he said unto him, come out of the man, thou uncleane spirit." St Luke, "I beseech thee torment mee not, for he commanded the foule spirit to come out of the man." Thus then it goeth with those which are possesed, that when Christ Jesus once commaunded the divells to go out; yea, I may say, when he is but about soe to doe, then are they forthwith thereupon tormented. Even so it was with these, as also Kather. Wright, and Thomas Darling. All and every of which were tormented or vexed by the spirits all the whole dayes of their dispossession; yea, those in Lancashire a day and halfe, even from the first instant we went about the same; wheras ordinarily, on other dayes, they were so vexed by Sathan only by times, being presently after as well againe, and fit to performe the worke of their calling, as others; which came thus to passe, because Christ being then spiritually present, commanded the spirits to goe out, his owne ordinance or means being used, which he hath sanctified thereunto. Thus is that saying of our Saviour fulfilled, "When a strong man armed keepeth his pallace, the things that he possesseth are in peace; but when a stronger than he commeth uppon him, to overcome him, and to devide his spoiles, then is the peace and quietnes of the unjust possessor at an end." 8. Tormented immediately before their dispossession. Luk. 9. 42. Mark 5. 7. Luk. 8. 28. Luk. 11. 21.

The 9th marke of possession to be observed in this example is, that he was "ofte times cast into the fyre and into the water." This signe also was discerned in some of these, as appeareth in the story, but especially in Somers, as also in Kath. Wright; which two were oft cast into the fyre in their fits, and would almost never be kept out of it, but by strong hand of such as were about them; and the latter of these was oft cast into the water also, insomuch, as she could seldome tims passe by any water, though it were but in a tub or payle, but this would befall her: yea, once being on horseback bound unto a man that rode before her, when she was to passe by a water, she was, with much adoe and presente helpe, kept from being cast into it; wheruppon, to avoid the daunger of fyer and water, (her parents being poore, and not able to allowe her a 9. They are throwne into fier and water.

[1] This pregnant mark of diabolical possession was generally counterfeited by the patient keeping a bit of soap in his mouth during his pretended fit.

keper) she was at length chayned to a post. I remember also, that the yong man that kept Thomas Darling told me of the like attempt some times concerning him, but by reason he almost never departed from him, or layd his hands of him day nor night, he was preserved from the same. Hither likewise may be referred the casting and layinge along of Margaret Byrom before the barres of the fyer.

10. They seeke to destroye themselves.

If any aske the reason of this, why the divell desireth somuch to cast him he possesseth into fyre and water? the answer is here set downe, to destroy him; where we may observe an other, and somewhat more larger signe of possession, which is, that the possessed indevour, or rather the spirit in them, "to destroy them, or take away their lives;" for thence it was that the devill rather cast the child into the fier and water, then elswher, that therby, as is said, he might destroy him. Hence it was that El. Hard attempted the throwing of her selfe downe through the casment of the window. The like did Tho. Darling attempt upon the taking doune of some glasse in a chamber window to let in some aire, for want of a casment, and that presently upon the same, wherupon, for his better safitie, they set up the said glasse forthwith againe. And Somers attempted divers times and sundry wayes to strangle and choke him selfe, also to throw him selfe out of a gallery, and many other wayes to distroy him selfe.

11. Some are dumb and deafe, or only dumbe, and likwise blind; but this is more especiall, for the spirits alwayes cause not these in those they possese.

Luke 11. 14. Math, 9. 32. Math. 12. 22.

Eleventhly, besides the evils above named, wherewith this possessed child was vexed, this was one, and not the least, that he was dumbe and deafe, not by any defect in nature, but by meanes of the wicked spirit possessing him; and this is that Christ ment when he called the spirit dumbe and deafe spirit. So we read in St Luke of a man possessed, out of whom Christ is sayd to cast a dumbe spirit, that is, a devill, which had made him dumbe, for so Math. interpreteth this place; "they brought a dumbe man possessed with the divill." Hereunto we may add blindnes. But this signe is more speciall, and not so common as the rest, neither did it fall into any of the demoniakes we speake of, save that som of them were dumbe, deafe, and blind, for a certaine time. True it is, that, duringe their fits, they were both dumbe, deafe, and blind, as appeareth hereby, in that after thire fits, they affirmed that they nether hard nor sawe, nether did they remember that they speake any thing, althought it semeth unto us to be otherwise with them. But these scriptures are not soe to be understood, as S. H. the discoverer conceiveth of it; but that continuallye the possessed persons ther mentioned, were deafe, dumbe, blind, and not only those times they were vexed by the divil, as Darling was lame about a quarter of a yeare, as well out of his fits as in them. If any object, that I cannot recken this for a signe of possession, except I will have all those possessed which are dumbe, deafe, or blind, I refer them to the answer shortly following to Thyreus objecting to this effect, both against this and all the other signes I give.

The Discoverer, page 30.

12. They suddenlie crie aloud or scrike. Luke 9. 39. Mark 5. 5.

Twelftlie, Luke reporting this stori, saith thus: "And loe a spirit taketh him, and suddenly he crieth." The same we read in Mark, "Always both night and day he cried in the mountains and in the graves." Crying then is a signe of Satan his possessing on, now we have hard how all thes sent forth very loud, strang, and supernaturall cries or schrikings. The sam also I well remember of T. Darling, who, in his fits, was heard suddenly to cry very loud.

13. They are firce. Math. 8. 28.

Thirtenthly, in St Math. we read of 2 possessed with divils, that they were "very fierce, so that no man might go by that way wher they kept;" now, of the feircnes of J. Starchie, we read in the begining of this story. Indeed, their is great ods betwixt the feircnes here mentioned, and this of Jo. Starchie, and no marvell, for they were possessed with a legion of divels, and this child with one only.

14. In their fits they are deprived of there sences, both internall and externall.

The 14th marke of one possessed is, that they are deprived of theire sences, internall and externall. The first is evident by this, that the man out of whome the divels were departed, is saide "to sit at the feete of Jesus, cloathed and in his right mynde;" he was therefore out of his righte minde when he was possessed, which is further confirm-

ed in that he "did weare no cloathes," in that he did shun the society of men, "abidinge in no house, but in the graves," in that both "night and day he cried in the mountaines, and in the graves," as also by the speaches, which, upon the sight of Christ, he, or rather they, being two (as appereth by Matthew) uttered, saying or crying with a loud voice, "What have we to doe with thee, Jesus, the sonne of God? I charge thee, by God, that thou torment mee not," which they would never have said, had they had the use of their understandinge. And least we shold imagine that it was thus only with these two possessed with a legion, we must remember that these and such like speaches or exclamations, arguing a deprivation of understanding, were uttered by some other also possessed, which, for the same reason, were likewise deprived of theire internall sences. Even so it was with these persons; for, had they in Lancashire bene in theire righte mindes, they would never have spoken so malepertly in theire fits as usually they did, to those that were then present, especially to Maister Starchy, (whome commonly they called good fellowe, all their speaches also in a manner suiting with that title) and Mistres Starchye, whose owne child called her whoore; neither would they ever, in the presence of so many, and even then when the holy scriptures were in handling, have spoken so filthily as it is a shame to name, or so blasphemously of the holy Bible, calling it often times, and that aloude, bible bable, as they did; nor 3 or 4 of them, in theire whispering speaches, actions, gestures, and countenances, have at that time, and duringe that holy action, carried themselves so wonderfull vainly as they did; and John Starchy sometimes (as we have heard) in biting or snatching at every one that was neare him, throwing what came to his hand at whomsoever, shewed himselfe therein for the present to be mad. Heere we may remember to the same end, the monstrous blasphemy of Somers, and his strange and unnaturall uncleannes, especially in acting the sin of whordome in that manner he did, and that in the presence of so many; also his filthy and abhominable carriage of himself with a bitch before divers, which he did after his repossession. Hither also refer the violence he did to his owne body, and the light behaviour he used in the begining of his possession, in dancinge, laughing, &c., whereupon he was suspected to bee out of his wittes.

Mark. 5. 15. Luk. 8. 35.

Luk. 8. 27. Math. 8. 29. Mark. 5. 7.

Mark. 1. 24. Luk. 4. 24.

Here (after the example of the scripture) I ascribe that to the possessed, which of right belongeth to Satan the possessor. These wordes are not set doun in the storie, but are notwithstanding, most true.

Finally, it is hereby evident, that neither they, Darling, nor Katheryn Wright, had in theire fits their understanding, because they knew not what they said or did, nor what was said or done by others. Indeede, out of their fits, those which are possessed have the right use of theire mindes, but in and during the same, they are altogither ordinarily deprived thereof, as hath bene shewed. If it be said that these actions and speches came from the divels within them, I answer, that that is most true; yet forasmuch as it seemed to men otherwise, and so they seemed to be out of their right mindes, therupon they are said so to be.

The second, conscerning the externall sences, and, namely, that of feeling, may be gathered likewise out of the aforesaid scripture, in that the man which had an uncleane spirrit, is reported "to have stroken himselfe with stones," which, if he had had his feeling, he would never have done, especially in that violent manner that he did; so it was with the above-named 10 persons, and thereof triall was oft made in Somers, and as otherwise, so by pricking of pins, whereat he never stirred, though a pin, being somewhat great and crooked, was thrust up to the head: and in Th. Darling this was manifest above any, in that in his fits his shoulder bones, and other bones of his armes (to the sight and feeling of others) were thrust out of their joincts and in againe, he not complaining thereof. As touching the other outwarde sences, seeing, hearing, &c. it is not indede manifest by the scriptures, that they which had uncleane spirits were in their fits deprived of them; yet, from thence it may well be conjectured so to have bene. For, seing som were altogither blind and deafe through the divel within

Mark 5. 5.

them, causing the same, and generally were deprived of their inward sences, and that of outward feeling; why may we not in all probability imagine, that they were without the use of these other sences also? And as touching our demoniaks, they in their fits nether heard nor saw (though their eyes were open) as themselves reported. Further and more certaine knowledge herein we cannot have, neither neede wee desire, considering the number of persons reporting this, also that sundrie of them were far distant one from another, dwelling in severall shires, and almost all of them children.

15. They utter such speaches as most fitlie agree to an evill spirit, and savour not of the spirit of man. Math. 8. 29. 31. Mark i. 24 and 5. 7. Luke 8. 28.

The 15. signe of Sathans possessing is, when such speaches ure uttered by the mouth of one, as savoure not of the spirit of man, but most fitly agree to a wicked spirit. Thus we reade in the gospell, that the possessed, when they sawe Christ, began to cry out, saying, "Jesus, the Sonne of the Most High God, what have wee to doe with thee? art thou come hither to torment us before the time? art thou come to destroy us? I charge thee by God that thou torment mee not." Hither apperteyneth that answer that his name was Legion, and that request, that "if he cast them out, he would suffer them to enter into the herd of swine." For we cannot doubte but that those speaches were uttered after the same manner the former were, that is, by the mouthes of the parties possessed, and it is plaine by Luke. 8. 30. After this manner M. Hardman said a little before the spirits egresse, "I am hot, I must goe, I must away, I cannot tarry, whither shall I goe? I will not dye." In like manner Somers, or rather the divell in him, said, that he was god, meaning percase the god of this world, that he was the prince of darknes, that he was sometimes in heaven: and when he caused that lump or swelling in his eye, or toe, "I will goe out at his eye, I'le goe out at his toe". And upon Saterday at night before his dispossession, in the time of prayer, "I must be gon;" with many more speaches, as appeareth before. The like hereto he did also upon his repossession, but specially upon the 20. day of February, 1597, which was about 4 dayes after he was repossessed, when lying in a trance, he uttered many sententious speaches of this kinde, which were written from his mouth in the presence of diverse persons of good credit. For instance and a taste these. "I baited my hooke often, and at last I catcht him. Heere I was before, and heere I am againe, and heere I must stay, though it be but for a short time. I leade them to drinck, carouse, and quaffe, I make them to sweare. I have leave given mee to doe what I will for a time. What is wightier then a king in his owne land? A king I am in whome I raigne, heere I am king for a time." In like sort Darling, upon the day of his dispossession. uttered wordes of this kind with his mouth wide open: "Brother Radulphus, I will goe to my maister, Belzebub, and he shall double there tongues;" and againe, "let us goe out of him and enter into some of these heere:" with diverse others, as appeareth by the history of him in print; many such like speaches also I well remember by Ka. Wright.

The speaches which Somers uttered after his repossession, or rather the devill in him.

Darling his speaches or the devill in him.

16. They offer violence to thire owne bodies.

The 16. signe of possession is, when men offer violence to theire owne bodies; so in the 5. of Marke, it is saide of the man which had an uncleane spirit, that "he did strike himself with stones:" The divell indeede was the striker, and the man a meere patient, but because it was done by his owne hand, and so seemed to doe it himself, therefore it is ascribed unto him. And thus many times those things are attributed to the possessed, which were indeede done by Sathan the possessor. And in like sorte have I my selfe often done in this treatise.

According to this, we have heard before of Somers, who, howsoever, he did not strike himselfe with stones, yet did he beate his heade, and that with great violence, against the ground or floare of the house, and against the bedsted, and throwe himselfe against the wals.

17. Not hurt by all their tormentes.

The 17. signe of one possessed is, that he is not hurt by all the violence that the divell doth to his body, nor all the torments that he putteth him unto, so as (notwith-

standing all his rage and crueltie) not a bone of the possessed (as I may say) is broken. This appeareth by the 4. of Luke, where, when Christe had commaunded the divell to come out of the man possessed, it is said, that "then the divell throwing him in the middest of them, came out of him, and hurte him nothinge at all." Luke 4. 35.

It is as much as if it had bene saide, the divell, uppon Christes commaundement to goe forth of the man, cast him violently and head-longe among the people, and there rent him sore and extreamelie tormented him, so as one woulde have thought he had utterly spoiled the man, or at least greatlie hurte him, (which appeareth also by the firste of Marke, where the same story beinge reported, it is saide that the uncleane spirit tare him) but saith the Evangeliste Luke, it proved not soe: for, notwithstanding the divells rage, and all the torments he put him to, yet "he hurte him nothinge at all." Even soe it was with these. Tormented they were moste grevously, especially at, and a little before the egresse of the sprites. Somers also did offer great violence to his body, beating his heade and face, (sometimes a quarter of an houre togither) to the grounde or bedsteade, as is before saide, so a one would have thought he shoulde have bruised himselfe greatly, and yet had he no hurte at all, or any of the other, by the like grevous torments they indured.[1] The same is as true of Kath. Wright and Tho. Darling, which latter had in his fitts his armes and shoulder boanes thruste out of their joinctes, and set in againe; and yet hereby was made never a whit lesse unable to use them than before. As strange also is that which is deposed concerning Somers, that he was not burnt, though some bare partes of his bodie laye in the hott fier.

The reason hereof I take to be this, that Sathan having leave from God to enter into man, hath not with all leave, or is forbidden to hurt him; for otherwise it were not possible, his nature considered, but that he shoulde greatlie harme him. And yet notwithstandinge this prohibition of the Lordes, he will be attemptinge to spoile or hurte those he possesseth, though he cannot or dare not doe it, because by nature hee is inclined thereunto. For every creature, (as well invisible as visible) is as it were violentlie carried to doe accordinge to his owne nature and kinde. In the manifoulde vexations of Sathan therefore, and manner of usinge them he possesseth, we maye, as in a glasse behold, the mallice, rage, cruelty, and unsatiable desire of the divell, as a roaring lion, to devour and destroy man. And in his restraint from hurting or not performing it (notwithstanding his great and manifold offers that way,) we may se, as the power of God over thes principalities and powers, I meane the divils, and the awe and subjection they are in unto the Lord, as well as the least or weakest of his creatures, so the great mercie of God towards man, remembring mercie even in judgement. And here this is worthy the observing, that howsoever, they which are possessed receive no hurt at all by that which the spirit doth, though it be never so much, and never so fearfull to behold, but are as well (notwithstanding the same) after their fits as before: Yet if any man doe but wrest or straine their little finger, which is as nothinge in respect of that is done by the spirit, though for the present they complaine not thereof, as being then without feeling, yet after the fit they doe; and this was often seene in Somers.

Hereunto we may add for the 18. signe of possession, extraordinary and supernaturall strength. This is evident by the 5. of Marke, where it is said of one possessed, that "no man could binde him, no not with chaines:" that "being often bound with 18. Extraordinarie and supernaturall strength.

[1] The poor apologist seems to have been unconscious that this immunity, from the usual consequences of violent accidents, was inconsistent with his previous doctrine, that the devil, by throwing the possessed into fire or water, meant to take away their lives. Still less was he capable of perceiving that Somers, in the middle of all his violent gesticulations, took as much care of his own person as could well be imagined.

fetters and chaines, he plucked the chaines asunder, and brake the fetters in pieces, neither could anie man tame him." And by the 19. of the Actes, where the man possessed " overcame and wounded 7. men." After this manner it was with these wee speake of: their strength was extraordinary and supernaturall, insomuch as two or three strong men could scarcely hold one child of the age of 10. or 11. yeares; but specially this was seene in Somers, who in soudry of his fits did shew such strength, as somtimes 3. 4. or 5., sometimes 6. or 7. men, though they had great advantage of him, (as bound to a chair, or lying upon a bed) could scarcely rule him, and though they laboured hard that they swet therewith, yet he was not perceived to pant or blowe, no more then if he had not strained his strength nor strugled at all, as is deposed. The like strength was perceived to be in Darling, as is noted in the printed booke. Who being a boy of 13. yeares of age, was of that strength that 2. stronge men could not hould him downe or rule him. Of such extraordinary and supernaturall strength also was Kath. Wright. True it is that there is greate difference betwixt his strength mentioned Marke 5. and the strength these shewed; and no marvaile. For the man their mentioned was possessed with a legion of divells, and each of them with one onely, (as I suppose,) no marvell then, though his strength, and his rage and fury exceeded theirs. And hence I take it to be, that of all those mentioned in the gospell to have bene possessed, we reade not of one that was of like strength and rage with him or them possest with a legion. For besides that already hath bene saide of their exceeding great strength and unrulines, it is recorded by S. Mathew, that they were " very feirce, that no man might go by that way."

Verses 3. 4. Luk. 8. 29.

Math. 8. 28.

19. Powre of supernaturall knowledge.

The last signe of possession, that in the holy scriptures I observe, is extraordinary and supernaturall knowledge; which appeareth by the 5. of S. Marke, where one that was possessed, as sone as he sawe Jesus a farr off, said of him, that he was " the sonne of the most high God." Now if we consider that this man had neither heard of Jesus, his doctrin, miracles, nor seene his person at any time before, as may appeare by this, that he was not onlie a Gadaren, but had besides, " his abidinge among the graves, and in the mountaines," and not amongste men; and consider also that he was not in his right minde; and third that he had " had devils a long time," as St. Luke noteth: we cannot but see and confese, that this knowledge or acknowledgement of our blessed Saviour was supernaturall. This is further confirmed by the 16. of the Acts, where it is not only said of a certaine maid of Philippi which was possessed, that " she followed Paul and Silas crying and saying, these men are the servants of the most high God, which shew unto us the way of salvation." But that which for this purpose is much more, that " she had a spirit of divination," so as she could divine and foretell some thinges to come, wherby " she got her master much vantage." Such supernaturall knowledge, as well as strength, have all those had, whom I affirme to have bene possessed with uncleane spirites. For hence it came to passe that those in Lancashire foretold their fits, the number, manner, and continuance of them. John Star could tell whether it was cleane water they brought him; and two other of them, having their eyes closed and their faces from the glase, tould directly when the sand in the hower glasse was rune out; and thus hower after hower. As for Th. Darling, his supernaturall knowledge plainlie appeared by the booke written of him; and touching Kath. Wright, I saye this as in the presence of God, that she tould me of diverse thinges which no earthlie creature knewe besids myselfe. Also I sent Th. Wright her brother, 2. miles off, to one M. John Beresford, and she declared what he said to the said messenger before he returned: and the daye after, I going from her with the said gentleman, and leaving her with many about her, at my returne she tould some of the speaches which had secretlie in the feildes passed betwene us. But this super-

Verse 6. 7.

Verse 3. 5. 15. Luk. 8. 27.

Verse 16. 17.

naturall knowledge was most manifest in Somers, who tould of sundrie thinges which were done and spoken diverse miles of him, and that at or about the same instant they fell out; and to diverse strangers comming unto him he made knowne such secrets, as therat both they and others, upon the acknowledgement of the truth thereof, wondred greatly. From hence likewise it came, that divin like (save that he intermingled one or two errors) he continued his speach in expounding the creed for an howere togeather, and sometimes also speake of other misteris. Hence also it was that he did divine and foretel things to come. For shortly after his repossession, in a trance he uttered these words: "I must goe to St Jones, as St Jones Darrell must not come, nor never a blacke coate of them all; it is as I would have it, they are mine enimies. At the sies I must be, before the judges, the judges must see." Somers, 3. or 4. daies after he spake these thinges, among many more (whereof some are set downe before, which all were written from his mouth in the presence of divers credible persons) was accordingly carried from his fathers house, where he then was, to S. Jones, whither neither my selfe, nor yet any in the ministery, who would have rebuked him sharply, (when once that was perceived) might be admitted to come unto him. And at the assises, which was about 7. weekes after, he was sent for before the judges, wher my Lorde Anderson and the other judge did see him indeede in a deluding fitt. Now it is almost an odious thing to dreame of any deceipt in these predictions of Somers, consideringe they were magistrates which had a cheif hand in these thinges, and were the causes of them; for the two first of these, viz. the removinge of him to S. Jones, forcibly against his fathers will, and the denying of the ministers to come and see him, were done by the maior and some of the aldermen of Nottingham, and the last by a judge of assise.

A bridwell house.

Note this word, how fitlie the divill can speake, he telleth not what the judges shall see.

This was done by the maior and aldermen, under pretence to find out Somers counterfeiting, which as he kept secret to them, so no man did ever dreame of any such thing, until they going about it, it did appeare.

Heere wee must remember, that as they which are possest are not themselves of any extraordinary and supernaturall strength, so neither have they themselves any such knowledge indeede, but only seeme so to have. For whatsoever they utter tending thereunto, commeth meerly from the spirits within them, using their instruments of speach, and not at all from the parties possessed; who, when they are come to themselves, have no such knowledge, neither knowe any such thinge as before they uttered.

Besides these tokens or signes which holy scriptures giveth, whereby wee may knowe and discerne of one possessed with the divell, I have in experience seene these, 1. That the divell doth mightely molest and afflict them whome he possesseth by sights and visions, (for the most part fearfull) appearing in the likenes of a cat, beare, dog, dragon, lyon, flames of fire, and such like fearefull creatures; whereof you may at large reade both in the narration before, and in the history of Thomas Darling. This was common to all the 10. possessed persons above-named. 2. That they have by fits on the suddaine, a greate swelling in the body and stirring or moving of the intrals within the body. This also was seene in all those 10. persons. And this the King of Scots setteth downe for one symptome of the possessed, terming it very aptly the holding up of the patients brest and belly with an unnaturall sturring and vehement agitation within them. 3. That in some fits the partes of the body possessed, as arme or legg, now one, forthwith an other, and sometimes the whole body are inflexible, and withall as heavy as so much iron. And this the King of Scots most excellently describeth in these wordes: an ironie hardnes of his sinows so stiflie bended out, that it were not possible to prick out as it were the skine of any other person so farr. 4. That howsoever they are so miserablie vexed by Satan, as they beholderes would judge them to be in most extreame and intollerable paines, yet they feele noe payne at all. Yet I doubt not but that Satan can soe order the matter as that the possessed shall have paine, when he shall see it serve for his purpose, and this hath bene sene in some.

Certaine signes which my selfe have observed in experience.

1. Gustfull sights and fearfull paritiones.

2. Sudden swelling.

3. Flexiblenes and weight of the body, or members thereof king of Scots Demonologie, books 3 and 4.

4. Senslesness or wantof feeling.

of our demoniakes: for, when the divill in Jane Ashton went about to make her lye by, pretending that she was dispossessed, to that end in her fits he put her to extreame payne; and Marg. Byrom felt usually every great paine. I remember also that Somers, shortly after his repossession, and a little before he made that curssed and lyinge confession of counterfeiting, groned most pittifully in sundry fits, and when they were ended, and he com to himselfe, said, that in them he felt extreame paine, which it may be the spirit therefore did, therby to drawe him to make the aforesaid confession, which beinge made, his fits ended, and therewith the grevous paines he had before indured. In like sorte, when one tooke in hand to heale Darling, and applied something to his legges, he felt then a pricking which put him to great paine. Thus then it may be, somtimes and in some fits; but I take it that ordinarily he which is possest feleth noe paine in his fits. Hereunto we maye add, the running swelling which was so often sene and felt in Somers, which Thyreus the Jesuit also witnesseth to have bene seene in persons possessed. 5. Strang and unnaturall voices, like to a bull, beare, swine. 6. The fearfull disfiguring of the face: which have likewise in experience bene observed in others that have ben possest. 7. Also the speaking without the instruments of speach, the mouth being wid open, as did both Somers and Darling, with sundrie such strang and supernaturall accidents, whereof we have hard before.

Thyreus de Demoniacis, chap. 3. sect. 2, et chap. 10 sect. 6.

5. Strange voices.

6. Disfiguring of the face.

Thyreus de demon. cap. 3, sect. 2. et cap. 25. sect. 2, 3.

Speakinge, the mouth beinge wide open.

Thus we have sene, 1. How and after what maner the possesed in the tim of Christ Jesus and his apostles, even thos of whom the Holy Ghost saith were possessed, were handled or vexed by sathan. 2. These persons we speake of were handled or vexed just after the same manner: what leteth them that thes should not be possessed with divils as well as they? for, seeing the like or the same effects were found in both, why should not the like or the same cause from whence these strang effects (we have heard of) proceded, be in both? Imagine 2 sicke persons to be handled alike: the one hath such a paine in his head, the other hath the like: one complaineth of a paine in his backe, the other of the very same in his: this is paned thus, and thus in his belly, in his left side, in his armes, legs, feete, and other even so: they are within of an extreame heat like fire, and it either of them outwardlye quakinge with cold: theire urines are alike, their pulses they beate a lyke: who wyll not saye, that these two have the same disease? and that, if it be certaine that the one of them hath such a siknes, there is no doubt but the other hath also the same; because it cannot be, neyther was it ever seene, that in such a consent of effects, so many I meane, there should be such a dissent in the causes; why then should it not be so heere? and why may we not infer and conclude so in this our present case? Those mentioned in the gospell, on the sudden and by fits, were grevously vexed, cryed, gnashed their teeth, wallowed, fomed, were thrown into the fyre, were feirce and cruell, offering much vyolence to themselves and others, out of theire right minds, uttering dyabolicall speaches, of extraordinary and supernaturall strength, and of supernaturall knowledge. And after the same manner were all the 10 persons, spoken of before, handled, as hath been shewed, and specially William Somers; but the former were possessed with the divell: why then shall not we affirme, that the latter were possessed otherwise? Touching the former, it is certaine, that all the vexation, inward and outwarde, their crying, gnashing their teeth, foming, wallowing, casting into the fier, the dyabolicall speaches they uttered; their supernaturall strength and knowledge, with the rest of those thinges we have heard of, came from the divel, not being without but within them: why now should not we thinke that the crying and scriking, gnashing, foming, wallowing, casting into the fyre, the diabolicall speaches, supernaturall strength and knowledge, which were in Somers and the other persons, came not only from the divell, (whereof there is no question or doubt at all) but from him being within them? yea how can we otherwise thinke, or how can it otherwise possibly be, except these

effects (all or most of them) might procede from some other cause, the which I have heretofore shewed cannot be?[1]

In naturall diseases and in other cases, we reason from the effects to the cause, and gather or conclude the cause by the effects; neyther doth it at any time deceave us, though it may be sometimes we deceive ourselves. The phisitian, if he perceive in his patient that he hath a cough, stitch, and that his sickness began with an ague, knoweth thereby, as by signes or effects, that he hath the plurisy; in case we see one every other day quivering and shakeing for cold, presently and truely wee say, he hath a tertian; and who is so simple, that when he seeth smoake ascendinge up out of a chymney, knoweth not that there is a fyre? Why then should we doubt when in the strange handling and torments of a man (such as have bene described) we se (as I may say) the smoake of a spirit, that is, the operationes and effects of an evill spirit, but that there is in that man a wicked spirit? is there any disease of the body wherein men are so handled as these persons were? must it not needes then be some supernaturall disease? and other then this it hath bene shewed (I trust) in the begininge it can not be.

Our physitianes, if they have the pulse, urine, and two or three other signes of a disease, straightwaies they affirme it is such a disease, and we beleve them, though they receive their skill from the wrytings of men which are subject to error: how much more ought we to beleve that the aforesaid 10. persons were sicke of the disease wee treat of, to wit, possest with divels, seing we have not 3. or 4. but so many signes thereof,

[1] To those who might be moved by the extraordinary appearance of the convulsion *fits*, here so often founded upon, Dr Hutchinson directs the following very sensible observations:

"*Clergyman.* Therefore we have a great many other matters to consider of: one is the great addition that will be made to the strangeness of such cases, if the persons themselves give their minds to do those things that will increase the wonder. There are few under such kind of afflictions, but do it a little: for people naturally delight to make things strange and marvellous, that those that see them may have the pleasure of wondering, and they themselves may be admired or pitied: But too many go a great way farther, even to a wicked management of their own distempers, and counterfeiting symptoms that their diseases did not occasion.

"*Juryman.* Sure none can be so desperately wicked, as to add counterfeit tricks to a real distemper, that puts them into pain and danger. It is hardly charitable to think that.

"*Clerg.* Virtuous persons, who judge of others by themselves, can never imagine what wicked wretches, or humoursome people, or those that are secretly encouraged and managed by others, will do. And therefore, as strange as this seems, Mahomet did it, and the Maid of Kent, and in all probability, the Surrey impostor, and other, as you will find afterwards in some following narrations. There was a work of nature, an odd distemper for the foundation; and upon that they grafted such practices as deceived great multitudes. For though a distemper at first be surprizing, and puts the afflicted persons beyond their thoughts of tricking, yet a little time makes them familiar with their own calamity; and when they find themselves come safe out of strange fits, and begin to have the use of their thoughts, while they are in them, and hear what judgments are made of their case; they manage their calamity to the serving their own interest, or party, or passion, or humour: and when some cunning fellow, who hath a body fit for it, falls into this wicked way, it is hardly to be believed, how they can distort their own bodies.

"And here, though I shall mention many instances that will be thought strange by those pious persons who have had their minds upon better things than the tricks of such rascals, yet I will name none but such as I have either read in sober authors, or heard from very good hands. It is common then with such, that by long holding their breath, they can throw themselves into real fits when they will. By often moving and stretching the skin of their heads, if the hair be short, they can make it stand upright like an angry dog; and then they will bark, and snarl, and run upon all four, as if they were changed into mastives. They can turn their eyes inward, swallow their tongues, foam at the mouth, and put their own arms, or legs, or backbones out of joint. They can huff up their bellies, that they may seem much swelled; and at other times they can suck up their breath and draw in their guts, till the by-standers may feel the backbone."—HUTCHINSON *on Witchcraft*, 1720. p. 7.

To these just remarks it may be added, that those who counterfeited these signs of possession, were usually children of an age too young to comprehend the enormous guilt of their imposture, yet old enough to be gratified by the universal attention which it procured them, as well as by the indolent and lazy life which was substituted instead of school tasks or hard labour.

and those not taken out of the bookes of men, which may, yea often do erre and deceive, but out of the booke of God, the word of truth.

And here this I affirme, that the Spirit of God in discribing at large the manner of their handling and vexation by Sathan, who were possessed in Christ's time according to that we have heard, doth not sett it downe only as a matter of fact, but in reporting the same did, besides, thereby purpose (as I conceive) to give a rule, and leave a direction to his church, whereby to discerne of possession in the time to come, to the end of the world; implying therein thus much, that when we shall see one handled after the same manner, that thereby wee learne, and from thence gather, that the said party is possessed with an uncleane spirit; and for confirmation hereof serveth excellently the queston of Christe to the father of the possessed child, after he had seene his sone in one of his fits; "how long time is it since he hath bene thus?" for it is as if he had said, indeed thou saist true, thy child hath an evill spirit in hym, for whosoever is thus handled hath the divel in hym, causing the same: but how long hath he bene possessed? where we see that, instead of askynge the father, "how long time hys sonne had bene possesed?" he saith "thus handled," secretly teaching us that they which are handled after that manner there mentioned, are possessed. Againe, if it be so that Christ Jesus hath left a medicine for the curing of this supernaturall disease, that is, a meanes for the casting of Sathan out of those he possesseth, and the same perpetuall as (I hope) is hereafter made manifest; who can doubt but that the Lorde Jesus hath left some direction for the discerning of this disease. Now all men will confesse he hath left none other; it must nedes therefore be, that he did it in setting downe the manifould effects and operations of the divell, which being in men he sendeth forth, from whence he would have us (being reasonable creatures) when we shall see the same effects in any, to gather and assure ourselves that there is the very same cause, viz. an unclean spirit in the party so afflicted.

Mark 9, 21.

That which many object heere, forasmuch as Thyreus hath donne it effectually as he supposeth, I will produce that which he saith instead of all, who although I doubt not but if he understood how it was with our demonyacks, as well as the papists among us doe, he would say with them, that there is no question but they were possest, yet because in his booke of Demonaiks, which he hath very latly set forth, and is in the handes of many, he saith somthing against this first reason of mine, and the certainty and sufficiency of the aforesaid signes which I have gathered out of the gospell; I will therefore labour to answer him, and weaken that hee objecteth, that so my aforesaid reason may styll stand and remayne in his full strength, and therewithall I will say somthing of the signes which the papists principally rely upon and trust unto for the discerning of their possessed.

Thyreus de Dœmonacis, cap. 2. sect. 15.

His words be these following: "*Addo quod nec ipsa signa, &c.*" I adde, "that neither the very signes which are found in those possessed, of whom the gospell maketh mention, are certain and sufficient tokens of men possessed, some of them blynd, some deafe, others dumbe, some of them were cruell to themselves, some to others; they seemed to be the workes of such as wer possessed, but they were not the signes of possessed persons; unless per adventure we will have all that be blynd, dumbe, and deafe, and also all feirce and cruell men to be possessed." And in the 25. chap. having spoken newly before of the exceedinge great strength of posessed persons, even such as passeth all humane strength, and of their casting into fyre and water; he saith of them, that they be not *certa et indubita signa*, "certaine and undoubtfull signes," his reason is, *Quoniam non dæmones tantum, verum etiam præter dæmonoes, alios authores et causes habere possunt:* "because these things and signes may have not only the divels, but also besides the divels some other authors and causes," which he further confirmeth by examples, as of Maximinus the emperor, and Junius, whoe were of extraordinary and supernaturall strength, as he sheweth there at large: *non tamen* (saith he) *pro obsessis habiti sunt:*

Sect. 9.

" and yet notwythstanding they were not held to be possessed." Thus we se Thyreus flatly denyeth, and argueth against that which hath bene so much insisted upon and pressed by mee.

To passe by that absurdity of his, where graunting these thinges to be the workes of the possessed, that is, of Sathen possessing, he yet denyeth them to be signes thereof; as though the severall operations of Sathan in any were not so many severall signes of his inhabyting the same person, or the proper effect was not alwayes a signe of the cause, which seemeth to be his first reason. As appeareth by his 26th chap. sect. 11.

To passe by that, I say let us come to the main reason he useth against the signes mentioned in the gospell, wherupon onlye as the foundation my former reason whereby I endevor to prove Somers, the 7. at Lancashyre, and the other two, were possessed, resteth and is buylt. Against which argument of myne for proofe of theire possession, thus out of Thyreus it maye be objected: the evangelicall signes whereupon I ground and infer the possession I contend for, are not certaine, sufficient, and undoubted signes of men possessed with Sathen, and therefore, notwithstanding the said signes were seene and knowne to be in Somers and the rest, it may well be that they were not possessed: that the evangelicall signes are not such, Thyreus proveth thus: yf to be blynde, dumbe, deafe, to be feirce and cruell towardes himselfe and others, to gnash the teth, fome, to be of supernaturall strength, and so of the other signes, be certaine and sufficient signes of Sathen his possessinge of man, then all that be blynde, dumbe, deafe, be feirce and cruell towards themselves and others, or gnash the teeth, or foame, or be of supernaturall strength, and so of the other signes, are possessed with Sathen; but that is most falce, therfore the other also.

To the proposition, or first part of this reason, I answer, that to be blynde, or to be dumbe, or deafe, or to be feirce and cruell towards himselfe and others, &c. without any further trouble or vexation, is no token of possession; but if any of these meete with other signes of this supernaturall disease, it greatly confirmeth the same unto us, and is a good signe thereof. As for instance, of foming, when foming is alone and severed from other markes, it is no signe of one possessed; for in the falling sickness a man fometh and yet hath not an uncleane spirit in him; but let it meete in the same person, with divers other tokens of one possessed, though not all, so as the same man which fometh doe also gnashe his teeth, wallowe, be caste unto the fyre, be of supernaturall strength and knowledge, then, and in such case (I say) it is a very significant signe thereof; and this may be made playn by the like. An ague, cough, and stich, are the signes of a plurisy; seaver these so as a man hath only one of them, and that which of them soever it is, can give no assurance to the sick person or phisitian of the plurisy; but let them concure and mete togither and they signifie that, and as it were proclayme him to be sick of the saide disease; even soe it is in this case, if Thyreus had said that no one of the signes mentioned in the gospell was a certain and sufficient token or argument of possession, I, for my part, woulde have subscribed unto him; but to say as he doth, indefinittely, and in the plurall number, that the signes there spoken of are not certayne and sufficient signes of Sathan his possessinge, I hould it to be moste false and derogating to the honor and high estimation and accounte we should have of God's sacred word. For shall the signes, or any of the signes given by men in their writings of this or that disease, be certain and sufficient signes, and the signes given by the Lord himselfe in his holy writings of this supernaturall disease, or of any other thinge, be uncertaine and insufficient? or shall the signes given by you papists of on possest, forged out of your owne braine, and set downe in your bookes, be undoubted, certain and suffitient, as you affirme; and the signes given by God himselfe thereof, and set downe in his booke be uncertain and unsufficient? O monstrous impiety! is not the Lord Jesus (trowe we) much beholding to this Jesuite, in this doctrin of possession, as he is to the rest of that generation in all their other doctrins? who placeth Thyreus chap. 6. sect. 4, and 9.

the signes which Christ Jesus hath given in his holy word of one possessed among those which are uncertaine and doubtfull signes, as appeareth further by the title of his 22. chap. yea among those which are not true signes, although they be so accounted by some. For marke what his words be in the begining of this said chapter: *Rejiciemus hoc loco primum illa, quæ, &c.* "we will first speke in this place of those which are not true signes of men possest, although they be held for true signes of some;" (in the conclusion of which chapter he useth the wordes before, concerning the evangelical signes) "then afterwards we wil asigne those which truely prove divels to be in men." But what are those which are such true and infallable signes, wherwith the signes set downe in the gospell are not to be compared? Forsoth these, "If they refuse to call upon the name of the Lord, or any of the saints, to pronounce the name of Jesus, to rehearse a psalme or some godlye prayer, or yf they tremble or quake for feare, break forth unto clamours, or outcryes, become impatient, blaspheame, and make shew to doe vyolence unto themselves, when the reliques of saints are applyed unto them, or an Agnis Dei is applyed, or besigned on the forehead with the signe of the crosse, or sprinckled with holy water, or have the most holy body of Christ given unto them in the sacrament of the Eucharist, or shall have thes words whispered into their eare in a strange tongue, which they understand not: *Deum qui te genuit derelinquisti, et oblitus es Domini Creatoris tui,* thou hast forsaken God which made thee, and hast forsaken the Lord, thy Creator. Finally, if they cannot abide the charges given in the exorcisms, or at least most ympatiently indure them. Whereunto, after he addeth the touchyng of holy men, *his* (saith the Jesuite) *et similibus signis demones prodi dubium nullum est,* that the devils by these and such like signes are descryed or knowne to be in men, there is no doubt; and this he goeth about to confirme, partly by examples, and partly by reason, which consisteth of two parts. This (quoth he) is manifest, if we consider first, *hæc ipsis invisa et molesta esse, dæmones illo ferre non posse,* that these things ar hatefull and grevous unto the devils, and that they are not able to abid them. Secondly, *non posse fieri, &c.* that it cannot be that either a Christian man should tremble, when these things are used, or show himself troubled, yf he be commanded to use them religiously, or to rehearse certaine praiers. And a little after, *ut vero homines hæc horreant, quis credat? horrebit forsitan Christianus homo, si psalmum Miserere, vel dicat, vel dici audiat, &c.* That men should be afrayd of these things, who can beleeve? Will a Christian man tremble, yf he either say the psalme (called) Miserere, or heare it said? yf he rehearse the Lords prayer, or any other that is godly? yf he see or touch reliques of the saints? yf in his presence exorcisms be read? yf to the devil it be objected, that he hath forsaken God his Creator, when therfore the possessed tremble at those things, when they reprove them of lyinge, which use and apply them: *Quis dubitabit* (saith he) *quin trepidatio, et quæ mox audiuntur blasphemiæ, latentes dæmones prodant?* Who will doubt but that the trembling and blasphemyes which are heard, do bewray the devils lying hid in men? Hence it came that one Palin of Tomworth, in the county of Warwick, a recusant, came to Somers at Nottingham, and laid in his hand a purse, with an Agnis Dei and reliques in it, to discover Sathan thereby, (whereat indeed Somers began to be somwhat troubled, such is the subtlety of Sathan to kepe the papists in their blindnes,) wherupon this recusant being apprehended, confessed his intent, who, for the reliques found about him, was indeed committed by the magistrate to the sheriffs house; but after a fewe dayes, the matter was so ordered, that the papist went quietli home again, or to those who had sent him to do that worthy service; wherin the devil for his parte was not wanting, so to entertayne and welcomme him, as mighte make most for his advantage[z].

Thyreus, chap. 2.

Popish signes of possession, Thyreus, chap. 6. sect. 1, 3.

[z] Darrell had little charity in claiming for himself the merit of subduing the foul fiend, and yet contending that the obedience he shewed to the exorcisms and reliques of the papists, was only a mark of his subtlety, to gain credence to their cause. There are few things more ludicrous than the *rixa de lana caprina.*

But to returne to Thyreus, againste whome and all papistes, touchinge these feigned signes of theirs, I argue thus: If these be certaine and undoubted signes of possession, then it is not possible but that all such shal be possest, in whomsoever all these signes may or shall be found; but all these may be in one that is not possest; therefore are not certain and undoubted signes of possession. The proposition or firste parte of this reason cannot be denyed; and the truth of the assumption (or second part of this argument) appeareth by this, that all these signes of theirs may be counterfeyted, and donne in dissimulation, by whomsoever will feigne himself to be possest with the divell, as Somers saith he hath done. For howsoever Somers could not easily by counterfeyting, fome, wallowe, &c. especially in so greate measure, and that manner we have heard, nor yet possibly be of such extraordinary and supernaturall strength and knowledge, as he was: whereupon we forbeare not to say, but most confidently avouching, that it is ympossible for him to be a counterfeyte, and for the signes of possession, given us by the Holye Ghost in the gospell, to be disembled or to be donne by arte of man, or human power; yet we fear not to affirme, yea yourselves will scarcely deny, but that he might feigne, and in deepe dissimulation doe, all those you give for certain and undoubted signes of one possessed. For who seeth not that it were no harde thinge for him or any other that would attempt such an impiety, but moste easy, to abstayne and refuse to invocate the name of God, or some of the saints, to pronounce the name of Jesus, to rehearse a psalme, or some godly prayer, to shake and tremble as it were for feare, to be ympatient (in shew), to blaspheme, when reliques are applyed unto them, or an *Agnis Dei*, or be signed with the signe of the cross or sprinckled with holy water, and to shew or carry ones selfe accordinge to all the other signes whereof we have hearde. Seing then all these signes may fall into a counterfeyte, who is one not possessed, but faininge so to be, it followeth therefore necessarily, that these signes of the papists are not only uncertaine and doubtfull signes, but lying also and deceivable signes, as like as may be to the authors of them.

That the Popish signes of possession be not certaine and undoubted signes, but maye be counterfeited.

Againe, if these be certaine, sufficient, and undoubted signes of possession, then may one certainly discerne Sathan his possessing one, without any helpe or direction from the scriptures, for none of these are mentioned there; but without helpe and direction from the scripture we cannot certainly know when Sathan possesseth one: therefore these are not such signes as is affirmed. For who can assure us that the divel is in such a man really, if the Lord himself by his word doth it not? Cannot the devill deceave us by his cunning and subtlety, and make us beleve that he is in man when he is without him, by molestinge him by some externall operation of his, if the Lord permit him so to doe? or is any mortall man of himselfe, without any helpe and direction from God (which he giveth in his word) able to match the subtle serpent, so as he shall not be able to deceive him? So it shoulde seeme by the papists, and the signes they give out of theire owne brayne. How then is it saide that Sathan by his subtlety deceyveth all the world? And who that hath an eye to see with, seeth not, how heerein the devour deceaveth them mightely? making them beleve, that he cannot abide, but is tormented with their foolish, ridiculous, and superstitious toys, as theire consecrated or hallowed thinges, holy bread, holy water, hallowed oyle, hallowed brimestone burned in the fire, &c. holy reliques, an *Agnis Dei*, and, above all, the signing of them with the signe of the crosse, whereby the divels are not only discovered, but also (which is more) cast out of men, as the Jesuit teacheth his schollers at larg throuhout his twenty-fourth chapter, whereof that is the tytle and argument. If the divell can so ill away with a crosse, to let the rest goe, if, as Thyreus saith and alleageth, out of some, *Crux* be *timor dæmonum*, a crosse be the feare of the divels, and that, *timor et tremor cadunt super dæmones cum signum crucis viderint*, that the diveles feare and tremble when they behould the signe of the crosse; yea *quamvis nullo pietatis studio hæc crucis arma, &c.* although this weapon of the crosse be used with no care of godlynes, yet notwithstand-

Rev. 12. 9.

Sect. 7. That the devill is not afrayde at the signe of the crosse.

ing it will vex the divells, and greatly torment them: How cometh it to passe that conjurors in their conjurations use and make crosses, as appeareth by that is said before of Edmund Hartlaye the conjurer, who, in his conjuring and raising up of the devil, divided his circle into four partes, making a crosse at every devision? And how falleth it out, that the devils then shew themselves, and that they can abide and indure to be there present, in the presence and vew of so many crosses? It may be it is thus, that when the conjurers call upon and invocate the devils, having made first so many crosses, the devils dare not but come and present themselves, though, alas, in much feare and trembling. Whence cometh it also that conjurers have, aswell good store of crosses in theire bokes of conjuration, as of the papists in theire exorcismes? Surelye by that arte of theirs, which they learne and get out of their said bokes so becrossed, they attain, by vertue and store of the said crosses, some power and authority over the devils, which they after exercise over them, so that the papists onli have not power over the devils, as they affirm, wherof you shall heare hereafter. Here we may behold the just judgment of God upon them; who, because they will not receive and trust to the signes the Lord hath given in his word, which are the only certaine and sufficient signes to signify Sathan his possessing of men, such as whosoever trusteth unto them, and will be directed by them can not err or be deceived herein; such as, whomsoever they are, the same person is for certainty possessed, and such also as without which we cannot certainly knowe when Sathan possesseth man; therefore I say, because they will not beleve and receive these signes, the Lord sendeth them strong delusions, that they should beleve lying, foolish, and ridiculous signs, shewed forth or given by Sathan in all deceivablenes.

Merigus in fuga Dæmonum.

Thus have I sufficiently prooved, out of the word of God, the possession of the parties we intreate of, and discovered what is or may be objected against it. There besides some other reasons which may further confirme the same unto us: As first, in that they were delivered uppon the prayers and fastes which were used for that purpose, we may thereby bee the rather perswaded that they had evill spirits within them. Where we must remember that it was not thus once, but sundry times, not with one person alone, but with divers. Now, whence came it that such certaine and present deliverance came to the above-named parties, so afflicted as is aforesaide, upon the usinge of this saide meanes? Surely hence, because they being sicke of this supernaturall disease, I meane having uncleane spirits within them, had the supernaturall meadicine applied unto them, which God himselfe, for the cureinge theireof hath lefte and ordeained; which, beinge soe, it is no marveile though they were presentlie healed. For what meadicine is soe soveraigne, as that which is of the Lords owne appointment? Had they bene sicke of any other disease, and, namely, had they bene vexed by some outward operation of Sathan, as of necessity they must, if they were not possest, they had not undoubtedly all of them bene so presentlie delivered as they were.

For howsoever God hath appointed us to fast when we are in any affliction of body or minde, neither shall it be done in vaine; yet he hath no where promised that the same shall prosper to the delivering of us from the said affliction, as he hath in this case of possession, in particular and by name. "This kind (saith our Saviour,) goeth not out but by [illegible]r and fasting," therein secretly promising, that prayer and fasting being used, evill spirits doe and shall goe out. Againe, how came it to passe that we, in our prayers, instantly calling upon God, that he woulde be pleased to cast Sathan forth of them whoe lay so miserably vexed by the divell, before us, (that their bodies might not be receptacles for the uncleane spirits, but temples for the holy ghost to dwell in) that they were thereupon, and even then, delivered according to our requests and supplications so made, if they were not possessed?

Math. 17. 21.

These things considered, I se not how any can doubt or once call in question the possessed of these 7. in Lancashire, and of Will. Somers of Nottingham, as also of those other two we have spoken of by the way, to wit, Kath. Wright and Tho. Dar-

ling, unlesse he be either like unto Thomas, and with him say, except I had sene these things that are here reported, and had made triall of them with my handes, I will not beleeve them, or be of this judgment, that men in these dayes cannot be possessed. The former of these may remember, for theire humblinge, that by the sentence of our Saviour himselfe, this is to be faithlesse: as touching this worke of God, I meane; and that it is a blessed thinge to beleve that the truth we see not; 2. That before God and men they shall be the more inexcusable, because these thinges have bene donne not beyond the seas, but heere at home in our owne countrie, and that in divers partes thereof, and some of them in the middest of the kingdome, so that we neede not goe farr either in our owne person, or by our letters, to inquire into the truth of this matter; neither have they bene done in a corner, and before some few only, but openly and in the sight of all those that for sundry wekes would come unto them, which, I dare be bould to say, were for nomber (in a manner) innumerable, wherof divers were very learned and wise, cheef men in the magistracy and ministery, not easy to be abused, and about 30. also have upon their oathes given testimony hereunto.

That ther are possessions in these dayes.

As touching those who therfore reject that is said, and whatsoever they heare conscerning this matter, because they judg that none either are or can be now possest, as I cannot but wonder that any, especially of the learned, should be of this judgment, consideringe there is neither jot nor title in the scriptures for them, but much against them, nor yet in any writer ould or new that ever I red or heard of, so I demaund of them how they dare affirme the same, for it is in effect all one as if they should say, God cannot now send divels into men, or God cannot in these dayes plague or correct men, by sending Sathan into them to vex them in their bodies, which I thinck they would be loath to avouch; for it is more than bouldnes to say of the Almighty that he cannot doe this or that, except it be such as is either contrary to his nature, or his revealed will; which cannot be saide of this. To say it is against his nature is most absurde; and if we will have it against his will, we must shewe where that part of his will is revealed, which is a thing impossible; for asmuch as the contrary, that men may now be possest, appeareth by dealy experience, which cannot fall out contrary unto the will of God, and by the word of God in Deut. 28. it is written, "If thou wilt not kepe (saith Moses) and doe all the words of this law, that are written in this boke, and feare this glorious and fearefull name, the Lord thy God, then the Lord will make thy plagues wonderfull, and the plagues of thy seede, even great plagues and of longe continuance: and every sicknes and every plague which is not written in the boke of this lawe, will the Lord heap upon thee untill thou be destroyed." Seing then God threatneth to bring upon the disobedient and sinfull people "wonderfull plagues," of which kinde this is one, and every "plague or curse" he hath, whither it be such as is "written" (as is expressly set doune in the chapter following) or "not written:" under one of which kindes this curse, to be possest with the devill, must needes be comprehended; and that in these last dais there shall be perilous and sinfull times, wherein iniquity shall abound, soe as the sonne of man when he commeth, shall scarcely finde "any faith upon earth." Howe can it be denyed but that the Lorde may smite some with this judgment, yea and (as I conceave of this scripture) will also, which is more. And lest we should understand this of the Jewes only, and restraine it to the time of the lawe, either of which is absurd, we must remember that we have the same or like threate renewed upon us by the spirit of God in the time of the gospell, and expresly against every man, as well Gentile as Jew, as all men will graunt. "I protest (saith the spirit) unto every man that heareth the wordes of the prophecy of this boke, that if any man shall add unto these thinges, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this booke, and if any man shall diminishe of the wordes of the booke of this prophecy, &c. Seing then that it cannot be denyed, but that there are in these last and evill dayes, both which add to this booke and

Titus 1. 2. 2 Tim. 2. 13.

Verse 58.

Deut. 29. 20. 1 Tim. 4. 1. 2 Tim. 3. 1, 2. 2 Pet. 3. 3. Jude 18.

Rev. 22. 18.

dyminish from it, and that this plague of possession by devils is written in the same, we must nedes acknowledg, and cannot doubt but that God may send this plague also in this last age of the worlde.

Justin Mart act. liber 2 cap. 16. de orig. erroris. Orig. in 17 mat. Atha. in epist. ad Marcellinum. Tertul. ad Scabulam et de cor. Mil. cap. 11. Cipr. ad demerianum. Hieron. in vita Hilar. Chrisostom. 5. Homil. 4. de incomprehensibili dei natura. Theodoret in historia sancti patrum sect. 13. in Maced. August. de utilitate credendi, cap. 22. et liber de beati vita et liber 4. de civitate dei cap 34. et lib 21. de civ. dei cap. 18. Pet. Martir com. 2. part 4. cap. 9. sect. 13. PhilipMelanct. lib. epist. Chemnit de sacramento ordinis, parta 2. BezaHomi. 26. in histor. Passionis. Cogellius in Thesau. theologico page 980. king of Scots in his Dœmonologie lib. 3. ca. 4.

Againe, seing possession is a punishment or correction of the Lord, laid upon a man by the ministery of Sathan for his sinne; and that men are now as grevous sinners as ever, the Lord also in like sorte affected now towardes sinne and sinners as heeretofore, as ready everie way to chastice men for sinne in these dayes as in former; it cannot bee but that men may bee possest now, if the Lord thinke good that way to correct them; yea even as well and usually as in former time.

Lastly, it is to be remembred, that as all churches, so all antient and latter Christians and papists, which have spoken more or lesse of this matter, give theire full consent heereto, and many examples from age to age are given hereof. Here might bee brought in a multitude and greate heape of testimonies, to prove that men maye be now possessed, but I will let them alone, and only coäte them in the margent, because I thinke it a needlesse thing, in so plaine and evident a matter, to use so many wordes, specially seing hereafter I alleadge the most of theire testimonies, for the confirmation of dispossession since miracles ceased, which is farr more doubtfull then this other of possession, and comprehendeth in it this also. For if men have bene and may be now dispossessed, *ergo* possessed. Wierus, in the begining of his 4. booke, *de prestigiis dæmonum*, speaketh of many that have of late yeares bene possessed with divels, shewing at large their strange, admirable, and most grevous vexations by Sathan; and, among others, he maketh mention of about 70. damsells which togither, in one night, 1555, in an house at Roome, where orphanes were kept, became demoniacks; whereof, saith he, not one of them was recovered two yeares after. Yea, it may be not at all, which sure is more strange than their possession, considering the great power and authority the Romanists have over divels, even the same with the apostles, if you will beleve them, as hereafter you shall heare. Also of later time and nearer us, even at Amsterdam, a greate towne in Holland, *anno* 1566, there were, as he declareth at large, 30. children or thereabouts, in 8. or 10. weekes, possessed with divels.

But, to let the dead and their writings goe, let us inquire of the living. Aske of our travailers what they have seene and credibly heard in other countries, beyond the seas, and you shall heare what they will say; demaund of the papists, and they with one consent will tell you that men may be possest, and that amonge them theire are such. Thyreus, (a man now living) in a booke lately written of this argument, nameth a great many that (long since miracles ceased) were possessed with divels, whereof some were great and honourable personages, children to emperours and kings. Shall we say of them, as it is said of our possessed persons in England, that they were counterfeits? Their calling of exorcists also, and formes of exorcisme, proclaime their judgment herein to all the world. Yea, who knoweth not how they greatlie vaunt of the power that in theire church they have to cast out divels? This brage of theirs is answered by D. Fulk, and divers others; but neither he nor any other returneth in answer, that men cannot in these dayes be possest, which had it bene a truth they wold never have omitted.

Object.

But why doth it seeme so incredible and impossible unto some, for one to be nowe possest? Because miracles are ceased. It shoulde seeme then, to be possest with the divell is a miracle, and not a disease some time by miracle cured. For the ceasing of miracles putteth an end only to miracles, and not to the diseases which miraculously were healed; else we should have none sick of feavers, palsies, and other infinit diseases; none dumbe, deafe, blind, halt, or maimed. Notwithstandinge then that miracles are ended, possession with divels may remaine, seing it is certaine it is no miracle, but a sicknes or supernaturall disease, which somtimes miraculously was healed by Christ and his apostles, as appeareth by the 17. of S. Mathew, where the father,

Verse 16. 18.

Verse 24.

bringing his possessed child, saith thus to Jesus, "I brought him to thy disciples, and they could not heale him;" and presently after it followeth: "and Jesus rebuked the divell, and he went out of him, and the childe was healed at that houre." In like manner it is said in the 9. of S. Luke, "that Jesus rebuked the uncleane spirit, and healed the child, and delivered him to his father." And for further profe hereof serveth excellently, that in the 8. of S. Luke, verse 2. where it is said, that "certaine women were healed of evill spirits and infirmities, as Mary, which was called Magdalen, out of whome went seaven divels;" where, by the word "healed" we may learne, that possession is a disease, to wit, supernaturall, and that the miracle is, when the divell, by rebuke, that is, by a charge or comaundement to depart, is caste out, in which case the party is healed, or made whole of this unnaturall disease. For thus it is written in the 9. of S. Marke, "when Jesus," &c. "he rebuked the uncleane spirit, saying unto him, thow dumbe and deafe spirit, I charge thee come out of him." "Then (it is said) the divell came out;" the very same we have in the first of S. Marke, verse 25.; and a little after it followeth, verse 27. "he commandeth the foule spirits with authority, and they obey him." And in S. Luke, "with authority and power he commaundeth the foule spirits, and they come out." In these cases we all knowe Christe wrought a miracle; now what did he? He comaunded the divells that were in men to come out of them, and they came forth.

Math.15.22 28. compared with Mark 7. 25. 29. Verse 25. Luke 4. 36.

How castinge out of the devell is a miracle.

The myracle then is by a word, or commaunde, to caste the divell out, and this is ceased with other myracles, but to be possessed of the divell is noe myracle; no more then to be blynde, sick, or lame; which are judgments of God upon man for his synne; whereuppon possessyon with dyvelles is often brought in among other plagues of God, and, namely, in the 4. of Math. where it is saide, "They brought unto Jesus all sick people that were taken with divers diseases and grypings, and them that were possessed with divels, and those which were lunatick, and those that had the palsy, and he healed them." The like we reade in the 8. of Luke, "And at that time he cured many of their sicknesses, and plagues, and of evill spirits, and unto many blind men he gave sight freely." Seeing then it is no miracle to be possest of the divell, but a disease, as is the lunacye, palsy, &c. the myracle consisting in casting out the divel by a worde, notwithstanding myracles are ceased, possession may remayne; for as, notwithstanding this miraculous healing heere spoken of is ceased and gone, yet men still are sick, and taken with divers diseases, and some are lunatick, some have the palsy, &c. so also, some are or may be possessed with divels; and for my owne part I will as soon hould, that men cannot now be sick, lunatick, have the palsy, be blind, deafe, lame, as this other, that men in these dayes cannot be possest, which many men, yea some, otherwise of great learning, have presumed to maintaine. Yea, who is so simple that, by these few wordes seeth not, that the ceasing of myracles proveth not the ceasing of possession by divels; and yet if you ask these men, who will have no possession in these dayes, the reason thereof, forthwith they will tel you, that myracles are ceased, then which answer nothing can be more absurde. And whereas some affirme, that men were possest, to the end that the divinity of Chryst might appeare and shew itself to the casting forth of the spirits, and the gospell be confirmed, and get the better entertainement, by the ejection performed by the apostles, and for no other cause, (for otherwise they say nothing, as shall forthwith appeare), and therefore the Deity and gospell of Christ being now sufficiently confirmed, possession with divells must needes cease; I desire them to send me to some parte of Gods worde for my information therein. If they can not, (whereof there is no doubt), then they must needes confesse, that the reason is, because heerein they knowe or understand not aright, howsoever otherwise their knowledge may be greate; for so saith the Holy Ghoste, "to the lawe and to the testimony, if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them." I marvaile at men, especially of understanding, that they will

Math. 8. 16. 17. Mark 1. 32. Verse 24. Verse 23.

Object. 2.

Isa. 8. 20.

open their mouthes to speake where God is silent; and that they will be so bould to render a cause or reason of the Lordes owne fact, where he himselfe hath not donne it. You take too much uppon you, my brethren, in presuming to understand above that which is written, and meete for you to understand, and do not understand according to sobryety. Know you not, that thinges revealed belong only to us and our children? why then will any take uppon him to render this for the sole reason or cause of possession, which God (we all know) hath not reveled; but, in truth, the contrary. But what leadeth men to say, that men were therefore possest, that the Godhead of Christe and his almighty power might be seene in the castinge out of divells, and the doctrine of the gospel be confirmed? Surely this, because it is evident that by their ejection these things were performed. By the same reason I may inferr, that men were therefore sicke, had the palsy, lunatick, lame, blind, deafe and dumbe, for the divinity and gospell of Christ were confirmed, as well in the miraculous healinge of the person soe afflicted, as in the dispossesinge of divells. And yet, notwithstanding, no man is so absurd as thence to gather and conclud, that ther are, or can be none sick now, none having the palsy, none lunaticke, blind, lame, &c. and yet I am sure this followeth as necessarily, and inevitablye of the former ground, as that of the impossibility of possession in these dayes; wee see then, that it being graunted that men were possest to that ende, the Deity and doctrine of Christe, I meane the gospell, might be confirmed by the healinge of those which were possessed, which I denye not; yet that letteth not but that men maye be possest in these dayes.

To speake more playnlye therfore, as in the bodilye diseases and infirmities of those men which our Saviour cured, a cause of the same was, that in the curinge of them it might be evident that he was the Messias, as appeareth in general by Math. 8. 16. 17. in perticular by the man that was borne blind; and yet notwithstanding there was some other cause or causes therof, and namly, ther sine, as apeareth by Christs owne speaches in the cureing of divers, saying to such, "thy sines are forgiven thee, sine no more leest a worse thing come unto thee," the which cause remaining, the diseases and other infirmities of mans bodye doe remaine, so though of this supernaturall affliction in those which were dispossessed by Christ, a cause thereof was, that the divine power and mercye of Jesus Christ might appear in their curinge, as is plaine by the aforesaid place of Matthew, yet that was not the alone cause, but the sinne also of the parties, (as is evident by that aforesaid), without which they could never have bine so miserably vexed by Satan as they were; which sinne in man remaininge, it is plaine that the saide disease doth, or maye remaine, and shall, or may, so long as sinne remaineth in man. Indeed, if for this cause only men had bine possest, that, in the expulsion of the spirits by Christ and his apostles, the divinitye and gospell of Christ might have bene confirmed, it had bene somethinge, yea very much they had said, and I, for my part, would have joined with them therein; but for this cause only men were not possest, for then there must never have bene any possessed, but such as were by Christ and his apostles dispossessed, or some other indewed with that apostolicall guift; the contrary whereto appeareth, by Math. 12. 27. and Acts 19. 13. The which, as these two scriptures prove, so by them also it is manifest to the advised reader, that men were possessed before Christs time, and under the law, yea this disease was common before the incarnation of our blessed Saviour, so as many were sick thereof; otherwise how could the rude and common people have so readilye and truly discerned thereof, as by the gospell it is evident they coulde and did. "Maister," (saith one of the people to Jesus) I have brought my sonne unto thee, who hath a dumbe spirit." Yea, not only the men, but the simple weomen also were acquainted with this disease, "have mercy on me, Lord, (said a poore Canaanitish woman unto Christ), my daughter is miserably vexed by the devil." And lest we should imagine either that this child was not possest, or that the mother knew not so much, Mark saith plainly, "this child had an uncleane

John 9. 2. Math 9. 2. John 5. 14.

Chap. 13. 16. 17.

That there were possessions before the tyme of Christ.

Mark 9. 17. Math. 15. 22. Chap. 7. 25.

spirit," and that this woman besought Christ that he would cast the divel out of her daughter, whereby it appeareth that she knew, or at least tooke it, and that rightly, that the divel was in her child. Seing then, (I say), that the common people were so well acquainted with this disease, and could so truly discerne the same, it must needes be that both many were possest, and had soe bene of long time; for otherwise the vulgar sort, (as we in all reason and experience know), could not possibly have attained to that knowledg. Hence it followeth, that many were possessed under the law, and before Christ was manifested in the flesh, into whome it cannot be that God sent uncleane spirits, to the end, that the divinity of Christ might appear in their marveylous ejection, but for some other cause or causes best knowne unto his Majesty, and namely, to chastice them for their sinnes, (as is manifest by that we have alleadged before out of Deut. 28. and 29.) which is the cause of all judgments, though God alwayes respect not that principally, but sometimes (besides his owne glory, John 9. 3.) some other thing best knowne to himself; as we see in the example of Abraham, Job, with others, and by sundry testimonies of holy scripture.

To returne therefore againe to speake of those parties we intreate of, if any object against this possession that in all these thinges we were deluded by Sathan, by whom our sences were deceyved, so that we seemed to see that which we did not see indeede. To such I answer, that if any such thing were, then not our sight alone, but all our sences were deceived, our tasting only excepted: for we did not only see and looke upon with our eyes strange and impossible accidents, but heard also with our eares, and handled with our handes, yea sundry smells there were, sometimes moste sweete and delectable, at other tymes most noysome and stinking, no man knowing from whence they came, as is to be deposed by many. Now it is hard that so many sences shold be deceaved. But what is more against sence then to imagine and object that here? He fomed as white as the snowe, as thike as that which commeth from the horse or boare. About 150 of us beheld this offt and many times, and sometime for an hower together ropinge downe along on his breast. It was to be felt. It was wiped awaye, and the cloth wett therwith in the sight of us all. Shall we now saye he seemed to fome, but did not fome? He was of that strength, that divers times four or five, though they had great advantag of him, could not rule him; what is there more against common sence, than to affirme that he seemed onlye to be of such strength, but was not so? and which of their sences, I praye you, and how manye of theire sences were deceaved, which tried their strength with his? and whither was there not somthing els deceived besids ther outward sences? If herein my sences were deceived, I will trust them the worsse whylst I have them; yea, I assure you, if the case were so, I could not tell when or wherin to trust them, lest they shold deceive me, as they did then all the witneses herof, (if they will speake according to their knowledge and consiene) and I doubt not but are of the same judgment with me. Againe, thus one might have objected against the possession of those which had evil spirits in them, when Christ and his appstles were upon earth, as well, and with as good colour and apparance of truth, as against the possession of such as we speake off: but if one should have done so, had he not spurned against the truth, and by consequence bene in great fault? yes verilye; so surelye doe they, and are no less faultie which object this against us, and the possession we strive for. Take heed therfore, good Christian reader, I beseech thee, lest whilest thou stand for the delusion of Sathen, he delude and deceave thee: and thus much for proofe of the possession of the persones above named.

Obj. this which you would have a possession, was nothinge but an illusion of Satan.

THE END OF THE FIRST PARTE.

HERE FOLLOWETH THE SECOND PARTE.

The 2d Part. That they were verily dispossessed, and of the Meanes wherby the same was wrought.

HAVINGE sufficiently proved, even by the testimony of holy scriptures, those persons we treate of were verily possest with the divell, with such unanswerable reasons as may suffice any indifferent man, that is not overcarried with prejudice or partiallity againste the cause, so as it is altogether needelesse to speake any thing further for proofe thereof; now it followeth, that we prove likewise with such invincible arguments the dispossession of them, in handlinge of which point we must remember, that whatsoever shall make for proofe of their dispossession, the same also confirmeth further their possession: for how can a man be dispossessed of the dyvell, if he was never possessed thereof?

Of the dispossession of dœmoniacks. Chap. 9. 26.

That this may the better appeare, let us looke into the dispossession of these mentioned in the gospell, and therewithall see what thence may be gathered for confirmation of their dispossession we speake of. In the aforenamed place of Marke, it is said, that Jesus having charged the uncleane spirit to come out of the childe, then the spirit cryed, &c. that is, imediatly after the charge and commaundement given to the spirit, and thereupon "the spirit cryed, rent him sore, and came out, and he was as one dead, insomuch that many said he is dead." Nowe after this very manner it went with the aforesayde Dæmonyakes at the instant of their deliverance or amendment.

Signes of dispossession.

Rentinge sore.

First, it is said, "the spirit rent him sore and came out;" whereby is insinuated the greatnes and extremity of the childe's torments, imediatly before the egresse of the spirit, above that which is ordinary: for before it is said, he tare him, here, that he tare or rent him sore, notinge by this addition an increase of paine. The like we reade, Luke 4. where Christ commaunding the divell to come out of a man, it followeth imediatly, "then the divell throwing him in the midst of them, came out of him and hurt him nothing at all;" whereby it appeareth, that the possessed, some little time before the egresse or going out of the spirit, are exceedingly tormented; as Danæus noteth upon this place of Marke: "when Christ commeth and approcheth neer us (saith he) then doth the divell teare and torment us more eagerly, as he did that child at that time. For (as Isodorus writeth) "then the divell doth more cruelly rage agaynst him whome he possesseth, when he knoweth that by devine vertue he is to be expelled out of him." Surely they that were eye witnesses of this matter of conscience must needes confesse they never beheld any in such torments as theis eight were a little before their deliverance: what else ment those great and unnaturall swellinges, such stronge and violente casting up and downe of their bodyes, forewardes and backwards, such scrikings or crying? It can not be denyed but that they were manifest arguments of the horrible passions and torments which they indured. No doubt but the beholders were all of them greatly dismayed and astonished thereat, as men at their wits end, notk nowing what to doe, nor which way to turne them: and heere I aske not only of them at Cleworth, but those also at Nottingham, which were present the day of Somers his dispossession, whither by reason thereof, whereas all the daye long before one had bene their mouth to God, they having that good order, did not disorderly and confusedly, all in common pray, and cry aloud unto the Lord, every one according to that himself liked, as men not able to conteine themselves, but must needs cry out uppon that fearfull sight. Yea, I demand further of M. Starchyes houshould, and W. Somers, his maister, and the rest of that famili, whither all the time of their and his

Vers. 35.

Dan. quæst. 3, 8. in Marc. Isod. lib. 3. de Summo Bono, chap. 5.

possession, they ever saw them so grevously tormented as he and they were a little before their deliverance.

Secondly, where it is saide the spirit cried and came out, and in the first of Marke of another, "the uncleane spirit tare him, and cried with a loud voice, and came out of him;" and, in the 4 of Luke, that the "divelles came out of many crying;" yea, in the 8. of the Actes indefinitely of those that were dispossessed, that "the spirits crying with a loud voice, came out of many that were possessed." I report me to those that were present, whither imediatly before the dispossession of the aforesaid persons, they heard not (for the space of a quarter of an houre or thereabouts) the most fearefull, strange, unnaturall, and loud cries that ever came to their eares, and to them at Nottingham, whither they even then crying out as men mightily astonished at that they heard and sawe, Somers was not heard farr above them all, although they were in nomber some 150. Tormented they were in their fits all the time of their possession, more extreamly the day of their deliverance, and most of all a little before. In like manner, cries or scrikings they sent out manye in the time of their possession, but never of that loudnes and continuance to those went from them at the instant the spirits went forth.

2. The spirit going out, crieth. Vers 26. Vers 8.

Thirdly, I demaund of the same persons, (which were to the nomber of some 40. at Cleworth, and 150 at Nottingham, whither, according to that is said heere in S. Marke, they did not imediatly after the end of their torments and crying, ly as dead, and so continued for a good space. The reason hereof I take to be this, for that the spirit at his last farewell, (as I may say) tormentinge the party to his utmost; the body, after those grevous torments, lieth at rest as it desireth; and thus lying, the party semeth to be as dead, wherein the cruelty and mallice of Sathan doth notably appeare, who, when hee seeth that he can not continue in man to torment him still after his accustomed manner as he desiereth, will yet do what he can to vexe him at his departure or going out. These 3. tokens or signs of dispossession were often sene and hard in K. Wright, who, being not only possessed, but by her owne defalt, in that the uncleane spirit returninge, found her empty, swept, and garnished, and so prepared and ready to receive and entertaine him, so far was she from resisting of him repossessed, and that sundry times, at her severall dispossessions, was ever extreamly tormented, scriched fearefully or cried out, and then laye as dead.

3. After the torments and egress of the spirit, the possessed lyeth as dead.

Hence, I collect the dispossession of these Demoniakes; for, as when we see one handled after the same manner as they weare, who in the scriptures are said to be possessed with Sathan, we must needs confese, that the same party is verily possesed, even so, when we see one so affected and used as they were, who are said in the scripture to be dispossessed, we cannot chouse, but say that they also beinge so affected, are dispossessed in like manner, for *de similibus idem sit judicium;* and no doubt, but the Holy Ghost, in the particuler describinge of the manner of possession and dispossession, did leave a speciall doctrine and direction to the church in successive ages, how to discerne and to be assuered in the like cases. Thus doe I the rather judge, because otherwise, (if the partie now dispossessed weare not so affected as they were, who are mentioned in the gospell) when the people of God have only praied or fasted, and praied a long time together, they cannot knowe that the party is delivered, although it be so: for the ease of the party will not suffice, because that is usuall with Demoniaks, seeing the divill vexeth them but at certain times only, being otherwise out of their fites as well as any other body, some speciall cases excepted, wher the spirit maketh them blind, dumbe, deafe, or gathereth them all of a heape, so as they goe bowed together, as we read in the gospell; or lame, (as in experience hath bine sene in Th. Darling, who was lame and deprived of the use of his legs for 13 weekes together or theirabouts) wherfore it is evident, that if in the dispossessing of a man, the spirit should not crie aloud,

Luk. 13. 11.

rent him sore, and cause the party to lye as dead, (which are the only apparant signs of his egresse) then could not the party possessed be discerned to be dispossessed; and so God shold not have that praise, nor man receive that profit by such a great worke, which otherwise by the certaine knowledg therof they should. But now that God in his infinite wisdom hath recorded these signs in his worde, and left them for a direction unto his church herein, he hath provided a remidi for our weaknes, and furtherance of his owne glorye. Furthermore, I have in experience observed this signe also of Sathans going out of him whom he possesseth, to wit, when the demoniak doeth either se somethinge goinge from him, or sensiblie fele somthing to come from within him.

4. Seeinge or feelinge somethinge to go from them.

Thus Darling saw somthing like a mouse go out of him, as he supposed, and of those in Lancashire, on of them felt and saw somthing go out of her (as she thought) lik an urchin; another in this, and a third in that forme, and so of the rest, according as it is set downe in the stori. W. Somers also, though he saw no visible shape at the egrese of the spirit, it he felt somthing com from within him, which he thought would have pluckt away his throat, (as M. Byrom had before him) wherby he and those in Lancashire were fully persuaded, that the divil was gone out of them, which we must not so understand, as though the spirits had bine and continued in them in such bodies assumed unto them, or that the spirits could not come out of them, but must nedes be felt, or it could possibly be felt or sene; but that the spirits, by ther operation, caused somthing which was felt, and did appere in som visible forme or shap. All, or most of which shaps, we have hard were ugly, and no marvil considering the were represented by the foule spirit. Hereunto we may add, "the vomiting used by Somers at the very egres of the spirit," and not long before, (as it were foretelling the same) both in those in Lancashire and Th. Darling; but the scriptures making no mention of these signes, they are to be regarded accordingly. Seeing then it is so, that the outward notes and signs of deliverance from Sathans possession, precedent and subsequent, were found to be sene in these persons: Why shoud we doubt, but that the thinge signified by those signes was also truly, though not to the eye performed? especially consideringe, that out of the aforesaide signs accompanieth (as I may saye) the very egresse or going out of the spirit, for the spirits crying goe out, and that another is not until he be gone forth; for we read, that when the spirit was come out of the child, then he was as one dead.

5. Vomyttinge.

Againe, we called upon God, that it would please him to cast the uncleane spirits out of the persons afflicted before us, so as their bodies might be temples for the Holy Ghost to dwell in, and God hard our prayers uttered in such tearmes, and to that end, and we visibly did see the worke accomplished after our desiers. Furthermore, we are to remember, that howsoever Sathan, in the time of these possession, did usually in visiblie shaps appeare unto them, yet did he never seke to enter in to them, until after that time thei were dispossest, which then he egerlie attempted both by promises and threats, and that with every one of them, which greatly confirmeth their dispossession; for the holy scripture telleth us that the uncleane spirit is cast out of man before he seke to enter in againe. "When they uncleane spirit, (saithe our Saviour) is gone out of a man, he walked through drye places, seekinge rest; and when he findeth none, he saith I will returne into mine house whence I came out." &c. True it is that this returne we speake of, and seeking of the spirits to enter againe into them, we receive by report from the parties possessed, and that no other is privy to the same; but it consideringe it hath bene so with all and every of them, as they have witnessed, and that manye others, (I meane they which were present at the said assalts of Sathan to enter into them, as the parties afflicted affirme) though they neither saw Sathan nor hard him; it both saw and harde them suddenly and strangly disquieted, and most eger in resisting the devil, wherupon those which were present did also assist them theirin, and that it was not so with any of them all the time of their possession in the

Math. 12. 43. Luk. 11. 24.

apparitions of Satan. These things, I say, considered, and that they agre so with the scripture, I cannot se why any shold reject, and not credit that is here said of the uncleane spirits returninge, and seeking to repossesse them.

Now, this returne of Satan, and indevoring to enter in againe, (recovering some of them also) as it argueth both their possession and dispossession, so likewise their expulsion of the wicked spirits by the finger of God in his appointed meaines. Greatly, therfore, doe they forget themselves, and that which in holy scripture is written concerning this matter, who hereby are offended, taking hence occasion to think and to speak, that Somers was not possessed, but that he was a verie counterfeite, or that he was not dispossessed, because he cane doe the same thinges againe. Knowe wee not, that the devill beinge gone out of a man, if returninge (which he will certainly doe) he finde him emptie, sweept and garnished, it is impossible to keepe him out, but he will enter in and dwell there, yea, with more and worse then himself? Or cane we be ignorant hereof, that Somers is emptie, swept, and garnished, if we consider of his intollerable ingratitude, for that mercy of God received, his abominable lieing, slaundering, and obstinacie therin, to speake nothing of those lewd prankes he playd in the Bishop of Londons house, viz. stealing, whoring, running awaye, &c. as I have been credibly informed. Seeing, then, that these thinges agree and fall out just accordinge to the scriptures, and that herein we se still the scripturs fulfilled, why are we not rather hereby confirmed, then stumble therat as a rocke of offence? Neither is it to any purpose to object here, as some do, that this scripture is to be understod of a speritual deliverance out of the power of the devill: for howsoever that is saide here is most true, being understood spirituallie, I meane of the spirituall deliverance from the power of Sathan; yet it is certaine the Lord onlye speaketh of a corporall deliverance, which is confirmed partlie by the occasion and coherence of this scripture, arising of the ejection of Sathan out of one whom corporallye he had possessed, (and not sperituallie more then other men,) as is noted by Luke, but cheifly by the text itselfe, wherin the uncleane spirit is sayde to goe out of a man, secondly, to enter in againe; both which speaches are never used in the spirituall sence, but often, yea, usually, in the other; and because that is and hath bene said by me concerning Satan returne to repossesse the partie out of whom he is cast, is so unsaverie unto many, even as if there were noe such thinge reveiled, but was some conceit of mine. Let us therfore add to this scripture, for further proofe therof, and confirming of this truth, that speach of the Lord in the 9. of Marke, "I charge thee, thou dumbe and deafe spirit, come out of him, and enter no more into him," which charg of entering no more into the child, our Saviour would never have given, had not he knowne that Sathan would have attempted it, and otherwise have entered into him if he could, as being the propertie of the divill, to seeke to enter into them againe, out of whom he hath bene cast. And surelie how can it be otherwise, consideringe the nature of Satan, and his extreame malice towards man, especially towards such as have bene taken out of his power; wherupon it is said before, that seekinge rest, after he is cast out of one, that is, seekinge to praye upon and spoile men, for that onlie bringeth rest and quiet unto him, he findeth none, that is, none doth please or satisfie him, in respect of the recovering that man out of whom he hath bene cast, such and so unsatiable is his malice towardes him he hath lost, and hither doth it carie him. We may likwise observe, for the further confirmation of the former exposition, that in this place of Marke, (wher we cannot deny but that Christ speaketh of dispossession, and corporall possession) is mention of the "spirits goinge out and entringe in," as in the former scripture; and therefore the premises well wayed, and these sayinge of the Lord in Marke and Mathewe compared together, ther is great reason we should understand that of the uncleane spirits returne accordinge to the letter. The want of this returne of the spirits, doth, among other thinges, induce me more then to suspect the dispossessions in the papacy, that the are not by the power of God; and so noe

Luk. 11. 4. and 23.

Vers. 25.

Some papists hold, *quod semel*, &c. that spirits

being once gone out of men, they cannot enter into the same men the second time Thyreus de Dœm. cap. 50. sect. 3.

ejection or expulsion of Satan, but a voluntary departure, for the further strengtheninge and confirming of them in their false worshipe of God; but of this more hereafter.

Lastly, forasmuch as all those we have spoken of (they excepted who are repossest) are and have bene for so long time, even two yeares, altogither free from that strange and greyous manner of handlinge or vexation in their bodies, wherof we have heard at larg, why shold we doubt of their dispossession? especially seing the strong man armed, keepeth not their houses; seing they carry not themselves as he desireth, (as Somers doth) during which time, and in which case only there is peace. If you require more time for confirmation thereof, you have it in Th. Darling, who hath continued well, and in his former and pristine estate, for the space of five yeares and above, (blessed be God therefore) and whose house it is manifest the strong armed man doth not keepe, seing God hath not only given him, with the rest in his condition, to confesse, declare, and beare witnes to the greate thinges the Lord hath donne unto him, and how he hath had compassion of him, but also to suffer for the same.

Luke 11. 21.

Objection.

Here it wil be objected generally against all dispossessions in these daies, that to cast out Sathan is a miracle, and therefore miracles being ceased, ther can be no dispossessions at all.

Answere. Math. 10. 1. Luke 10. 1.

For answeare hereunto, we must knowe, that devills are cast out two manner of wayes, either by absolute authority, as by Christ being God, or by an authoritie committed and given of Christ to men, as to the apostles, the 70 disciples, and to sundry others livinge in that first age of the church under the gospell. The power now to cast out divills by authority, which was committed and given to me by Christ, (with which whosoever were indued, they could and did, by vertue thereof, cast forth uncleane spirits by a word, so as the no soner speake, but presently they departed) being ceased, as well as the giving speach to they dumbe, sight to the blind, and all other miracles, which served for a time to confirme the doctrine of the gospell, until it was received by the Gentiles, there remaineth prayer, or prayer and fasting, by which we obtaine of Christ to cast them out by his owne absolute authoritie. Which similitude may be illustrated and made plaine by this.

Actes 16. 18.

The meaines to cast out diviles.

The queene hath absolute authoritie to governe this kingdome of hers according to the lawes of God, and of this realme. To this end her majestie appointeth divers officeres or magistrates, as her most honorable privie counsellers, judgs, justices of peace, mayiors, &c., to whom she doth commit and give part of her authoritie, and who, by vertue of her authoritie thus communicated unto them, can punishe and reward, or otherwise releive her subjectes, so farr as their power extendeth. Having thus, by these magistrats, governed her subjectes for a time, admit that she afterward (for causes best knowne to her selfe) thinke good the lord chauncellour dyinge, to have no more any in that office, and withall proclyame throughout her kingdome, that in such a speciall case, which had wont to be determined by the lord chancellour, shee will that her subjects repaire and supplicate to her owne person, and so doinge, they shall be relieved. Who now seeth not that though their be no helpe to be had, when this spiciall case falleth out by the lo chauncellour, because their is no such magistrat in the common wealth, yet, notwithstanding ther is still succour and relief to be had, to wit, from the queene, by her absolut and supreame authoritie, so that we supplicate unto her in that behalfe; and this supplicating to her majesty is now the meaines to be releived in this case. Even so it is in this our present case, the which I will applie, for the better understanding of the simple.

Math. 28. 18. Eph. 1. 22. Heb. 2. 6. Eph 4. 10 11. Aom. 12. 6 7. 8. 1 Cor. 12. 28. Math. 17. 21. Mark 9. 29.

Christ, who hath absolut authoritie from his Father to governe his church, to that end "appointed certaine offices and officers, as apostls, prophets, evangelists, pastors, teachers," &c, to whom he did commit parte of his authoritie, by vertue whereof the apostles (to let the rest goe) did by a word cast out diviles, and worke other miracles. Afterward, when this office of apostleshipe (by Gods determination) should cease, "he proclamed in his word, to his church and people, that if any have an uncleane

spirit within him, and by prayer, or fastinge and prayer, repare unto him for the casting of him forth, he himselfe, by his absolute and supreame authoritie, will performe the same accordinglie.

Thus hath Christ the kinge and heade of his church, decreed and ordained, which beinge soe, who perceaveth not that that miraculoues castinge foreth of spirites by a worde. and healinge of the possessed, beinge gone and ceased, theire remaineth yet a meaines of expelling uncleane spirits out of the bodies of men, and of releving such as be so afflicted, though different to the former in the manner of it; that is prayer, or prayer and fastinge.

Now, whether this kinde of dispossessinge divilles be miraculous, we shall heare hearafter. In the meane season, the question to be descided is, Whether Christ in his Testament hath proclaimed or sett downe anye such thinge concerninge the expellinge of wicked spirites as we affirme, or no? More plainlie, whether prayer and fastinge be ameaines appointed by Christ, for the casting out of Sathan, and healing of those which he possesseth, the which, if we shall manifestlie prove, then is that wee here contende for, verye cleare.

To this end let us consider of that speache of our Saviour, "this kinde can by no other meanes come forth but by prayer and fastinge;" wher this meaines having approbation and allowance of Christ as mightie and effectuall to this said end, seemeth to us to be a secret ordinance of his; but let us examine this scripture throughlie, and at large.

Math. 17. 11. Mark 9. 29. Of that place of scripture this kind goeth not out, &c.

Whiles Jesus Christ was transfigured in the mountaine, a certaine man brings a possessed child of his to the apostles to be healed; they commaunded the spirit to goe out, but (that notwithstandinge) he still remained in the child. Christ a litle after dispossessing the boye, they disciples asked him secretly and a parte, Why they could not cast him out? as if they had saide, Master, thou hast given us authoritie over uncleane spirites to cast them out, and by vertue therof we have cast foreth manye; Why now coulde wee not cast the divell forth of this child, as well as out of others heretofore?

To this theire question, our Saviour answereth thus: "Because of your unbeleefe; for verelie I say unto you, if yea have faith as muche as is a graine of mustarde seede, ye shall saye unto this mountaine, remove hence to yonnder place, and it shall remove, and nothinge shall be impossible unto you."

In the twentie-and-on vers. "how be it this kind goeth not out but by praier and fasting," as if, in more words, he shold have said, the reason why you have not healed this child, and driven the wicked spirit forth of him, is because of the weaknes of your faith; for had your faith bene stronge, though Belzabub, the prince of divelles, and with him legions, had bene in him, yet had you cast them out; for if you can beleve, nothing shal be unpossible unto you; howbeit, this also you must know and understand, that the spirit wherewith this child was possessed, is on of the worst kind of spirits; becaus, in the ordinarie meanes which my Father hath left to his church, he wil not be expelled by praier alone, without fasting therunto adjoined. Now your faith beinge weake, and the spirit on of the worst kind, and therefore hardly to be removed, what marvell is it, though you cast him not out, yea, how was that possible, I deny not; but, notwithstanding the weaknes of your faith, had you fallen upon another spirit, on of that kind, which in the ordinary meanes, that is, in the church, may be cast forth by prayer, you might happely have expelled him; but take the case as it is, your faith weak, and the spirit one of the worst, it could not possibly you should have removed him; although then the lord attribut it cheifli to their unbeleife, that he had not cast forth that divil, yet he signifieth by thes words, that their was a cause or impediment also in the spirit; so that the answer of Christ is double, consisting of two partes, wherein he sheweth his disciples, that for twoo causes, they had not cast the

evil spirit out, the one and cheif was in them selves, to wit, their incredulitie, set down in the 20. vers., the other in the spirit possessinge the childe, for that he was one of the worst kind mentioned in 21 verse. Nowe this second cause is not set downe in plaine and exprese words as is the first, but thereby made knowen to the apostles, because he was on of that kind, which in the meanes that ever was and shall be in the church, would not be expelled by sole prayer, without fasting annexed thereunto, and this is it that Christ ment, in makinge mention of prayer and fastinge, and not that the apostles should have fasted and prayed to any end whatsoever.

This being the true and natural sence of this scripture, I further affirme, that howsoever the scope and drift of Christ, in these wordes, was to be made known to his apostles, that the uncleane spirite wherewith the boye was possessed, was one of the worst kinde of spirits, forasmuch as it was on that wold not be removed, without the strong and cheife of those means which were ordinarie and perpetual, to wit, prayer and fastinge, and that thence partely it was that they did not cast him forth; yet hence we may gather, and Jesus Christ secretly giveth us to understand as much, that the worst kind of devils, and, therefore, much more others, may be dispossessed by the meanes of fasting and prayer; and from these wordes a man maye as well conclude, that Christ would have prayer and fasting used as a meanes for the dispossessing of divils, as one may gather, that the phisition would have phlebotomie or letting of blud used for the cure of him that hath the plurisie, who affirmeth that a plurisie can not be cured but by phlebotomi; this kind saieth Christ, "goeth not out but by prayer and fasting," therefore by prayer and fasting it goeth out; which might be confirmed by a thousand such like speaches; one saith to a travailer at Doncaster, journeyinge towards Yorke, you can not get to Yorke but by Feribridge. Is there any so simple that understandeth not thereby thus much, that by that waye he may passe thither, though some other waye, by reason of the waters or some other lett, he can not passe? Consideringe then that our Saviour mentioneth this as an effectual meanes for the casting out of divills, and that ther is neither scriptur, nor sound reason, which appropriateth the use of this meaines unto that age, or to the persons of the apostls, and others indeued with the myraculous gift, as shall be shewed heareafter. I can not see why the same meanes should not stand and remaine at this day, and why fasting and praier shoulde not be held the effectuall ordinance of Christ for the castinge out of divils.

That there weare certaine dispossessed in Christs time, besids those which were dispossessed by Christ himselfe, his apostles, and others indewed with the gift to worke miracles, it is manifest by the 17. of Math. and Acts 19, but how and by what meanes that was don, appeareth only by this place of scriptur we have in hand, which was either praier alone, or prayer and fasting, according to that kind of spirit possessing the party, which we do not so understand as though it weare requisite that they which dealt, or, at this daye, do deale, in the dispossessinge of Satan by this meaines, should, or did know with what kind of spirit the partie possessed was vexed, which can not be, but that one being possest and dealt with for their delivery from Satan, by this ordinary and perpetuall meanes in the church, if, by praier for an hower, 2, 3, or more, he be not delivered, undoubtedly (that being performed aright, because of the kind of spirit possessing,) then let fasting thereto be joyned, and that certaynlye, if the Lorde thinke good to blesse his sayde ordinance, shall be mightie and effectual to the casting out of the spirit, of what kind soever he be; indeed this course we did not take with the aforesaid persons, but at the first proceded to fasting and praier, which we therefore did, becaus we much desired that our labour might not be in vain as touching their delyverance, and thus also thought and believed, that what kind of spirit soever were in them, we using prayer and fasting, the said holy meanes would be effectuall, through the mercy of God, to expell and drive them out, had they bene, or were the spirit of the worst kind, much more then others, saying, that I dealt otherwis with Kath. Wright,

Vers. 21. Vers. 13.

whose dispossession was by prayer without fastinge, beinge upon the daye of her dispossession delyvered by noone, and no fast not so much as intended eyther by herself or any other in her behalfe, or shee once advised thereunto.

If any shall approve of the aforesaide exposition, so farr forth as it doth or maye agree to the apostles, and otherwise reject it, affirminge that of the apostles soely, this scripture is to be understood, to whom it was spoken. and some others, which had the gift of miracles. and so power to cast forth devills, I answer, that to appropriate this speach and tie it to the persons of the disciples, as meerlye and peculiarlye belonginge unto them, is more then the text either in expresse words, or by necessary consequence will beare, and therefore considering also ther is no other scripture to helpe in this case, it is more then any man can for certaintie affirme, and such as we may as well deny, as others confidently avouch. Yea certaine it is, that it can not be understood of the apostles, as ment and directed to them, (otherwise then hath bene said, thereby to signifie unto them, that it was one of the worst kinde of devills wherewith the child was possessed, whence partly it came to passe that they had not cast him out), and others indewed with the gift of miracles, for asmuch as Christ speaketh expreslye and by name of an ordinarye meaynes to cast forth devills, and therfore in these words of such as by the said meanes, had, or should cast them out; not of the apostles theirfore and their dispossessyng of uncleane spirits, who not by any appoynted or ordinary meaines, (in which case their can be no myracle) but without all meaynes, by the power and gift they had to worke miracles, did cast forth divils.

But it will be sayd, that howsoever the apostles, indeed by vertue of that gifte and power they had received from Christ to worke miracles, could and did dispossese wicked spirits without meaines, yet this was not generally true of all spirits, for that there were some kind of divels, (imagine the worste) which for al the power they had received, without prayer and fasting would not be expelled, and that this is it that Christ meaneth when he sayeth, "these kynde can by no other meanes come forth but by prayer and fasting," as if he had said, your faith is lyttle and wavering, and thence partly it is that you have not helped the child, but besides you must knowe that theire is a kinde of evil spirits of which number is that wher with the child was possessed, which without prayer and fasting can not be cast out, and therefore consideringe that meaines by you was not used, it is no marvell though you dispossessed not the divill, yea it could not so be; and of this mind is traiterous Stapleton a popishe proselite, though otherwyse learned, whose words of this scripture are these, *nunc autem alam causem adfert*, &c. Now he aleadgeth an other cause why the apostles could not cast out this divil which had so longe time possessed the man, even from his infancie, for it was necessarie they shoulde have praied and fasted. Where we see that howsoever he doth not appropriat this speache to the apostles, but acknowledgeth, as in the same place appeareth, that praier and fasting is now a meaines for the casting forth of divells; yet he affirmeth that necessarily the apostls should have prayed and fasted, and that for the want or neglect thereof, it cam to passe that the divill was not cast out, and with him agreeth Thyreus, who writeth thus, *hoc genus demonorum*, &c.; this kind of divels, saith Christ, "is not cast out but by praier and fasting;" surely the Lord doth insinuate, that the apostles neede not fasting and praier to drive away other divils, but was sufficiente to cal upon the name of Christ, but here besides they need them, meaninge fastinge and praier, because this spirit is hardlyer expelled then others. Thyreus de Demoniacis. cap. 51, sect. 3.

If this exposition were true, then ther should be a certaine sort or kind of divels, which the apostls by al the faith they had, or could have, wer not able without further helpe to subdue. The which in ded Stapletone further granteth and affirmeth, saying presently after the former words thus, *sit fides quantum cunque fervens*, &c. let faith be never so fervent, as a graine of mustarde seed, yet must praier and fasting be used as a most strong meadicine to drive away devills of this kinde, and this he under-

standeth of the apostls, as is plaine by these former words he saith of them, *necessarium quippe fuisse orare et idinare*, for it was necessarie for the apostls to have praied and fasted. Now this semeth verye strang unto me, and such as nether can nor dare beleive, and receive for truth, for when I consider of the manifold and great signes and wonders the apostls wrought, whereof we read in the history of the Acts of the Apostls, " and that," as Peter saith, " they did them not by their owne power or godliness, but as they prayed for, and also professed by the name or power of Jesus Christ, (to whom all power was given in heaven and in earth), who had committed also, and given part of his power and authority unto them." I se not how any infernall power could be able to resist and hold out against this divine power even the power of the Lord Jesus: they cam in if their faith was strong, and so this power present with them, though they had no other helpe by praier, or praier and fasting, for albeit the apostls somtims used praier in the miracles they wrought, though never fasting and praier that we read of, yet they nede not so to have done, I meaine their was no necessity theirof, their faith being strong, much lesse to have praied and fasted, for then in all their miracles they must, and would have used praier, which they did not. Yea very seldom did they praye, only twysse as I take it; once Peter in restoring Tabitha to life againe, and another tim Paul in healing the father of Publius of a feaver, which they did doubtles, either in regard of themselves, to stir up and increase their fayeth; or els because of those which were present, that the beholding and hearing them to call upon another, when they were about to do the great worke they had in hand, myght theireby knowe, that that which they did, was not done by their owne power, but by the power of him whom they did invocat. In whether now of these respects soever the apostles used prayer in the miracles they wrought, whatsoever they were, it is cleare that ther faith being strong, much more being so strong as might be, they need not to have used prayer. If then the apostles faith being great, they neede not to have prayed, as in the doing of other miracles, so neither in the casting out of satan, but as they saw it profitable to others, much lesse nede they to have used prayer and fastinge. And if, theire faith being strong, they could and did worke miracles, and, namlye, cast out divels without any prayer at all, and some of the worst kind in all liklihood therewere in that great number they cast forth; much more their faithe being such, they could and did worke miracles, and cast out divils of the worst kind without prayer and fasting. That, therfore, which Stapleton and Thyreus here affirme, can not be true.

Acts 3, 12, 6, 16, and 4, 10, 30, Math, 28, 18.

Acts 9, 40. Acts 28, 8.

Again, the wordes of our Saviour are against this interpretation. " If," saith he, " ye have faith as a graene of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountaine, remove hence to yonder place, and it shall remove, and nothing shall be unpossible unto you:" except we will have these wordes, " how beit this kind goeth not out," verse 21, to contain in them a particular exception out of the generall, which I take to be very unsound, and contrary to the meaninge of Christ; for under the worde nothinge, notwithstanding the words following, ver. 21. I would rather include speciallye and chieflye, that very worke they were questioned about, then because of the words ver. 21. exclud the same. As if Christ had said, if your faith be as a graine of mustard seed, ye shall not onlye be able to doe the same that I now have done, and you through the want of faith could not doe; but any thing els whatsoever, though it were as difficult and impossible a thinge as it is to remove a mountaine. The apostles then by vertue of their miraculous faith could doe any thing, and therefore cast out any divill.

Math, 17, 20.

Moreover, when we consider of the power and authority that Christ gave the apostles over uncleane spirits, to cast them out, and how, according to the same, they prevailed so mightelye against the devils, which were so subdued unto them, as that the cariynge of kerchefs or handkerchefs from their bodies, caused the evill spirites to goe out of men. We cannot see how, their faith not failyng them, Beelzebub shold be able to withstand theire livelye voice and commaund, given in the name of Jesus Christ, though no prayer and fasting were used by them. Finally, we must remember, that

this power of the apostles over uncleane spirits, was not thus bounded and limited by Christ who gave it them, but reached itselfe further, even to, and over all evill spirites whatsoever, as Luke witnesseth, sayinge; "Then called he his twelve disciples together, and gave them power and authority over all divills, and to heale diseases;" so that if he were a divil they had power to cast him out. And lest this pretense should be left unto us, that they had power over all wicked spirits, in that by fasting and prayer (though not otherwise) they were able to cast out the worst kind of spirits as others, without that meanes; we must remember that with this power over divils, yea all divils, Christ joineth the healing of diseases, as appeareth also by the 10 of Math. when it is said, that "Jesus calling his twelve disciples unto him, gave them power against uncleane spirits, to cast them out, and to heale every sicknes and every disease," and in the 8. verse followinge, Christ saith unto them, "heale the sicke, cleanse the leapers, raise up the dead, cast out the devils;" from whence we maye learne thus much, that as by vertue of the aforesaid guifte and power. they were able and did with a word, without any more adoe, heale the sicke, cleanse the leapers, restore sight to the blind, &c. even so by vertue of the same gift and power, with their word or commaund, in the name of Jesus, (without any further adoo by fastinge and praying), they were able to cast out all devils, and did as occasion offered, if their faith failed not, which is further confirmed out of John 14. "verily, verily I say unto you, he that beleeveth in me, the workes that I do, he shall do also, and greater then these shall he do." But this scripture is thus expounded, and understoode by many, that Christ having shewed his disciples in the wordes before, that it came through the defect and weakness of their faith, that they had not cast forth the devill, now telleth them how and by what meanes, their weake faith might have received increase and strength, even by prayer and fasting, whereby their faith being strengthened, they might have expelled Sathan.

Acts 19. 12. Chap. 9, 1.

Verse 1.

John 14. 12.

Herunto I answear, 1. That our Saviour speaketh of the miraculous faith, as appeareth plainly by the text: "if (saieth he) ye have faith as is a graine of mustard seede, and shall saye unto this mountaine, remove hence to yonder place, and it shall remove, and nothing shall be unpossible unto you." Now this kind of faith, as it was given without meaines to certeaine men, and God appointed no meaines for they begetting of it; so neither did he ordaine and establishe any meaines for the increase of it; which, if any will contradict, I would knowe wher God sanctifieth any ordinary meaines to be used, for the increase of that he giveth without meaines. You will hapily saye, that Paul, for the increase of those graces of the spirit which without meaines he receaved, used the ordinarye meaines of studye and meaditation. I graunt that Paul did use ordinary meaines for the increase of grace received; and no marvile. For as by meaines of heareing, readinge, and meditation, he had received divers giftes of the spirit, so why should he not by meanes seek the increase of the same? Be it also graunted, that he used meaines for the increase of his extraordinary gifts received without meanes, which no man is able to shew, yet that God injoyned him the same, I meane, to use ordinary meanes for the increase of thos graces he received without meaines, I deny, and otherwise it maketh not against us. They that expound this place, thus understand it of the apostles, that they, in the weaknes of their faith, should fast and praye; by which meaines, their miraculous faith being strengthened, the spirit should com forth, and not that any other should use prayer and fasting as a meaines ordained of God for the expellinge of Sathan. If this nowe be to be understood of the apostles, then had they had this defence or excuse for themselves, that they had not yet time, since they saw the child, to use prayer and fasting, which doubtles they would not have omitted. Againe, weare it meante that they in this weaknes should have fasted, Christ had not in these wordes rendered a reason why they had not already cast the spirit forth, because they had not sufficient time therunto. Also if this were so, when

an apostle did commaund the divill and not expell him, or not performe any other miraculos worke, through his unbeleife, he withdrawing himselfe, must have consumed a day in prayer and fasting, before he could cast forth the spirit, or do the miracle he had in hande; nowe, it is not probable that they which had to go through the whole world, and infinit miracles to do, weare at any time so long about one. For fastinge required a whole day, from eveninge to eveninge; hereupon also the adversaries
ev. 23. 32. mouthes woulde have bene opened, and they takinge occasion to have spoken evill of them and there ministrie, yea, it woulde have driven those which wear no adversaries, into some amase to have seene, that at some times the shadow of an apostle, or carying of kerchis or handkerchifs to the bodies of the sicke, suffised to the healing of them; and at other times such long delaye used by the same men, and greate difficultie appeare to be in doing the same works. I thinke, therfor, that an apostle moved in himselfe with the consideration hereof, would rather in this case have presently cried unto the Lord, without procrastinating of the matter, and that the same would have availede with God. Furthermore, I deny, that after the apostles were filled with the Holy Ghost, they were ever emptied therof, so far as attempting to cast out the divel, or to doe other miracles, they were not presently able to effect it as before the
John 14. 16. 16. 28. Holy Ghost fel upon the apostles, they did erre in judgmente, and that oft and in sundrie thinges, but after not at all in doctrine and judgmente; so before theye weare in the extraordinarie measure indewed with the Holye Ghoste, their faithe failed them as at this time, and in this very worke, so it may be at some other times, and in some other cases, yet after it never failed them; but whatsoever miracle they attempted, they were able presently to performe; the former of these, all learned men will graunt. Why should any then denie the latter? for who can thinke, that if God were not wanting to the apostles in the cheife, he would be in that which was of lesse account? surely if the Lord did never forsake the apostles in their ministry or doctrine they taught, neither did he in the works they wrought, which were only a seale therof; if this now be so, that the apostles faith did not faile them after they receved the Holy Ghost in that fulnes, it is much to understand this scripture of the apostles, considering it could concerne them for a smale season, because this was spoken by the Lord at his transfiguration, which was not long before his passion; fourty dais after which, they received the Holy Ghost.

This interpretation differeth so much from the speach and words of Christ, that we dare not receive it; or, first, in the dispossessing Christ speaketh of here, he necessarilie requireth a meanes to be used to that end, so as without the same, it cannot possibly be; and then telleth us, what that meanes is. "This kind," saith Math., "goeth not out but by praier and fasting." And Mark, "this kind can by no other meanes com forth but by prayer and fastinge." But this objected interpretation implieth, that spirits of this kinde might be cast forth without this saied meanes of praier and fasting, if that the faith of the apostles was strong inought.

2. Christ saith this kind goeth not out, &c., noteing therby a certaine and distinct sorte, degree, or order of divils, some waye differinge and distinguished from others; with on of which number he implieth that the child was possessed, wherby partly it cam that they had not cast the divill forth of him, but they that expound this scripture after this said maner, doe not understand here any such distinction, neither can well so expounding it, but understand this place generally of all wicked spirits, without exception; for by this word kind, these expositors understand any spirit, which hath long possesed on, as this spirit had here this party, then with explication of the words this kind, what can be more unproper or unnaturall? and how can the words possibly beare it? for asmuch then as this exposition differeth wholly from Christ words, as on the other side the interpretation given here altogether agreeth with the same; therupon I rather incline to this exposition, for is it not safer to take that interpreta-

tion of scripture which accordeth with the verye words and letter therof, so long as there is no other scripture against it, and is also according to the analogie of faith, then another wholly and altogether differing from the text, though it have some shewe and apparance of truth? yea, how can we well, or why should we learne the literall sence, being not repugnant to other scripture, for any other, and why I praye you may not fasting and prayer be an effectuall meanes for the expellinge of uncleane spirits out of the bodies of men, if so it be pleasinge unto God.

But for our better understandinge of this scripture, before we make an end therof, as also of al that which hath alredy ben said concerning the same, we must knowe that Christ Jesus by these wordes, "this kind can by no other meaines come foreth but by prayer and fastinge," intimateth these 4 thinges, 1. That there are twoo kindes of divels, the one lesse, the other more mightie cruel, subtil, and more wicked; 2. That the former kind are more easely cast out of man, the other with greater difficultie; 3. That the child was possessed with one of the seconde kind; 4. That thence partly it was that his discipls had not cast forth the divill of the child.

Now, our comfort followeth, and lyeth in this, that if prayer and fastinge be mightie and effectuall to drive out the worste kinde of divells, which are hardlyest removed, much more powerfull shall it be to cast forth uncleane spirites of the other kinde, which are lesse wicked, of lesse power and craft, and so more easie to be removed; and wheras these wordes, this kinde, are referred by some, (even those that give the last exposition, as also by Stapleton, as appeareth by his former words) to the long continuance of Satans possession in on; wherby he geteth such and so depe roote in them, that he is not so easily removed otherwis he would, if he had continued lesse and shorter time. To them I say, that if that weare so, then the possessed childe here spoken of, must have bene a long time possessed. For so much this saide exposition doth necessarily implie, which, by the text, nether doth nor can appeare, but rather the contrary; for wheras they that thus interpret this place, did thinke that this said person had bene of long possest, wherupon they thus understoode this word kinde, and hence no doubt, because the father answeringe Christ concerninge the time of his sones possession, said that he had bene possessed of a childe, they, without all doubt, were therin deceaved, which came thus to passe; they sawe by the texte that he was possest in his childhoode, and they tooke it, yea thence (I meaine of his fathers wordes, that at that time when he was brought before Christ, he was at mans estat) wherupon they alwayes call him *homo*, and never *puer*, and therfor it must neds be that he had bene a long time possessed; but, be it spoken without offence, that collection of theirs is not sound, for it followeth not that he was not the childe, because the father saith of him, that he had bene possest of a child. I bring my sonne of 6 yeares of age sicke, to a phisitian to be healed; the phisitian asketh, how long he hath ben so diseased? I answeare, of a child; and who seeth not that this my answere is very fit, and yet he at that instant a babe? for thereby I give the phisitian to understande, that he hath not ben so diseased for some few days only, or weekes, or monethes, or a yeare, or some such time as he might otherwise imagin, but a far longer time, even all his life. If any objecte, that as it may be he was a child, so it maye be he was none, but a man; and therfore, for the time of his possession, it remaineth still doubtfull; I answere, that al the 3 evangelists dissolve this doubte, in that they report him to be a childe at that instante when he was cured. "Jesus," saye they, "rebuking the uncleane spirit, healed the childe, and delivered him to his father," wherupon I inferre the contrarie, that for asmuch as he was a childe, percase also very yonge, it coulde not be that he had ben very longe possessed, and therfore the former explication of these words, this kinde, which necessarily intendeth a long possession, can not stande. Math. 17. 18. Mark 9. 24. Leske 9, 42.

But be it granted that he was not only a man, but an olde man, and therfore had ben a long time indeed possessed; shal we therfore by these wordes, this kind, under-

stand a spirit that hath long possest one, and so generally of al divils, so that they have had some long aboad in many, which the very words themselves will not beare or indure, but as directly as may be contradict. For Christ speaketh of some divells, a certaine and distincte sorte or order from others, which goe beyonde otheres in power, subtilltie, and iniquiti, and therfore are more hardly cast out of men then other wicked spirits, as the worde kinde, doth plainly teache us, with on of which he implieth this child was possest; these men understand this scripture of all uncleane spirits, without exception, implying thus much, that there is no evill spirit, but if he had the same continuancy, the child mentioned, Mark 9, he would as hardly have bene removed.—Truly, for my own part, I know not what should move any thus to forsake the letter of the scripture, and to frame an exposition divers, if not contrarie to it, except they feared to admitte of a distinction or difference of divils, the which, if any doe, let them remember, that besides this place of Mat. and Marke sufficeth thereunto, the 12 of Math. not only approveth it, but maketh also the very same difference we have made before, wheare "the uncleane spirit being gon out of a man is said to returne, with 7 other spirits wors than himselfe, wherby we see, that among uncleane spirits, some goe beyond others in malice and crueltie towardes men, in subtiltie and iniquitie, and these are called, by our Saviour, the worst sperits, wherby they are distinguished and differ from others which are lesse cruell and wicked.

Moreover, wheare some by these wordes, this kinde, either understande so as hath bene saied, or wheare Sathan rageth, and tormenteth the partie in moste outragious and extreame manner; if hereby they meane a distincte kinde of spirrits, differinge from others, in that they goe beyonde them in power, malice, and cruelty, wherof I greatly doubte, then I consent unto them; but if they understand this of all evil spirits being more cruell to some men then ordinarie, or to others in regard of som circumstance of tim, person, &c., the which I greatly suspect, then for the reason aforesaid, I cannot but dissent from them therin.

Thus we see, that the former expositiones which are given of this place of holy scripture can not stand, and that the truth will not beare them out; that this scripture can not be so ment; that the Apostles should have fasted and praied, for then eyther it must have bene that theare was a kinde of spirits, which for al the power they had received would not be cast out by them, except besides they used the meanes of praier and fasting, which is directly against the scripture, as we have heard, or else, that therby their weak faith should have ben strengthened, that so they might have cast him forth, which al can not be as hath ben shewed, it remaineth then that the interpretation here given is sond and true, and therefore that it ought to be receaved; and surely I doe not see what should let or hinder any ther from, seeing the occasion, coherence, and text or letter of this scriptur, make al and every of them for it; and that it is not against the analogie of faith, what impietie or great absurditie is there in this, that praier and fasting is a meanes ordained of Christ for the castinge out of divils; or what great danger is there to the church, by imbracing it for a trueth beinge so in deed; and this is all the evel fruite you can gather of the former exposition.

He knoweth nothing in holy things which understandeth not this, that if on be now possest, and by praier recover not, praier and fasting ought to be used; that in the sayde judgment God calleth him, who is thus corected to this humblinge of himselfe, and afflicting of his soule first and chefly, then those which are spetially and above others afflicted in him, as the father in his child, the husband in his wyfe, so as they sinne, if they faile ther in; secondly, that praier and fastinge being used aright, will certainly prosper either to the removing or sanctifying of the said judgment, if now it so fal out, (as it may as wel as otherwis,) that the judgmente thereupon be removed, I meane the divill be cast out of the possessed, as it did with the former ten, and divers others also even of late in our owne land, (yea, when, by, and for whom hath

this medicine bene used, and the sicke party not cured) it cannot be denied, but that prayer and fastinge wa. the meanes thereof.

In the 20. of Genesis, it is said, " Abraham prayed unto God, and God healed Abimelech, and his wife, and women servants, and they bare children." Who will deny, but that, as the sinne of Abimelech, (intaking Sarah, Abraham's wife, unto him) had shut up every wombe of the house of Abimelech, so the prayer of Abraham was the meane, wherby they were opened, and that judgment taken away? and this, the 7 vers of that chapter further confirmeth, the 11 tribes about the monstrous whoredome and villanye committed in Gibeah of Benjamin, gathered themselves togeathre in armes, and did fight against Benjamin. They Israelites weare discomfitted the first and the second tyme, and manye of them slayne, notwithstandyng that after the first overthrowe, they had sought earnestlye unto the Lord by prayer. Prayer alone not prevailinge so farr with the Lord as they desiered, they assembled themselves in most solemne manner the second time, and joined fastinge thereunto, and therein they spent a daye After goinge foreth against they Benjamites, the Lord delivered them into there handes. Shall wee not saye that theire prayer and fastinge was the meaines, wherby they Israelites removed the hand and judgment of God which was upon them, (in smittinge them by Benjamin) and obtained victorye against them? Yes, verilye. Judges 20.

Even so it is in this case, Katherin Wright was possessed, and prayer beinge used, dispossessed. May not one well saye, that prayer was the meaines whereby Sathan was cast out of her? Prayer and fasting beinge used for Thomas Darlinge, one likewise possessed, he was thereupon cured. May it not be trulye sayde, that the sayd holy exercise was the meaines theirof? The 7 in Lankashire beinge sicke (as I may saye) of this supernaturall disease, weare healed upon the usinge or applyinge of this supernaturall meadicyne. Why may not I now as saflye saye, that this was the meaines of theire cureynge, and casting out of the spirites, as the physician applyinge a naturall meadicine, for the healing of a naturall dissease, it having also prospered to the recoverye of the parties health, say that his said medicine was the meanes theirof? In like sorte, William Somers beinge possessed, and the soveraigne meadicine of fastinge and prayer beinge used and applyed, he also was healed. To what meanes now shall or can wee ascribe this health and dispossession of his, but to this holy exercise? And this me thinketh, should somthinge persuade and prevaile with us herein, in that God not once or twice, but sundrye times, not upon the person of on alone, or two, but divers, hath from heaven put a seale here to, ratifying and confirming this to be a meanes effectuall (through his blessinge) to the castinge out of Sathan, in that he gave health to such as were possest with the devil, upon the usinge and applyinge of this medicine. When Saint Paull, his apostleshipe, was by reason of the false apostls among the Corinthians, called into question, his defence for himselfe, or profe thereof was this: That by him they were converted, and called or brought to the faith: are not yee, (saith he) " my worke in the Lord? you are the seale of mine apostleshippe in the Lord," as if he had said, in that some of yow by my ministrie have bene called to the felowshipe of Christ Jesus, as he sheweth, chap. 1. that, (if I had nothinge els to saye for my selfe) proveth me to be an apostle; " this, (saith he) is my defence to them that examine me," and call into doubt mine office. Even so I saye to them that denye or call into question, whether prayer and fastinge be meanes to cast forth Sathan, that the dispossession of the severall persons before spoken of, (to pase by others which might be named) is a seale and confirmation thereof. 1 Cor. 9. 1. 2. 3. Verse 26, 30. It is plaine that praier and fastinge be meanes, &c. though no such ordinance could be proved out of the scriptures.

Admit, then, that these wordes, " this kind can by no other meanes com forth, but by prayer and fasting," doe not containe in them an ordinance of Christ, for the healing of the possest by prayer, or prayer and fasting, and that neither here nor els where in holy scripture, there is any such ordinance mentioned, yet, notwithstanding the same may well be, (and indeed is) a meanes ordained of God to that end; for, as the

medicine applied by the phisitian for the healinge of one sicke of this or that dissease, or the plaister of the Chirurgian for the healinge of a wound, and prospering to that end the are applied, we all know that the same are meaines appointed of God thereunto; and when we see that the have the same effect with many, that they are ordinary meaines leading thereunto, all be it nothinge lesse then such meadicines or perticular ordinances of God are mentioned in the scriptures; even so, when we see that by prayer, and fastinge and prayer, Sathan is cast out of some, and they therby delivered from all theire vexations and torments which before from him they had indured, and that not som fewe, but sundry at this time, and many heretofore in former ages, as in Turtullian, Criprian, Chrisostome, there times: We may hence gather and assure ourselves, that God hath appointed prayer, and fastinge and prayer, as meanes (and that ordinarie,) to cast out the divill of the bodies of men when he is in them, and as a supernaturall meadicine to heale this supernaturall disease, whereunto the bodie of man is subject as well as to othere diseases, although ther were in holy scripture no mention of any such ordinance. The thing it selfe, then, (although there were nothing said as concerninge this matter in the holy scriptures) I meane, the deliverance of persons thus affected by Sathan, which in experience we see performed before our eyes, and others before us, manifesteth and proclamed to all men, this to be the ordinance of God in his secret counsell, even as it doth in naturall diseases, and in infinite other cases.

And what letteth that we should not be persuaded hereof, and receive it for a truth? If this, that we read not in the word of God of this ordinance, besids that we have hard it is otherwise, that hindereth not; because many, yea, infinit things are decreed in the secret and eternall counsell of God, and knowne so to be by man, which are not set downe in his reveiled will. If this, that Christ and his apostls, when they cast out divils, wrought miracles, and that miracles are ceased, we may remember, that soe likwise they healed feavers, palsies, and other diseases and infirmitie of mans body by miracle, and yet notwithstanding together with the diseases, meanes remaine for the curing of them. And why it may not likwise be so in this our case, in the healinge of this bodily disease supernaturall, by this supernaturall medicine, I desier him that is contrary minded to shew? That common objection, therfore, taken from the ceasing of miracles, maketh no more indeed against the ejection of Sathan, and healinge of the 10 possessed persons wee speake of done by an ordinary meanes, then it doth against they healing of other diseases, which diseases were somtime cured by miracle. The different manner of curinge is wislye to be considered off, as all curinge of naturall diseases is not miraculous, although some be, or rather was, even so all healing of this supernaturall disease or ejection of Sathan is not by miracle, all be it some be, but of this more hereafter. And here, for the further confirmation, both of the general point I now intreat of, which is, that men in these last daies may be dispossessed of divills, which to sundrie amonge us seemeth very straunge and incredible, as also to shew the meanes which since miracles ceased, have by the most learned and godly, in the church of God from time to time, bene used for the expellinge of Sathan out of such as be possessed, and is by theire example, practise, and counssell, commended unto us in the like case to be used to this end and purpose, I saye, I will in this place set downe certaine testimonies of some writers, both in auncient and latter times testifinge the same. Origen, writinge upon the 17 of Math. 121, "howbe it this kinde goeth not out, but by praier and fasting," hath these wordes, "*si aliquando nos oportuerit circa curationem*," if at any time it shall behove us to deal a bout the curinge of them who suffer such a matter, (viz. are possessed) we may not adjure them, nor aske them questions, nor speake any such thinges, as to the uncleane spirit hearinge us, but continuing in prayer and fastinge, we may obtaine helpe from God for the afflicted, and shall drive forth the wicked spirits by fastinge and praier. Tertullian saieth, "*Dæmones de hominibus expellimus sicut plurimus notum est*," wee expell divils out of men, as is knowen to

Math.
Tertull, in Apollo et ad Scapulam, cap. 3.
Cyprianus ad Demetrianum, tract 1.

many. Cyprian writing unto Domitian, useth these words, "*O si audire velles et videre*;" viz. Oh that thou wouldest heare and see, when the divills are adiured by us, and tormented by spirituall scourges, and by torments of wordes, are cast out of bodies possessed, come and know that these things be true which we affirme. Now, howsoever I do not justifie Cyprian as touchinge his adjuringe of evill spirits, yet hereby it is manifest, and this use we may make of this speach of his. that men were not only possest and dispossest of divils in those dayes, when miracles were ceased, but that the same was common and usuall then, for otherwise he would never have used these words, "come and knowe these thinges to be true which we speak," therbye provokinge Demetrian, proconsell of Africk, to make trial of that he saide. The same is also manifest by Turtullian, his wordes saying, "we daily expell divels out of men;" but most excellentlie doth this appeare by Chrisostom, who lived about 200 yeares after them. His words be these: "*Hinc itaque ad solitam veniamus admonitionem*;" therfore let us come to our accustomed admonition, and what is that accustomed admonition? that we frequent the worthy praier with a sober and watchful mind; for when I spake of this mater of lat, I saw all of you willingly obaying, wherfore in truth I shold deale very ill if I should not blame you when you are necligent, or not comend you when you do well; and according to your deuti this day, therfor I will prais you, and thank you for that your obedience, but I will then give you thanks when I shall first have taught you why that praier before al other was wont to be made, and why the deacon doth commaund the men that are vexed with the divill, and moved with most cruell furie to be brought in at that time, and bowe downe their heads; for what cause it is done, I will thus declare, the vexing of divills are bonds most wicked and greivous, for they are bonds more strong then iron; therfore as at the very instant, when the judgge is wont to come forth, and to sit upon the judgment seat, the jailor brings forth all the prisoners, and set them at the barre before the seat of judgment, loathsome, filthie, over growen with heaire, and al too tuttred with rages. So the fathers have appointed, that when Christ was presently to sit as it weare upon his tribunal, and to appeare in the sacraments, those men that were vexed with the divill, as being fettered with certain bonds, should be brought forth, not to be examined for the things which they have done, after the manner of prisoners, nor yet that they sholde be punished, but that the people and all the citie being present, publigue praiers might be made for them, that al with one accorde might intreat the Lord of all in there behalfe, and might strive with strong cries that the Lord would have merci upon them; but as then I was displeased with thos that neclected such a praier, and weare abroad at the time, so nowe presently I judge, that I am to be very sharpe with those which staye within, not for that they tarry with in, but that tariing in the place where they ought, they are nothinge better affected then they who gadd abroade, for they are talking amonge themselves, and either jest or confer about ther busines in the most fearfull time. Oh, man! what doest thou, when thou seest thy brethren present before thee in so many bonds; thou talkest about things which nothing concerne thee; can not the very sight terrifie thee sufficiently, and drawe thee to som compassion and pitie? Thy brother is in chaines, and yet thou art drowsy and carelesse. How canst thou be pardoned when thou art so harde harted, so far from humanitie, so cruel? Fearest thou not least whilst thou talkest, omitest thy dewtie, and art carles, some divill leaping out from the possessed, finding thy soule idle and swept cleane, should convaye himselfe into it, and with great easinesse enter into the house thus set wide open? How wel doth it beseme every one at that time, to be swallowed up of greife, to poure out rivers of tears, and none but watered eyes to be seene rounde about, and al the whole congregation to weepe, to sighe and sobbe. Canst thou not shed teares? What purginge can these horrible sinnes receive? If thou wilt not lament the state of thy brother, yet at least feare thou for thine ownselfe and awake. If thou shalt see thy neighbours house

Chrysost. Tomo 50. de incomprehensibili Dei natura homil. 4.

"that is, possessed with the devill, for so this phrase or manner of speach is used," Math. 15 22. Acts 5. 16 from whence no doubt this holy father did take it.

consider how it went with our demoniaks the daies of their dispossession, and we cannot but perceive the time of dispossession to be such, and so fearfull as is here said, and the sight, I. And hence it came, that the daye of Somers his dispossession, two made confession of theresins, with many teares in the presence of us all, I, and the sight such as may well terifie one.

Accordinge to that is said here, it was with the people at Nottingham, the day and time of Somers,

his dispossession, amonge whom (being about 150) there was scarcelye seene one drie face, as they which were present can witnes.

al on fier, although that negbour be to thee very hatful, wilt thou not runne with as possible speede to heelpe to quench it, least that the fier creping by little and little, enter into thy house also? Consider thou the same thing in those which are possessed with the divil: the tormenting of divils is a fier, and a burning, and consuminge flame. Take hede, therfore, &c. as further followeth there."

Thus wee see Chrisostome, in this pathetical homeli of his, sheweth the ordinarie custome of the church in his time, for the dispossessing or castinge out of Sathan by the pulicke praiers of the churche; wherin no doubt was usuallie greate weepinge, mourninge, sighinge, and stronge cryinge unto the Lorde by al the people presente, beholding the tormentes of the possessed, and their deliverance, thoughe nowe when Chrisostom spake these words, some of his people (by reason happely they weare much accustomed to these dispossessions, and those thinges which fell out in the same) failed to be after this manner affected, wherupon he reprehended them for the same, which is so sett downe as if Chrisostome had described that which hath fallen out in all sortes of beholders of these late dispossessions, so much now in controversie as they can witnesse.

Peter Martyr, part 4. cap. 3. sect. 13.

Peter Marter, in his book of common places, hath these wordes concerninge this matter, "*Quid ergo faciemus areptitiis, &c.* Therfore what shall we do with those that are possessed, when they are vexed with wicked spirits? Shal we forsake them? They are in no case to be forsaken. Yet, notwithstanding, we will not by adjurations commaund the uncleane spirit to goe forth, seeing we knowe we are not indued with any such gift, as that wee should by our commaundement cast out divils, wee will then use faithfull prayers, I say prayers most vehement, and supplications, for their recovery. In a word, this should be the most laudable and wise course, that exorcismes at this day be turned into prayers."

Chimnitius de sacram. ordine.

Chrisostomi et Prosperi ætate, &c. "In the time of Chrisostome and Prosper, (saith Chemnisius) they possessed were brought into the church, and were oft delivered by

PhilipMelanct. liber epist.

the common supplicationes of the assembly. And Philip Melancton havinge made mention of divers which were possessed, and, namly, of a damsell in Marchia, who had bene healed of that disease by the prayers of the godly, of whom he saith, "*et adhuc vivit sana;*" and it she liveth and continueth sound, which was 17. yeares after the cure; he then useth these words: "*Nequae vero dubito piorum precatione tolli id malum et expelli diabolos posse.*" Neither, indeed, doe I doubt but that evill may be taken awaye, and the divils expelled by the prayer of the godly; and a few lines after, continuinge his speach about the same matter, "*Scio plura exempla, in quibus profuisse*

Beza Hom. 26. in histor. passionis edit. 2. and page 656.

piorum precationem certum est." I knowe many exampls, wherin it is certaine they prayers of the godly availed, "*Scio quendam in Gallia fuisse patrem familias, ct.*" I knowe (saith M. Beza) a certaine housholder in Fraunce, indeued with the knowledge of the truth, and which had imbraced the same, who, when in anger, he had given one of his children to the divill, had his sonne presently possessed of the divill, out of whom after he was cast by the fervent and uncessant praiers of the church, "*Cum autem*

Vogellius in Thesauro Theologico, page 980.

nunc doctrina Christi satis confirmata sit, ct." Now, that the doctrine of Christ, (saith Vogellius) is sufficiently confirmed, this miraculous castinge out of divils hath ceased, sith there is not a better and more godly way at this day, then that Christ sitting at the right hand of the father be called upon, not only of the kinsfolke of the possessed, but also of the whol church, with a fervent hart, and be put in minde of his omnipotency and mercy, wherby only at this daye the uncleane spirits are cast forth. "This kind

Dan. quæst. 98. in Marc. Chassan in loc. com. li. 1. cap. 17.

of divils goeth not out but by prayer and fastinge," Math 17. 21. Daneus saith, "*Quare precibus et jejunio (quod fiat a precante) demum extrudi possunt ct.*" wherfore by prayer and fasting (which he that prayeth doth) they may at least be cast forth, that is, with the long, continuall, and fervent prayers of the posessed man, and also of the church, as are those which are joined with fastinge, &c. And Chassanion saith, "*Unicum istum*

nobis restat remedium;" this only remidy remaineth to us, wherby we ought to helpe these kind of men worthy of comiseration; to wit, that with fervent praiers we praye for their deliverance, so I hard that a Demoniak was delivered in a certaine towne within the Dolphins province.

Though prayer and fasting sometimes should not prosper to the deliverance of the partie possessed, yet that letteth not, but that is a meane of serving therunto.

It wil be objected, that if prayer, and prair with fasting, be ordinary and effectual meanes for the castinge out of divils, then in case on be possest, let the same be used, and the uncleane spirit shall goe forth. I answere, that the meaines which God himselfe hath appointed to some certaine end, doth not alwayes prosper therunto. The Lord hath ordained the preaching of the gospell to be the ordinari meanes to bring the electe unto the faith, and yet it falleth out often that the gospell being preached, and some of the elect present, they are not therby converted; and who knoweth not that God hath appointed the sober use of meats and drinckes to nourishe and strengthen these weake bodies of ours? and yet sometimes it proveth far otherwis, being also moderatly received; yea, what plowman is ther so simple, who, understandeth not this, that the plowing of grounde, and sowinge of seede thereupon in due season, is the meanes and high waye (as I may saye) to an harvest or increase of the saied graine in his time; and yet by lamentable experience for divers yeares past, many have seene and felte the contrari; it is plaine, then, that praier, and praier with fasting, may be ordinarie meanes appointed of God for the dispossessing of divils, and yet being used not prosper to that ende. The reason herof is, because God is at libertie, and not tied to any meanes; he maye blesse or keepe backe his blessinge from the meanes himselfe hath appointed, if he please, and then the meanes or seconde cause will not availe at all; yet this I affirme, that praier and fastinge is as effectual to cast Sathan forth and heale the possessed, as the best medicine we have is to cure any naturall disease; and herunto God hath often set his sealle; yea, when, by whom, and for what possessed person hath praier and fastinge bene used, and the partie not dispossessed? We may saye, therfore, of this supernaturall medicine, as the phisitians saie of som others, that it hath it, *probatum est.*

It is manefest, I trust, by the premises, that praier and fastinge are meanes ordained of Christ Jesus for the casting out of Satan; the which, if it be a doctrine of truth, as otherwise I would be very sory, then it is evidente, not only that men maye be possessed in these last dayes, but also dispossessed, which many, but very unadvisedly, doe gainsay; for otherwise God should have instituted some thinge in vaine, a medicine for the curinge of that disease, which shoulde not be, or if it fel out so that any were sicke therof, yet it should not be of that efficasie to cure them; either of which it is impious to affirme. The maine thinge which leteth men from beleving the works and doctrines of God wherof we have treated, is, that to cast out divills is a miracle, and nowe miracles are ceased. I answare, to cast forth devils by a worde, so as one no sooner commaundeth the spirit to go out, but forthwith he departeth, as Christ and his apostles did, with som others indeued with the like gifte or power, is a miracle, yea of miracles the greateste, and this hath an ende with other miracles; but by the meanes of praier, or fasting and praier, to drive out Satan, or rather to intreate Christ, to whom all power is given in heaven and earth, to cast Sathan forthe, is no miracle, because neither the churche, nor any member therof, can in the using of the meanes be assured to prevail; for although the assurance is or may be greate in this case, yet we can not be sure that the parttie shal be delivered, the meanes being used as is shewed before.

Objection. Ans. Math. 8. 16. Act. 16. 18. Luk. 10. 17.

Casting out of devils no miracle. Act. 14. 9.

Secondly, if this ejection of Satan by prayer were miraculous, then Satan being cast out of divers by earnest praier to God, performed by Tertullian, Ciprian, Chrisostome, and others of the Lords people in those times livinge, and joyninge with them therin, a miracle was wrought; if a miracle, miracles wear not ceased then, which all learned men knowe to be false. 2. If a miracle, who wroughte these miracles? If those auncient and learned fathers, why did others, yea oft times their wholl congregations,

joyne with them in these miraculous workes, and not themselves without theire help e doe the same, as did the apostles and others which had the guift of miracles; why did they not also by praier give sighte to the blinde, heale the sicke, and doe other miracles? Was ther ever any man hearde of, who indewed or guifted of God to worke one only kinde of miracle, and had no guifte or power to effect any other? It is manefest then, that for asmuch as thos fathers, assisted with others, did by praier cast divills out of the bodies of men, and it therin did no miracle, that expulsion of Satan by praier is not miraculous, or at least that Sathan may be so expelled, and no miracle wroughte.

It is no miracle that is done by meanes.

Thirdly, the expulsion of Sathan by praier, or fasting and praier, is no miracle, because it is brought to passe by meanes ordained to that ende, even the instant praiers of the servantes of God, somtime long continued in humiliation of fasting; for what soever is brought to pass by meanes appointed therunto is no miracle, though it be otherwise and in it selfe never so wonderfull; for this is one thing, among others, necessarily required in every miracle, so as without the same it is non, that it be done and brought to passe without any sett and appointed means of God therunto, as that learned and reverent Daneus testifieth, otherwise the number of miracles should growe to an infinit number, above those that heretofore weare taken to be such, and we shall have many miracles daily and continually wrought before our eyes, which all men will deny; for then shoulde the conversion of a man be a miracle, (and so looke how many men weare converted, so many miracles shoulde be wrought) for it is a wonderful worke, and not only above and besids nature, but against nature, even as it is to see "the wolfe dwell with the lambe, and the leoparde lye with the kide, and the calfe and the lion, and the fatt beaste together, and a little childe to leade them;" yet notwithstanding, forasmuch as it is brought to passe by an ordinarie meanes that God hath thearunto appointed, even the preachinge of the word; it therefore ceaseth to be a miracle; for, admit there were a man in Turkey, or amonge the Pagans in the faith, and that without al meanes, it is certaine that that mans convertion was miraculous; and yet when one in the church is brought to the faith by the ministri of the word, his conversion is not miraculous. That a child should be conceaved and so framed in the wombe of the mother as it is, and after brought forth a livinge creature, indewed with reason and understandinge, is a thinge greatly to be wondred at; yet forasmuch as the same is brought to pas by a meane ordained of God to that ende, no man counteth it a miracle, for then looke how many children weare borne, we should have so many miracles; but imagin a childe conceaved without the knowledg of man, as the conception of our Saviour was, then every on wil grant such conception to be miraculous. The like may be saide of the continuance of mans life, man taking that foode which God hath therunto appointed, if his life be continued, and holde out from yeare to yeare, there is none that wondreth at it; but if it weare possible that ani one should live without any sustenance at all, that weare miraculous; so Moses, Elias, and Christ living but 40 daies without eating and drincking any thing, it was by miracle. The corn that groweth in our feildes, wherin of on grain cometh not onli mani, but also the eare and stalk, is an admirable thing, yet no man counteth that miraculous; and why? becaus God in nature hath so appointed it, that the meanes leading therunto first being used, as plowing and sowing, ther should folow an harvest or increse of corn; but if we shold behold a feild replenished with corne wher no plow cam, nor seed was cast, then wold the simplest plowman that is, say, behold a miracle; thus we se on and the sam work miraculous and not miraculous, a miracle when it is effected without meanes, no miracle when it is don bi meanes; even so it is in this our present case: to cast out divils without meanes, as Christ and his apostls did, who onli spak and it was don, comanded and they obaied, is a miracle; but to cast forth devils by a meanes ordained of God to that end, as praier and fasting, is no miracle at al. But it wil be objected, that some outward thinges or actions, have as meanes bene used in the working of sundry miracles.

Daneus opusc. page 270. 1. c.

Exodus, 34. 2. 1 Kings 19. 8. Math. 4. 2.

The1 objection to prove that miracles were done bymeanes.

Elijah and Elisha devided Jorden, by smiting the waters with the cloak of Elijah; the oyle was increased to the widow by the meanes of the oyle in the pitcher. Naaman was sent to wash himselfe 7 times in Jorden for the healing of his leprosie; yea, Christ himselfe somtimes used meanes in the great works he did in the healing of on that was dumbe and deafe; it is said of him, that "he put his fingers in his eares, and did spitt, and touched his tongue;" and in the 9. of John, in giving sight to him that was borne blind, it is written, that "he annoynted his eyes with claye, and sent him to wash them in the poole of Siloam." Hereunto, I answer, that thes and such lik were used as signs, whereunto the Jewes were much accustomed, and happily to trie their faith therby, or to imprint the worke wrought more deeplie in the minds of the beholders, and those which were therby healed, or for some other purpose best knowne to the Lord, and as they which used them saw them most profitable; and not as meanes serving to the worke they were about, in which case they must necessarily have bene used; so as without the same the miracle could not have bene, for when the Lord apointeth a thinge to come to pase by such or such meanes, the same meanes must be used, otherwise that thinge shall never be. Now, I trust, wee are farr from thinking, that without these outward things, the said great works could not have bene effected or wrought. And could not Elisha, if he had pleased, as well have healed Naaman of his leprosie by his worde alone, as have smitten Gehazi his servant therwith? Yes, verilie, he enjoyned him then, that washinge in Jorden, not as a meanes of curinge him, but therby to trie the faith of Naaman, and was it not so triede therby that it was shaken, so as had it not bene for the counsell of his servantes, he had gone into his cuntri backe againe a leaper as he came? The same is to be said much more of our Saviour Christe, and of the outwarde thinges he used in some of his miracles in the 7 of Marke; a deafe man is broughte to our Saviour Christ to be curede, wher it is saied, that when he had taken him asyde from the multitude, "he put his fingers in his eares, and straight waies his eares wear opened." Now, it can not be denied, but that Christ coulde have don that cure, if he had pleased, though he had not moved a finger, yea, by his very nod or beck, and admit that Christ, insteade of puttinge his fingers into his eares, had only beckned unto him, and that therby he had received his hearinge, would we saye that Jesus had used the said becke as a meanes to restore him his hearinge, or rather therby to have made knowne to the partie and multitud, that his wil was that he shold heare, and be healed of that his deafnes?

Mark 7 22. 2. 8. 23.

Ans. 2 Kings 2. 8. 20. 21. and 31. and 4. 2. and 5. 14.

The outward things or acts which sometimes were used in working of miracles, were not used as meanes, but as signes, when and according as they them profitteth for man.

2 Kings, 5. 27.

Vers. 23.

The like may be said of the former blinde man, that our Saviour in "anointing his eyes with clay," and sending him "to Siloam to wash" them, did not use the same as a meanes to give him his sight, and worke that miracle, but therby to tempt him and trye his faith, for thus throgh in fideliti he might have reasoned in himselfe: I thought he woulde presently have given me my sight, by his divine power; but I now perceive it is otherwise: is al his power, wherby it is saied he doth suche greate workes, com to this; that mine eyes must be anointed, and that with clay, which, if I had my sight, would rather put it out then helpe to restore sighte to the blinde? and must I washe also, and that in the poole of Siloam, before I can see? What vertue hathe that water above other waters? Are not other waters, and is not the water of the poole of Bethseda as good as that of Siloam? May I not wash in som other water, and have my sight as well as in that of Siloam? I will not washe for this cause. Thus to prove his faith, and partly also therby to prove the faithe of others, the Lord Jesus in curinge him, anointed his eyes with claye, and sent him to Siloam, and did not this as a meanes effectual through his blessinge, to helpe him to his sight; to the same end he put his fingeers into the eares of the deafe, and used also somtimes spittle in restoringe sighte unto the blynde, and speache to the dumb; for what in reason, or in nature, is more unlikelie to effect so great a worke then a little spittle? Most excellently, therefore, therby, did

Mark 7. 33. and 8. 23.

Christ Jesus try the faith of men, and not use the same to the ende it shoulde be a meanes to effect that he was workinge; and yet I knowe and forgett not, that God can, and often doth bringe most mightie things to passe, by small and weake meanes.

John 11. 41. 2 Objection. Christ and Peter with others praised in doing miracles. Actes 9. 40. 2 Kings 18. 36. 37. and 2. 4. 33. Actes 28. 8.

And wher it is said, that Christ prayed in the raising up of Lazarus, and Peter in restoringe Tabitha to life, we are to understand that they did not this, as a sett and apointed meanes leadinge thereunto, which is also to be understood of others prayinge in the like case, (for then without prayer the miracles could not have bene wrought, which we must be farr from imagining;) but, in regard of the people which were present, as they saw it profitable for them; and this is expreslye noted by our Saviour, for it is said, that he prayed "because of the people that stood by, that they might beleve that his father had sent him." Peter also, by his praying, would have the people more fully understand then they could by the charge he commonly used, that that he did, was not by his godlines or power, but by the power of him, one whom he called. It is to be observed also, that howsoever they used some short prayer before, to the end aforsayde, yet when they came to the doinge of the worke, they did not supplycate, but commaund such a thinge to be done, as having power and authoritie thereunto, (the one from his father, the other from Christ.) "Lazarus come forth; Tabitha arise;" and it was so. But in our case we continued still in intrating and beseeching the Lord, who in his good time was plased to doe according to that wee desiered; whereby we witnessed unto men, that we have received no guift or power to cast out diuils, as the Apostles had, and that we doe no miracle, but only desier Christ sittinge at the right hand of his Father, to have compassion upon the partie in misserie, and according to his promise to helpe him, which was never held for myracle in the church of God. The which, if we had taken upon us to doe, then we would not have desiered the assistance of any minister, or privat person therin, nether would we alwaies have made intercession to Christ, in the behalfe of the person afflicted; but if not at the first, yet at length, when it came to the point of deliverance, we would have charged and commaunded the evill spirit in the name of Jesus Christ to have gone out, which is so far from us and our practise, that wee condemne the same, holdinge it unlawful to be used of any in these dayes, except God should raise up some extraordinarilie, which must be also in the founding or planting of a church, and not in a churche established, and such as hath receved the ghospel as ours hath; for, howsoever the Lord hath no where sayd that ther shal be no more miracles or miracle-workers, and therfore is at libertie in this case; yet, if we wel consider of the ende of miracles, and why the lorde added them to his worde, even to get intertainment to his ghospel amonge the Gentiles, which otherwise being foolish, (not in it selfe, but in the corrupt judgment of men) would never have bene received by them; and withall remember, that which we wel knowe, that it is alredy beleved in by the Gentills, we may therby well conjecture, yea, in a manner assure our selves, that miracles have an ende, espetially in a church established, wherin also we are confirmed, by the long time in which, for the reason aforesaid, they have bene wantinge.

Verse 13. Objection 3. The apostles used oile as a meanes in the healinge of the sicke.

In the 6 of Marke, it is said, that the Apostles "anoynted many that were sick with oyle, and healed them."

I answer, and return this upon him that objecteth it thus; if in the working of any miracles there were meanes used, then undoubtedly in the curing of those sicke persons, which by the Apostls were anoynted by oyle, and so healed; for what was there used in miracles, which in al reason was more likly to be a meanes then that oyle, and the anointing of the sicke therwith? and yet all learned men against the papists and their extreame unction agree in this, that the same was onlye a signe or ceremonie which the Apostles used in there miraculous healing of men; none saye that it was a meanes to effect the saide worke or cure; for then in truth it should have bene no other then a medicin, and by consequent their healing naturall, and not miraculous; if, then, that

oyle used by the apostles in the doyng of some miracles, was no means, but only a sign, by the consent of al devines; much lesse was the clay, spittle, or any such like thinge used by Christ or the prophets in som of their miracles, a means therof, but only a sign wherunto that people of the Jewes were much accustomed.

But admit that herein I weare deceived, and that this expelling of Satan by praier and fasting is a miracle, as well as that by word or commaunde, performed by Christ and his apostles, yet that maketh not against me, (my error herin excepted) nor the counsell I gave, or whatsoevr I did, so long as it is certaine that the aforesaide persons weare possessed or otherwise afflicted; and that in eyther of those cases, it is not only lawful to humble ourselves by praier and fasting, but also a dewtie and worshipe in such case and time to be performed to God: if any demaund why we can not cure other supernaturall diseases by this spirituall medicine, as such whome we saye are bewitched, that is afflicted in ther bodies through the mallice of a witch by her familier spirit; I answere, that if we had the like scripture for the curinge of them by praier and fasting, as we have for the healing of those Sathan possesseth, then we would not doubt but that they also by the saied meane might be helped as wel as the other; yet notwithstanding, we counsel all thus afflicted, to be often and diligent in using this holy exercise. For how shall we prevail against Sathan, and remove that hand of his wherwith God doth smite us, but by earnest prayer unto God? Is there any other meane or waye to heale such, as by phisicke? or helpe to be had from any creature? No, verily; except we will goe to the devill, and request him to spare us now, and be good to our bodies for the present; and upon that condition be contented, that hereafter he take his fill both of body and soule, as many (in effect) doe. Seing then ease to such can noe otherwise be had but by prayer, lett them in any case praye, and never faint nor give over, untill they have received a comfortable answere from the Lord; and seing none for a temporall judgment have more cause to be humbled then they, for as much as God hath sent an evill spirit, that vile creature of his, most malitious also and cruell towards man, to smitt and whip them with, and that fasting is a meane ordained of God to humble us; and further, the humbling and afflicting of man's soule, who should fast, if not these? by fasting then and prayer, let these seeke the removing of the heavie hand of God which lyeth upon them, and otherwise will not be removed but to there further hurt; and if this they obtaine not therby, yet ther labour and service they performed to God shall not be in vaine; for, besids, they receive comfort theirby in the discharge of that deutye they owe to God, who, when he layeth affliction upon any, doth therby call, and, as it were, summon them "unto weeping and mourning, to baldnes and girding with sackcloth." They shall also obtaine this therby, that the said affliction shal be sanctified unto them, and made meanes of much good to their soules, so as though in their outward man, I meane in their bodies, the be stil afflicted, it in their inner man they shal be renued daylie more and more, which of the two benifits that com by the exercise of humiliation is the better, though we rather desier the other deliverance from the present misery, because of the grefe it carieth with it. But suppose that herein also I were deceived, and that ther is no such ordinance of Christ as I affirme, and that fasting and prayer is not a medicine appoynted of God, and in mercy left to his church, for the healing of thos which are possessed; yet seing we are commaunded to "resist the divill," not only his temptations, but also his person, (for so did Christ Jesus our example, "avoid Satan," (saith he) and so not not only tempting, but also possessing; and have also a promis, that we resisting, the divill "will or shall flee;" seing also, (as Peter telleth us) we must "resist strong in the faith," for asmuch as the enimy is strong, even a principality and power; and the way to strengthen and stablish our weake and wavering faith, is prayer and fasting, who seeth not that ther was good and just cause to take up this said holy exercise, and sufficient in scripture to warrant the same? Indeed thes scripturs are directed to them that are set upon by

Objection. We see others are not cured of there supernatural diseases by prayer and fastinge.

Mark 9. 29.

The counsell I have given to such as I have sene bewitched, and in their bodies greatlye afflicted by Sathan beinge without them.

Levit. 23. 29. I Kings, 21. 27. 29. Isa. 22. 5. 12. 1 Tim. 4. 5.

Isa. 22. 5. 12. 1 Tim. 4. 5.

Heb. 12. 11.

James 4, 7. Math. 4. 10. 1 Peter 5 9. Ephe. 1. 26.

Satan, but it that leteth not, but that others also in a fellow feelinge of their misseries, as being members of the same body with them, might and ought, by way of help and assistance, joyne with them therin.

In the fightinges we have with our bodely enemies, one brother wil be sure to fight with and for another, espetially if he see him overmatched, and in daunger to be hurte; and shall not brethren in Christe, in the spirituall fight with the enemies of there soules and salvation, do as much in the like case? But be it further granted, not only that prayer and fasting is no such means as I affirme, but also that non of the foresayd persons were possessed, yet ther is notwithstanding sufficient to justifie the advise I gave, and the worke of our handes, because it is evident that they weare vexed by Satan; if not with them (as we verely belev and constantly affirme,) yet by some externall operation of his, or at least weare otherwise afflicted; if not so, that the hande or judgmente of God, I say, was one way or other upon them, it cane not be denied. Now, when God sendeth any judgment, thereby he calleth men, and therin secretly commandeth them to fast and praye, as is plaine by Isaiah 22, and the 1 chapter of Joel. Praier also and fastinge is the only meanes to remove the hand of God from off us, if that shal seeme good in the eies of the Lord, as apeareth by the 2 of Joel, and by the practise of the church in all ages, and the fruyt or successe therof, for the people of God in the day of their affliction, contynually betoke themselves therunto; and the same prospered and prevailed mighteli with God, as may appeare by the testimonies of scripture quoted in the margente. Herupon it followeth, that it was not only lawful for the aforesaied afflicted persons; and us also being requested, and that instantly, in a joynt-feling of their miserie, to take that course we did, but also our bounden dewty (being espetially present with them,) and that wee coulde not but advise and doe as wee did, if from the harte we desired their delyverance from the said judgment of God, so that this, if ther wear nothinge els besides, doth sufficiently justifie and warant our counsellinge of them to humble and cast downe themselves before the Lord under his mightie hand, and to seeke reconciliation and attonment with the Almightie, by prayer and fastinge, who by this strange plague of his, did testifie to ther faces that he was angry with them, and our joyning with them in the said exercise of humiliation.

Vers. 12.
Vers. 14.
Vers. 18. 19. 20.
Judges 20. 26. and 3. 6.

To conclude and inferr somthinge of the premises, and so to procede to the third parte of this treatis. If it be true not only that men in these last dayes may be possessed with devills and dyspossessed, and that praier and fasting be meanes appointed by God for the dispossessing of them; but also that the seven in Lankasheire, and William Somers, with the other two, viz. Darling and Katherin Wright, were in deed possessed; and being so dispossessed by the finger of God, in that they wer healed by the meanes which Christ Jesus hath sanctified to that end, as is made manefest by the premises; then judge, good Christian reader, whether they in the general doe not erre, who hold that men cannot now be possessed; and those also which graunting that, deny that men can now be dispossessed; and whether they likwise be not faultie in the particuler, which not only deny, but cannot with any patience endur to heare of the possession and dispossession of the persons aforesaid; and rather than that shal be admitted, will by all means possible, contend for a most vaine and impossible thing. I meane that Somers and Darling, and Katherin Wright, were counterfeits, and I there instructor: therby also intimating to all men, that the seven in Lancashire were such; and as it were desiring the world so to judge of them, but yet they let them alone, least happely they should be overwhelmed by them, or rather by the truth itselfe. Well, howsoever all men will not receive this truth, and acknowledging the worke of God, give the Lorde the glorie and prayse which is due to him for the same, and endevour to profitt and make there right use of it, which is a thing rather to be wished then looked for; yet some few doe and will, " for wisdome shal be justified of her children."

Heere followeth the thyrd Part.

Of the Use that every One is to make of these Workes of God.

Wee have manifestly proved that these persons we speake of were possessed with devills, and that they were dispossessed by prayer and fasting. Now, lest all this should be to us in vain, which God forbid, it remaineth that we consider of the fruite and profite which we may and ought to make to our selves thereof: for as in the ordinarie workes of God, if we only looke and gaze upon them without making any further use of the same, and doe not withal behold and consider the invisible things of God, as his power, wisdom, justice, mercye, our beholding of them is in vaine to us, and not only so, but wee theirby also take the Lordes name in vaine; even so shall it goe with us, if in this extraordinarie worke of God, we looke only upon it as some new and strange thing without any further proceeding to profit theirby; yea, if we be bound by the lawe of God to profite and receive good by every ordinarie worke of the Lord, much more by that which is extraordinarie; for an extraordinarie worke calleth for an extraordinarie use, and it is a double sinne to faile therein. Romanes 1.2.

The use we are to make of this extraordinarie worke, either concerning the glorie of God, and the stirring of us up to magnifie his great name, or the benefit of man, and good he may receive thereby.

First, herein, as in a glasse, wee may beholde the justice of God in punnishing or correctinge sinne, wherby the Lorde teacheth us to take heed of sinning against him, least either the same or a worse thinge come unto us. This work serveth to the glory of God and setting forth of the time, for herein are to be seene the justice of God.

Secondly, we see the omnipotencie and power of God, first, in the power and strength of the devil, which God permitteth him to exercise against sinners. Second, in subduing those principalities and powers, Satan, I meane, treading him under his feet, yea, under the feet of his servants: who then that is wise will serve the Lord in feare and trembling. The power of God.

Thirdly, the mercye of God is to be seene in this worke in delivering them; and that at the humble intreatie of others in there behalfe. they being disabled by Satan to supplicate for themselves. This being well considred, maguifieth greatly the mercie and compassion of the Lorde. Who can chuse but love him because of his mercies? And why should any dispaire of his mercie, seinge he is so ready to shew mercie even at the intreatie of others, how much more when man shall supplycatt for himselfe. This use Christ Jesus himselfe maketh, in saying to the man whom he had dispossessed, "Goe shew how the Lorde hath had compassion on thee." The mercy of God. Marke 5. 29.

Fourthly, wee maye here beholde the wisdom and immutabilitie of God, as being the same, who never changeth. In that (as he hath bene alwayes accustomed to doe) he brought this rare and great worke to passe by smalle and weake meanes, base and contemptible men, yea, such as be vile and odious in the eyes of the world: that thereby the power of God might be the better seene, man in his wisdom be confounded, and the name of God the better praysed. In a word, that he which rejoyceth in the behalfe of this worke, might not rejoyce in man, but in the Lord. To him therfore, to whom of right it belongeth, be the prayse and glory of this worke ascribed. The wisdome & immutabilitie of God. Vers. 9. 13. Cor. 1. 27.

Fiftly, the faithfulness of God, in the performance of his promyse, offereth it selfe here to our consideration. These wordes, this kind goeth not out but by praier and fasting, secretly containe in them this promise, that if any be possessed; and we in the humiliti of our souls by fasting, will intreate the Lord to cast the sperit out, he will doe it for us, and deliver the partie from beinge any further vexed by Satan. This the Lord hath promised, the accomplishmente wherof we have seene with our eies. Let us herby learne to trust to the least and most close and secret promise God hath made us in his worde; and saye in our harts and with our tongues, God is not as man, that he should lye and be unfaithful, neither as the sonne of man, that he should repent and not performe that Fidelitie of God. Luke 9. 29.

Numb. 23. 19. Rom. 3. 3. 4. he hath promised. "Hath he said, and shall he not do it; and hath he spoken, and shall he not accomplish it?" Hath he promised, and will he not performe it? And thus much breifly, concerning the glory of God, decleared in this worke. Now followe the severall uses concerning man, and the profite he otherwise is to make hereof.

1. It serveth to convince the Papists, touching of the power they only have in there church to cast forth devils.

First, this great and wonderfull worke of the Lord serveth to convince and stope the mouthes of the Papistes, who, as they are alwayes boastinge of their miracles, and upbraiding us with the same; so espetially with this miracle of theirs, (as they term it,) of casting out of devils, wherupon it hath come to passe, that some of this bragging generation, in Staffordshire, in the time of Thomas Darlinge, his possession, as also in Lancashire, in the time of the possession of those seven, there have broken forth into these and such like wordes of challenge: Let us see one of your ministers cast out these devils. If we might bring a priest, wee are sure he could doe it.

And in a booke latelye written by one of their side, wherin some of there exorcists and priests pretend to have dispossessed three here in England, I read these wordes: Now, saith the author, let me see whether they Protestants can avouch any such thing to be done in their congregations. And in another place thus, they Protestants have smale means to make triall, whether ther be any possessed among them or no, lesse judgment to discerne ther case; and much lesse remidie (if any such be found) other then to bind, beate and send them to Bedlem, if the be poore, or to begg their livings, if they have any. And in theire annotationes of the Rhemes testament, upon these words of they disciples to Christ, "Why could not wee cast him out?" they give this note. Noe marevill if they exorcistes of the Catholick Church, which have power to cast out deviles, yet doe it not allwayes when they will, and many times with much adoe; wherias they apostles having received this power before over uncleane spirites, yet here could not cast them out. But as for heritickes they can never doe it, nor any true myracle, to confirme their false faith.

Upon Mathew 17. 19.

Thus wee see, they doe not only deny that devilles are so usuallye cast out by us, as it is with them; but which is more, most peremptorilye they affirme, that wee (whom they term heretickes) can never do it, spetiallye to confirme our false faith.

To passe by the dispossessiones of others, even of late yeares, which might fitly be here objected against them; what say they to the dispossession of Katherine Wright, of T. Darling; and finally, of they other eight persons wee have so lately intreated off? That they were all possessed of uncleane spirits, and that the same were cast out of them, it hath alreadie bene so evedently shewed and confirmed, by reason out of the scriptures, that neither Papist nor Athist can, without blushing, gaynsay the same; and that those whom they call heretickes, were the instruments the Lord used therin, it is also most manifest. How then say they Rhemists, that heretickes can never cast out devils. But, to examine the truth of this their annotation a litle further, be that granted which they Papistes so much contend for, viz. That their exorcists only have power to drive out devils, and that we are to weake therunto: yet why do they challenge an equall power herein with the apostles, as is plaine by this their glosse, if it be well considered? Yet, least I should be thought to mistake or slaunder them, I will set down Thyreus, his wordes concerning this poynt. Speaking of the power to cast out devils, which was given by Christ, and to whom it was given, he saith thus: "*Docent sacræ literæ omnibus fidelibus ct.*" The holy scriptures teach, that the power over unclean spirits was comunicated to al belevers, but yet chiefly to the apostls and disciples of Christ; and a litle after, he adeth, this power which was given to the apostles died not with the apostles, but remained in the ages followinge, for it doth not appertaine to the apostles onely, that which is sayd, these signs shal followe them which beleve in my name, they shall cast out devills. This speache of Christ comprehendeth all belevers; this authoritie given by Christ shal continue so longe as ther shall be any which professe the faith of Christ. And agai[illegible], in the ende of the same chapiter, he hath these wordes, in our

Thyr. de Dæm. cap. 33. sect. 5.

Sect. 8. Marke 16. 17.

Sect. 10. cap. 35. sect. 4.

times also in the church of Christ, amonge the Catholicks this power is, and the very same which at the first was given by Christ to his disciples, and continued in the ages following. And not much after, he saith, but Christ's power over uncleane spirites, although in the beginning it was communicated chiefly to the apostles, yet, notwithstanding, wholly to all beleevers, and such only are they, if you will beleeve them.

Truly, it was not possible for them thus palpably to erre, if the God of this world had not blinded their eyes. They say, that in theire church only, theris power to cast forth divils, and out of it non, which, if no other way, yet by experience, is knowne to be false. But to lett this passe, what can be more false and absurd, then that which this Jesuiticall doctor addeth, that they have the same power and authoritie over wicked spirits that the apostles had; that the same is committed and given to them now by Christ, which sometimes he gave to the apostles? We have alreadie hard out of the holy scriptures, that Christ did give and commit unto his apostls such authoritie over all divills, as, by vertue therof, they no sooner spake, but they spirits went out of men; Sec 19. 12. they noe sooner commaunded, but forthwith they departed, yea, sometimes before, and without so much as their commaund, as by the kerchifes and handkercheifes, which were caried from Paules body.

If now the Papists or there exorcists have the same authoritie over uncleane spirits with the apostles, how cometh it to passe, that having among them some daylie possessed, they shew not forth the same power, and with a word cause the spirits immediately to goe out, and that the devils are no more subdued unto them? they command the wicked spirits, inded being in men, to goe forth of them as the apostles did, and therein take a litle too much upon them; but they all of them eyther doe or maye know that the devil goeth out at his best leasure. And hereof, as they have experience daylie among themselves, so the same was lately seene in some of their dispossessions in England, as may appear by the same booke lately written by a great clarke of their faction, and copied out by one M. Robert Barens, now prisoner in the King's Bench; for notwithstanding there was one of there exorcistes busied about that worthy worke, and to assist him three priests; and that they did not onlye adjure and command the spirites in the name of Jesus, as the apostles also did, (and, namely, amonge many other thinges) to tell them how longe they had bene in the partie, which was in one of them, just twoo yeares; and how many there were of them which were in the same person, just two thousand: likewise what were their names, which were Hoberdi-Dance, Lusti Jolly-Jenkin, Lusti-Dicke, &c., lustie companions, I warant you, every one, the like wherto wee read not of the apostles; but had besids their sacrifice of masse, their blessed sacrament of the aulter, with many other things applyed to they possessed parties, giving then hallowed bread, drincke, signinge them with the signe of the crosse, applyinge holy relickes, as the bones of S. Brian, S. Campian, putting on the partie possessed holye garments (all which are according to Thyreus his direction,) with more of this kind, which the apostles never used; yet, notwithstandinge all these helpes above, the apostles, and their equall authoritie to theres, they commaunding from day to day, and from time to time, very stubbornly the divil disobeyed them and their authoritie, and went out happelie at his owne leasure, caryinge himselfe in the meane season very saucilie towardes them, being men of such authoritie, telling them that they were traitors, &c., as appeareth by their said storie.

The exorcists contentedthemselveswith these names, as if without all doubt, they were so called indeed, and no marvile they beinge of this mind, as it should seeme, that the spirites being adjured, dare not lie to them. If this treatise of thers, which is so carfully written from hand to hand, were in the handes of all men, I am perswaded that nothing which the will of man could devise, would make their exorcising ofspirits rediculous and odious as it would. Mengus.

And lest any should take exception against the dispossession I speake of, we must knowe that by all their bookes written of this argument, and namlye Mengus, his *fuga Dæmonum*[1], it doth plainlye appeare, that usually they are a day or rather daies, exor-

[1] Jerome Mengus or Meng, a friar Minorite, in the end of the 16th century, published a treatise of Exorcism, in three parts, the first entitled *Flagellum Dæmonum;* the second, *Remedia efficacissima in malignos spiritus expellendos;* the third, *Fustis Dæmonum in malignos spiritus effugandos oppressis corporibus, doctrinam pulcherrimam, et valde necessariam exorcistis continens.* My copy of this sapient work is that of Venice, 1599.

cizing, adjuringe, charming againe and againe, and performinge the worthy rites and ceremonies (wherof we shall by and by heare,) beforet he devil will be pleased to goe out. Yea this, no Papist who herein understandeth any thinge, can or will deny; which beinge so, it should even hereby seeme that they have no such authorytie over spirits as the apostles had, and that the devils are not in any such subjection unto them, as they were to the apostles. Againe, if they have, *eandem illam potestatem*, the very same power over devills, which was by Christ given to his disciples, as they affirme, wherby they worke this miracle dayly; how cometh it to passe that they doe not ordinarilie, (for extraordinarilie, as they say, so it may be they doe in their lyinge wonders, wrought by the effectual working of Satan,) as well worke other miracles as that; restore sight to the blind, speach to the dumb, heale the sick, and raise up the deade? for these were joyned together in the same commission, as is expresslye noted by three evangelists. "Jesus, it is said, called his twelve disciples unto him, and gave them power against uncleane spirites, to cast them out, and to heale every sicknesse and every disease." And againe, a litle after, he saith unto them, "heale the sicke, clens the leapers, raise up the dead, cast out the devils," wherby it appeareth that Christ hath coupled and inseparably joined these thinges together; so as whosoever shall have the same power with the apostles to cast out devils, that is, with a worde, shall also have power with a worde to heale diseases and rais up the dead; yea, who can be so devoide of reason as to doubt thereof, if withal he remember, that to cast out devils is of miracles the greatest, as appeareth by that speach of the seventy disciples, "Lorde, even the devills are subdued unto us through thy name," as if they had saide, Lord, by vertue of that power which thou hast given us, wee have not onlye healed the sicke, made the blinde to see, raised up the deade, and done other great workes; but that also, which is above and surpasseth them all, we have cast the devills out of men, wherby we see that they are subject unto us. This consydered, who seeth not, that forasmuch as nether their exorcists, priests, nor any other in the popish church, have the same power with the apostles, by their anoyntinge to make the sicke whole, to make the halt to goe, the blind to see, the deafe to heare, the dumbe to speake, to raise up they dead, &c. that therefore also they have not the same power with them to cast out devils.

2 Thess. 2. 9. Math. 10. 1. 8. Mark 3. 15. Luke 9. 1.

Luke 10. 17.

And where the Jesuite affirmeth, that al belevers have the same power over wicked spirits with the apostles; if it be so, why doe not every one of ther belevers exercis that power when occasion is offred, but only ther exorcistes; agayn, were this so, all the faithful shold have power also to work other miracls, as appeareth by the premises. Now, I thinke, Thyreus will not saye, that every belever hath power to worke miracles, considering that of St Paule, are all doers of miracles? have all the giftes of healinge? The which, if he graunt, then must he lykewise confesse that all beleevers have not the same power to cast out devills with the apostles. But, saith he, "*sacræ literæ docent omnibus fidelibus, ct.*" the holy scripture teach this, for it is written, "*Signa eos qui crediderint, hæc sequentur, ct.,*" these signes shall follow them which beleve, in my name they shall cast out devils. If this scripture comprehend al belevers, and the power here given shal continue as long as there shal be any to professe the faith of Christ, as the Jesuit affirmeth, then shall every belever have likewise the gift of tongues, and be able, without studie, to understand and speake any language, and power also to work miracles; for it is not only said of these belevers, "that in Christe's name they shall cast out devils; but, besides, that they shall speake with newe tongus, and shal take away serpents; and if they shal drincke any deadly thinge, it shal not hurt them; they shall laye there handes on the sicke, and they shall recover;" but this latter is false, as the Jesuite himselfe must needs confesse, and is evident also by the aforesaid place of scripture, (doe al speake with tongues;) and therefore the first also: wee are not then to take those wordes, them that beleve, so generally; and to understand therby al them which have fayth in Christ, as this doctor doth, but more strightly of those only which were indew-

1 Cor. 12. 29. De Dœmo. cap. 38. sect. 5.

Mark 16. 17.

ed with the miraculous faith; which gift and number of belevers continued in the church but for a time, untill the gospell and doctrine of Christ crucified, which was to the Gentils both a new and foolish doctrine, had got among them entertainment. Acts 17. 18. 19. 20. 2 1 Cor. 1. 23.

But to returne to the Rhemists former glosse, it is there to be observed also, that they accounte there castinge forth of devills for a miracle; and why so, I pray you, seeinge by their own confession, their exorcists cast them out by the meane of fasting and praier, besides sundrie toyes and fooleries of their own coyning they add therunto. Are you, that stand so much upon your miracles, building as it were your faith and religion thereon, ignorante herein, That it is no miracle, be the worke never so wonderfull, which is done by an ordinarie meanes appointed of God therto If hetherto you have bene ignorant hereof, disdaine not to learne it nowe at the length, out of that hath bene said before in this behalfe. Eyther in the same page, or in theire annotations upon Marke 9.

If it should be granted, that to dispossesse devills by the meanes of praier and fastinge is a miracle; and that you only have power as to worke other miracles, so to cast forth devills; yet why affirme you so confidently, that hereticks can never do any miracle, (you meane, I am sure, such as yours are,) to confirme there false faith? Is it not plain by the 13 of Deut. that false prophets may and shal worke miracles; and that to the ende to bringe men from the true worshipe of God to idolatrie, and therefore to confirme their false faith and religion? If there arise among you, saith Moses, "a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams, and give thee a signe or wonder; second, and the sign and the wonder which he hath told thee com to passe, saing, let us go after other gods, which thou has not knowen, and let us serve them: third, thou shalt not harken unto the wordes of the prophet; but that prophet, or that dremer of dreams shalbe slaine, because he hath spoken (and given his signes and wonders) to turne you awaye from the Lord your God, to thrust thee out of the way wherin the Lord thy God commanded thee to walke." And Christ doth foretell us, that before his coming to judgment, "their shal arise false Christs and false prophets, and shal shew signes and wonders; or, as Mathew saith, great signes and wonders." And that they should worke these miracles to confirme ther false and antichristian faith, appeareth by the wordes following: "to deceive (saith Christ) if it were possible, the very elect." As if he had said, great miracles shal false Christs and false prophets worke before the last day, that so they maye confirme their false and antichristian doctrine, and make semblance that they are true and of God, therby to perswad men to beleve the same, and so deceive them, even the very electe, if it could be. Yea, in the second epistle to the Thessalonians, it is sett downe for a marke to knowe and discerne antichrist by, that his comminge is with all power, and signes and lying wonders; and that this he should doe to confirme his false faith, appeareth by the wordes following, where it is sayd, that he should doe these miracles in al deceivablenes of unrighteousnes. And againe, God shal send them strong delusions, that they should beleve lies, that is, lying and false doctrine. The very same with this we reade in the thirteenth of the Revelations, where the beast which came out of the earth, meaninge antichrist, is said to do great wonders, so that he made fier to come downe from heaven on the earth, in the sight of men, and deceived them that dwel on the earth by the signs which were permitted him to do. How then, say the Romanists, and with what truth, that hereticks, to confirme their false faith, can never doe any miracle? That false prophets and false Christs are heriticks, that I knowe you wil not denye; that Moses, in the law, and Christ in the gospell, speaketh of such true miracles as you doe, and such, it is cleare, you by these wordes meane it is most sure. Marke 13. 22. Math. 7. 22. Math. 24. 27. Chap. 2. 9. Chap. 2. 9.

And here by the waye, what cause hath the church of Rome thus to vaunt of the miracles wrought in her; aledging the same as a mightie confirmation of the truth of her doctrine, and some singuler priviledge bestowed upon her? Surely no more then the roge hath cause to bragg of the hole in his eare, or the theife of his burnt hande; for as these be certaine and infallible signes of a rogue and thefe, so miracles wrought by

Satan (and such are the Papists miracles) are a most certaine and infallible marke of the adversarie to Christ, whom wee call antichrist; as he then is rather out of his witts then in his right mind, that being for his theft burnt in the hande, will boast therof; so had not Sathan bewytched that whore of Rome, and deprived her of her judgmente and understandinge, shee woulde never boast of her miracles, considering they make much against her, even to witnese that their pope is that antichrist which shoulde come, and their religion false and antichristian. And where you intimate here, and els where affirme, that howsoever hereticks may happely be able to worke miracles to some other ende, as to confirme some article of the faith or truth of God, wherin they agree with you; yet not to confirme their false faith therby, that you see will not avail you, consideringe that the former testimonies of scripture, directlye in expresse wordes (as wee have heard) affirme and teach the contrarye.

Rhem. test upon Marke 9. 38,

Howsoever then, heritickes can not prove their false and erronious doctrines by the scriptures, yet they may worke miracles to confirme the same, wherby it is evident, that whilest they Papistes stand and contend for the priviledg of dispossessinge of uncleane spirits, the which they arrogate to themselves as pecularly belonging unto them, and denye to all others; they shewe themselves in the meane season to be possessed with a foule spirit of error.

And howsoever Thyerus hath likewise this aforesaid addition, saying, "*nunquam ab hominum corporibus, ct.*," heriticks shall never be able to expell devils out of the bodies of men, whensoever and as often as ever they shall assay it, to confirme their doctrine which they professe; yet by the argument he presently addeth, he seemeth to prove the general without any such restraint. For, he first saith, "*Signa eos, qui crediderint, ct.*" These signs shall followe them which beleve. In my name they shall cast out diviles; but heriticks are not in the number of belevers, therfore they are not able to drive away devills, by any power of Christ communicated unto them. A second argument is, we never read them to have expelled devills. And, a third is, it is reported in histories, that they have often bene deluded when they have gone about to caste out devills, wherby it is cleare that they denye to us all expulsion of devils, to what end soever; and meane, that, if at any time in our church, spirites be cast out of some, it is by the power of Sathan, as appeareth in the end of the saide chapter.

Thyreus de dœmon. cap. 40. sect. 4.

These thinges well considered, who seeth not that they mighttilye freind the Papistes, and strengthen them in this grosse error and brage of theirs, which contend for the counterfeiting of Somers, Darling, Katharine Wright; and confidently deny the seven in Lancashire, to have bene eyther dispossest or yet possest with devils? Doe not such doe them as great a pleasure theirin as posible men can? and give them occasion to sport themselves about our dispossession of devils, as Thyreus doth full swetly concerning Luther's dispossessing? May not they with some face of honestie and truth, publishe in their writings, that our former possessed persons did meerli counterfeite a possession, and were not possessed, much lesse dispossessed? seeing the same is openlye mayntained among us, even in our courts; and that by great prelats, one of the persones possessed, (I meane Thomas Darling,) imprisoned, and such as God used in the dispossessing of them, suspended, imprisoned along time, theere also used more strightlye then other prisoners, then felons, murtherers, trators; in a worde, so handled and dealt with, as no table deceivers and malefactors. Wheras, on the other side, had wee acknowledged this worke of God wrought divers times, and upon sundrie persons among us; and laboured withall to have manifested the truth therof, insteade of obscuring it, as in deutye we ought; then would undoubtedlie the Papistes have herein bene ashamed and confounded in themselves, for the greate vauntes and arrogant bragges they have here about in many of their books, given out and scattered.

De Dmœon. cap. 40. sect. 6.

But seeinge the Romanists glory so much in the dispossession of devils, let us a litle examine the same, and see whether it be altogether with them, as they beare the world

in hand it is, wher they must first knowe that it is not denied or doubted off by us, but graunted, that by their exorcists and exorcising, the possessed among them have ease and deliverance from the evil spirits formerlie vexing and possessing them; but the doubt and question is, whether the cast and drive out Satan. For my owne parte, I will not denye, but that a true deliverance of the possessed may be in the papacie; for, when I consider that possession with deviles is a temporal judgment, and that the humiliation of Ahab, an idolater, a man also that had sould himselfe to worke wickednes, prevailed so farr with the Lord, to spare him and his sonne concerninge the temporall judgment, which the Lord had before threatned and pronounced by his prophet to bring upon him and his posteritie, I cannot see why the like humiliation performed by a papiste and an idolater may not obtain the like, I meane a corporall blessinge of the Lord, or the removing of a temporall judgement. Yet notwithstanding, when, on the other side, I turne my eye to the meanes they use, I cannot but thinke, that when their possessed are helped, they spirites are not cast out, but of themselves goe forth, as servinge greatly for their owne advantage, and upholdinge of there kingdome of darknes amongst them. But what are the meanes they use in the dispossessinge of evil spirites? Even these, as appeareth by Thyreus. First, The invocation of the name of Jesus, wherby he doth not meaine invocation or prayer, but the often mentioninge of the name Christ, specially Jesus, which bare name is grevious to the divil, and hath great power in it, saith he. Second, The use of holy relicks. Third, Using the signe of the crosse. Fourth, The use of consecrat things, as holy water, hallowed salt, bread, drinke, &c. Fifth, Exorcisms. Now, how can one imagine that these, or any of them, should be of force to expell Satan, seeing they are not onlye such as weare not appoynted of God theirunto, but also in his worde condemned, as offensive to his Majestie, and unlawfull at all to be used; and are, besides, in themselves most vaine, and such as in the usinge wherof the devill cannot but take pleasure. As touchinge the four first meaines here specified, I doubt not but that all men of sound judgment will, with one consent and voice, saye with me, that they cannot possible be effectuall to drive out Sathan, howsoever they may (peradventure) serve to intise him out. The question then is of the fyfte, their exorcismes, which is also the chiefe, and that which they most trust unto and relye upon.

1 Kings 21. 29.

Thyreus de Dœmon. cap. 41. 42.

To passe by the unlawfulnes of their adjuringe the spirits, in that they have no such giufte nor authority over uncleane spirites given them, as the apostles had, (from whom they fetch it,) as hath bene shewed; and also the unlawfulnes of the continual speach or communication which with the divils they have, when they exorcise, contrarie to the practise of the holy apostle, yea, of Christ Jesus himselfe, who, when the divill speake, bad him hold his peace, and come out of him. To passe by these, I say, and not to alledg them against their exorcizinge, I affirme, that there exorcismes are so palpable, impious, vaine, foolish, and ridiculous, that it cannot be imagined that theirby, the divils are, or cannot be compelled to goe out of men. And that every on may be the better assured hereof, I will set downe the titles of sundrie of their adjurations in there exorcismes, every of which conteineth the summe or effect of the whole adjuration following; and therefore, must nedes be sutable to these, yea, nothing but the same set downe at large and in more wordes.

Acts 16. 18. Marke 1. 25. Luk. 4. 35. 41.

Hic exorcista ponat manum sacram super caput vexati, ect.
Hic aspergatur aqua benedicta super obsessum, ect.

Mengus fug. Dœmonum, 103. etc.

Here let the exorcist lay his holy hand of the head of the possessed, and when he hath tied the stole to the necke of the possessed with three knottes, say, &c.

Here let holy water be sprinkled upon the possessed.

Here let him say certaine gospelles, with his handes upon the head of the possessed.

Here let the exorcist commaund the divils, that with their knees bowed, and head, they worshipe the Holy Trinitie, thrice smitting the footstoole or ground with their head, without hurting the possessed, which being done, let him begine to adjure them. And whersoever in the exorcismes he shall find the signe of the crosse, he must alwayes signe the possessed in the forhead.

Here let them aske their proper names, &c. If he will not answere, or refuse to obay, let the exorcist, with very sharpe wordes, commaundements, and adjurations iterated, require obedience, threatninge to thrust him downe into hell, presently upon his goeing forth of the body.

Here must the exorcist anger the devils as much as he can with reproches, injuries, all which with greife the indure[1].

Here let the exorcist compell the divels to goe out, but if they will not obay, let him write their names, and their fellows in a like scroule of paper, and burne them in fier that is blessed, for these things are very grevous unto them, because the are to their shame, and to put them in mind of hell fier.

Here, if the spirit will not obay, take fier and brimstone, being both blessed, and halowed, and cause the possessed, will he, nil he, to behold in the smoake over the said fire and brimstone until he tell you the truth in all things which are nedfull for the deliverance of the possessed.

Here let the exorcist goe about to knowe their names and the properties of the divils which are in the body possessed.

Here why, or for what cause they doe not depart.

Here demaund for what cause they did enter in.

Here, if they will not goe out, put rue in the nostrels of the possessed.

Here let the exorcist indevour to get out the truth from the divill possessing, as well by an oath as by severe threats.

Here let the exorcist learne of them, with what words they are most tormented; that so he may the better knowe to apply fit remedies against them.

Here let the exorcist aske the proper names of the divil: If so be that he can not know them, let him give them scornfull names, which are most grevous to the divils.

Here mocke them with revelinges, injuries, and the remembrance of thire salvation.

They wil smoak the divill forth, but they will have him out.

Here demaund how the divils may thence be expelled by the power of God; and if they will not tell the truth, make a smoake of stinking thinges.

Here let him put salt into water in the forme of a crosse, sayinge, &c.

He that thinketh that by the aforesaid rites and ceremonies, Satan can be expelled, as by burning thir names in hallowed fier, by houlding the possessed in the smok, over fyer and brimston, being blessed, and the rest of those we have hearde, and such others. He I say, that thus thinketh, and is so ignorante and sottish, or brutish in his understanding, lett him be so still, neither will any thinge availe with him; and to the rest who see the unspeakable follye and vanitie of them, it is needlesse to say any thinge more. I will therfore leave the Papists, and proceed to some other use.

The 2. use teacheth us, how we may know if on be possessed.

[1] The Protestant divines had recourse to this expedient as well as the Catholic exorcists; for, in the case of the Survey Dæmoniac, Richard Dugdale, who had committed himself to the devil for the pleasure of out-dancing his companions at a wake, the dissenting clergyman who attended him thus gibed the foul fiend.

"What, Satan! is this the dancing that Richard gave himself to thee for? &c. Canst thou dance no better? &c. Ransack the old records of all past times and places in thy memory: Canst thou not there find out some better way of trampling? Pump thine invention dry; cannot that universal seed-plot of subtile wiles and stratagems spring up one new method of cutting capers? Is this the top of skill and pride, to shuffle feet, and brandish knees thus, and to trip like a doe, and skip like a squirrel? And wherein differs thy leapings from the hoppings of a frog, or the bouncings of a goat, or friskings of a dog, or gesticulations of a monkey? And cannot a palsy shake such a loose leg as that? Dost thou not twirl like a calf that hath the turn, and twitch up thy houghs just like a springhalt tit?"

For a seconde use, we have here to informe our judgment in the discerning of the possessed, if we desire to knowe whether such a on whom we suspecte to be possessed, be so or not, we have before in the reporte and handlinge of this worke, to satisfie us therein; for give me a man of whose possession you doubt, and if it be so with him that he is greavously vexed, and often times and that on the sudden, by fits, or at certain times, and yet not hurt therby, thoughe he offer much violence unto hinselfe, and doe that which in reason and nature should greatly hurt him, but is as wel presently after as before the fitt: speaking in his said fytts (if he use any speache at all) he knoweth not what, nor can afterwards cal to minde, and uttering sometimes such speaches as savour not of the spirit of man, but excellently sure, and agre with the nature of a wicked spirite: who gnasheth also sometimes with his teeth, walloweth, fometh, is oft cast unto fier and water, and sheweth in some of his fits extraordinarie and supernatural strength and knowledg; then in such case, you have not so much man as the scriptur and God him self, who can not deceive you, resolvinge your doubte, and pronouncinge him possessed with an unclean spirit. But if it go not thus for the most parte (though not altogether) with your suspected partie, then judge you otherwise, and free him of the suspition therof.

Besides, if the parttie be troubled with strange sights and visions, if in his fits he have in his belly very strange and supernaturall swellings, if som times his armes and legs be as stiffe, inflexible, and heavie as iron, his body as heavie as so much leade, his mouth drawne awrye to his ear, his tongue thrust strangely out, or retorted backwards, speakinge so, or at least without that instrument of speache or lippes, with his mouth wide open, if his eyes stare fearefully, his face sett behinde, his bones thrust out and into their proper joyntes, if he be deprived of his sences, now seeing, now blynde, now hearinge, nowe deafe, if he be ordinary in his fits, without feeling, also som times speachlesse, som times likewise eating and drinkinge unsatiably, at other times takinge no foode at all for certaine days together, and if other such strange accidents besides, and against nature fall out, whereof we have heard at large; then, forasmuch as in experience these thinges have bene seene in those which were possessed, you may therby be further confirmed in his possession.

The 3. use to instructe us, concerninge the meanes of dispossession.

Thirdly, out of the premises we are to learne what to do in case we se on possessed, what counsell and advise to give, when any such thing shal fall out, that for the curinge of this unnaturall, or rather supernaturall disease, for it cometh not from nature, but somthinge els, even a supernaturall power within on, I meane the divill; no herbes, potions, or other natural medicins, must be used or applied, which God hath appointed for diseases of another kind, but the supernaturall medcine of praier, and if that prevail not for the curinge of the partie thus diseased, we must take another of the sam kind, but more soveraigne, which is fasting and praier; and therby we doubt not but that the patient shall be healed, if God hath appoynted that the partie so diseased shall recover, as certainlyas one sick of a natural disease, by the applyinge of the best medicine; because it is the meanes or medicyne which the Lord himselfe, the best phisition, hath ordained therunto.

Wee are here to marke the baites wherby the devill usually catcheth us, that so wee may the better avoide them. *Gen. 3. 5. Math. 4. 10. Gen. 4. 13. Math. 27. 4, 5.*

Fourthly, the bates Satan ordinarily useth to catch men with, are to be observed by the way, which eyther are some fare promise, or feareful threat: to Evah he said, "eate, and your eys shall be opened, and yee shall be as gods, knowing good and evil;" and hereby was Evah snared, as appeareth by verse 6. and to Christ he said, "All these will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down, and worship me:" on the other side to Cain he sugested, "that his punishment was greater than he could beare:" and to Judas, that he had sinned so greavouslye in betrayinge innocent bloude, that it could not be pardoned, wherupon he went and hanged himselfe.

Thus he delt with those possessed persons, making them faire promises of silver, gould, &c. so that he might enter, and threatninge to destroy them if they woulde not

consente; and after this manner he dealeth with us all, in the temptations wherwith he continually assaulteth us; somtimes, yea, usually setting before our eyes the pleasure of that sinne he intiseth us unto; if that will not serve his turne, (as for the most part it doth) then goeth he another way to worke, by callinge to our remembrance our sinnes past, aggravating them everye waye he possiblye can: as, by the innumerable multitude of them, the greatnes of them, in that they have been committed against God, so greate and worthy a person, after knowledge, yea, after some repentance and vowes made to God to the contrary, and by other such like circumstances; of these baites, let us in the feare of God, and love of our owne soules, take heed, for as these children, if they had given their consente upon the persuasion of the spirits, undoubtedly they had entered into them, and possessed them corporally; so sureli if Satan, thus assaltinge us, we yeelde, and give assente unto him, he then entereth into us and possesseth us spiritually: for marke what is sayd of Judas: the divill put into the hart of
John 13. 2. Judas to betraye Christ; there is Sathans suggestion, and that this motion might the rather prevaille, together withall (nodoubt) he set before him (beinge covetous) the rewarde woulde be gyven him for the same; also, how acceptable a thinge it woulde be to the Scribes and Pharisees, who were the cheif amonge the Jewes, and their governors, and what great favour and grace he shoulde therby obtaine at thir hands, and the pleasure of both these. Judas considered of these thinges, and in the ende (beinge alured
John 13. 27. by these baites) resolved to betraye Christ Jesus; and there it is sayd Satan entred into him; and thys, as it is a more common, so it is a worsse kinde of possession, then this of the childrens, and not so easily and quickly cured: let us therfore so much the more beware of it, and of giving consent to Satans tempting, wherby only it is compassed; for let Satan tempt never so much and often, yet if we yelde not to his temptations, but, as Christ did, by the word resist them, he cannot enter; for being resisted, assaith James, he will flee: this also is shadowed out unto us, and to be seene in this worke
Math. 4. 44. James 4. 7. of God, for the spirits being resisted, and not consented unto, they after a while give dlace, and vanish away.

Here is the subteltie of the devill to be observed. And here not unfitly we may remember the lyinge and deceit of the devill; he bare the above named possessed persons in hande, a litle after there dispossession, that if they would consente unto him in that he desired, he would give them what they coulde desire, silver, gould, &c. in abundance, and made as it were a tender thereof unto them. On the other side, if they denied him his request, he woulde then surely destroye them. Now, who seeth not that Satan herein did but lye and deceive, for thoughe in appearance, yet in truth, there was neyther silver nor gold, silkes, nor velvet, and hath a bone of any of them since that time bene broken? or so much as an heare of one of their
Gen. 3. 4. 5. heades perished? No, verely. Thus he lyed unto and cozened our grandmother Evah, making her believe, that "shee should not die at all," and that if she did eate of the forbidden fruite, she shoulde be equall with God, and of as greate knowledge and understanding as he. In like manner, he lyed to our blessed Saviour, and would thereby
John 14. 10. have deceived him, if it had layen in his power, but he had nought in him. "When
Luke 4. 5 he had shewed Jesus all the kingdomes of the worlde in the twinkeling of an eye, he sayd
John 12. 13. unto him, all this power will I give thee, and the glori of thes, for that is delivered unto
2 Cor. 4. 4. me, and to whom soever I will, I give it. If thou, therfore, wilt worship me, they shall
Eph. 2. 2. be all thine:" Wherin the devill lyed; for though he be prince and god of this world,
Heb. 1. 2. becaus the greatest part of this world, yea all the worlde, a little flocke excepted, are
1 Cor. 3. 22. 23. ruled by him, and, as his subjects, doe homage unto him, being the children of disobe-
Tit. 3. 3. dience, yet hath he not of his owne so much as a pile of grasse, for Christ is heire of the world. In lyke sorte, he dealeth contynually with us, alwayes lyinge and cogging unto us, tellinge us, this pleasure will come by this sinne, and this pleasure by that sinne, therby entising us to commit that sinne, wherin he doth nothing but lye and deceive; for, oftentimes, when a man hath comitted the sinne, he is frustrated

and disapoynted of the pleasure he sett before him, and wherby he was drawen unto that sinne, as Absolom went without the pleasures of a kingdom, which Satan had tickled him with, and promised upon his insurrection against his father, and all the theifes which upon their thefte have been apprehended and hanged; but if he be not, yet the "fruit and issue therof will be death." In that pleasure the harte eyther is or hath cause to be sorowfull, because "the end of that mirth is heavinesse." So that stil he dealeth craftely with us, and like a cozener and deceavour as he is, S. Paull saith of himselfe, that sinne deceved him, and therby slew him; the same may be as fitly and truly saide of the divill, that by his subtilti he deceiveth and enticeth us to the commitinge of sine, and thereby slayeth us. Seinge then it is so, let us beware of Satan, his intisments, and labour to spie out his deceite in the sinne he persuadeth us unto; let us neither be inticed with his vaine alurements, nor terrified with his threats; so shall we, together with the sinne, escape the devouringe and destruction he therin meerlye intendeth and aymeth at.

Rom. 6. 21. 23. 35.

Pet. 5. 8.

Fiftly, Here is shadowed out unto us the greate diligence Satan useth to recover such as he once delivered out of his power; for presently after his ejection out of those in Lancyshire, and their delyverie out of his handes, he was so eger and busie about them, that for a time we (that then laye in the howse where they were) could neither eate without interruption, nor scante take our rest, and no diligence day nor night, (save that he stayed sometimes for his best opportunitie) nor yet meanes was wantinge, untill he had recovered Somers. The reason why he did so for a litle season only, and hath not continued his solycitinge them in that manner untill this day, and so forwarde, is not through any sloughtfulnes in him, or for wante of any will or desire in him, as though he regarded not greatly the inhabitinge and vexinge of man in his bodye, spetially them out of whome he hath bene cast, for the contrary is evident by holy scripture; but because the time of his returning in that manner, and sencible molestinge of them out of whom he hath bene cast, is limmited and set downe unto him, which he may not passe. Is Satan so diligent (all the time alotted unto him) in compassinge an entrance into the body, and will he use no diligence, and take no paines, for the windeinge of himself into the soules of men? Yes, verily, yea, by howe much more he desireth the tormentinge of the bodie and soule of man in hell for ever, then the vexinge of him in his body in this present life for a litle season, which is more then I can expresse, by so much more desireth he the possessinge of man's soule and continuance therin, which leadeth therunto above the corporall possession. How frequent then and diligent is he in temptinge or movinge of us to evil! at the time granted unto him of God to that ende, which is duringe our life? Can his diligence and watchfulnes be expressed, or the manifold assaltes and times wher in he so assalteth us, be reckoned up? No, verly. And this the worde of God telleth us a little more plainly, when it saith, "the devill, our adversarie, as a roaringe lion walketh out, seeking whom he may devoure." He seketh, he walketh about us, yea, as the lion after his prey. The Lorde said somtime unto Satan, "whence comest thou? from compassinge the earth (said he) to and fro, and from walking in it." Whersoever then we are whilest we remaine upon earth, Satan compasseth us, and besetteth us on every side, that he may wounde us when and where he seeth us naked and unarmed; and as thus he doth with all men, so spetially with those he hath lost, and have bene taken out of his possession, whether corporall or spirituall; on them he rageth, and fometh, against them he is stark mad, to recover them he will bringe out al his packe of subtilties. "Simon, Simon, (said our Saviour) Sathan hath desired you to winowe you as wheate." And we be once disciples, espetially if we be of the apostles sucessors, though not apostles, then Satan putteth up his request unto God, that he may have the sifting of us. Thus we see what the devill our adversarie doth for his parte, what care, what watchfulnes, what diligence, what paines, he taketh to bringe us to destruction; and will not we indevour the

Job 1. 7.

Luke 22. 31.

like to preserve our selves from the same? Is Satan continually assalting us, (which is shadowed out unto us in this worke of God) and will not we continually resist, seeinge resisted he will flie? When Peter telleth us of the diligence and nature of this our adversarie, he therupon inferreth this, "be sober, therefore, and watch." By how much more malitious, strong, cruell, subtle, and watchfull to take us at advantage the enimy is, by so much the more had we neede to be circumspect and watchfull, that the enimy gett no advantage. All men had nede, day and night, to watch and praye, lest they enter into temptation, ever resistinge, stronge in the faith, and never consenting, no not in hart, for then "we give place to the divill," but espetially, and above others, they who have bene delivered out of the power and possession of Sathan, and translated into the kingdome of God and Christ Jesus.

James 4. 7. 1 Pet. 1 8. Math 26. 41. 1 Pet. 1. 9. Eph. 4. 26. 27. Acts 26. 18. 2 Tim. 2. 26.

We may hereby partly know the nature of the devil, and therewith whether we be his children.

Sixtly, Hereby we may perceive, "whereunto they divils are naturally given or caried by the instinct of their nature now corrupted," even to blasphemie against God, to swareing, lyinge, uncleanes, deceit, and generally to all manner of iniquity, which accordeth excellently with that is said of them in holy scripture, and the titles given them their, where they are tearmed blasphemous spirits, lying spirits, uncleane spirits, subtle spirits, (in that the devil is called the old serpent) and wicked spirits. And this, because they are therunto given, and whollye caried of themselves by there nature. 2. Because of the effect and operation they worke in men, sturringe up and temptinge them to these and all other sinnes continuallye, and bringinge them daily forth in they children of disobedience; and hereby we may easilye knowe to whom we belonge, and whose children we are, whether we be the sonnes of God or the children of the divill. For doth not nature itselfe teach us, that their is a certaine similitude and liknes betwene the father and the child? and this is not onlye true of the naturall father and child, but much more true of the spirituall father and his child, as appeareth by the holy scripture. And therfore it is, that this speach is so often used by the Lorde himselfe: "Be yee holy, for I am holy." And that S John saith, "If ye knowe that he is righteous, knowe ye that he which doth righteously, is borne of him." And again, "God is light. If then we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have felowship with the father, and with his sonne Jesus Christ." And againe, "every on that loveth is borne of God, and knoweth God, for God is love." And Christ saith, "love your enimies, doe good to them that hate you, that ye may be the children of your father that is in heven, for he maketh his sunne to arise on the evill and the good, and sendeth raine on the just and unjust." And presently after, "ye shal be perfite as your father which is in heven is perfite." And on other side, concerninge the other spirituall father, it was to this purpose to some of his children, said somtimes by our Saviour Christ: "ye doe the workes of your father, ye are (therefore) of your father the divil, and the lust of your father ye will doe;" because also of this John saith: "he that committeth sinne is of the devill;" and why? "for the devill sinneth from the beginning." Both these our Saviour teacheth in twoo wordes; "I speake that which I have sene with my father, and ye doe that which ye have sene with your father," intimatinge this for the reason thereof; that so it is, and otherwise cannot be, becaus the spirituall childe followeth, and can not but followe the disposition of the spirituall father, so as looke how the father is affected and given, whether it be God or the devill, even so is the childe, and must nedes be, because, beinge a childe, he is partaker of his father's nature, whether it be divine or divilish; and otherwise he is no child: and therefore, beinge of the selfe same nature, they must needes be affected alike; so as what and whom the one loveth, hateth, &c. the other will doe so likewise. Here upon it necessarily and inevitably followeth, that as they are the sonnes of God, who as God (infinitely) so they (accordinge to there measure) are holy, righteous, in the light, in love, yea, lovinge there enemies, and doinge good to them which hate them, ct. strivinge also daily to be more holy, righteous, ct. that so they might be per-

Rev. 2. 9. John 8. 4. Math. 12. 43. Mark 5. 2. 8. 1. Rev. 12. 9. 20. 2. 3. 19. Acts 19. 12. 13. Eph. 2. 2.

fecte, as is there heavenly Father: As such, I saye, which have this image, similitud and stampe of G d set upon them, and shininge in all there speaches, actions, and thoughts, are the children of God, yea, all such, and none but such, becaus of his children onlye he bestoweth this spirit, that is, these gifts of the spirit. According to that of the apostle, " as many as are led by the spirit of God, they are the sonnes of God," so as they deceive themselves, which wantinge, " this spirit of God and Christ," to lead them into the holy and righteous waies of God, are yet, notwithstandinge, perswaded that God is there father, and they his children; even so they who, in there speaches, actions, and thoughts, represent the divil, and have his stampe or image upon them, beinge together with him given to blasphemie, swearinge, lyinge, uncleannes, deceit; in a word, to the commiting of sine, are the children of the devil, and have him for their father; and they doe greatly deceive themselves, which, doinge the same works with the devill, and being ruled by his spirit, do nevertheles hope that God is their father.

Let every on of us then compare our selve with another, and seriouslie examine ourselves, and consider whom wee are most like, whom in our workes we most resemble, God or the divill, for certainlie to him we belong to whom we are likest, and he is our father. Eph. 2. 2.

But here you must not so take me, as though I ment that whosoever maketh a lie, useth an oath, commiteth any uncleanes, at any time deceiveth his neighbour in bargaining, is the child of the divill. God forbid! for Noah, Lot, David, and Peter, sinned grevously against God, and yet were his children; and there are amongst us no doubte which have there slippes and falles, and yet are God's children. It is not then the committinge of a sinne, although it be a hainous sinne, which argueth the child of the devill. But the " serving of sinne," and " obaying it in the lusts thereof," Rom. 4. 14. 16. 2 Pet. 2. 19. when Sathan stirreth up in man a lust after lying, swearing, adultery, deceit, and other Rom. 9. 12. transgressions of the lawe; and hee forthwith willingly and very readily faileth to put the same in practice, and thus not only once or twice, but usually doth the workes of the divel, such a one, saith Christ, is of his father the divell. And yet, howsoever the fallinge into some hainous transgression proveth not one to be the child of the divill, yet such slipe or fall giveth the child of God just eause not only of weeping, but, with John 8. 41. Peter, to weepe bitterly. In that, he after so great grace received, (even the spirit of God, I meane the spirit of adoption and sanctification, which God bestoweth upon his Luke 22. 62. children only) shall so highly offend him, who hath bene so good and gratious unto him, Gal. 4 6. Rom. 8. 14. 15. recompencing him with evill for his unspeakable good, and therby also greatly dis- Rom. 2. 24. honeringe God, and causinge his holy name to be blasphemed and evill spoken off.

Neither must any so understand me as though I ment, that all those which are now the children, and under the power of the devill, should certainly goe unto the devill, and have the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone for their portion, and by consequent all such as are before described, for he who is the divil's child, and captive unto Satan to day, may be to morrowe the sonne of God, and delivered out of that spirituall bondage; yea, very sure it is, that in his inwarde and spirituall estate and condition this happie change shall be, if he chaunge and alter his conditions, and be " a newe creature," so as " old thinges being passed away, all things become new" with him; havinge a new minde, and a new hart, (which is, when he hath new thoughtes Cor. 15. 17. and new affection,) which will carry with them the body and all the members thereof, and make them newe likewise; so as hee shall have newe eyes, new eares, a new tongue, new hands, &c. every one of these, and the rest of the members, according to his severall office or duty, performing newe, that is, other and better thinges, then in former times hee did, man chaunging or being thus chaunged; he is therwith translated from Sathan unto God, and from being his child, to be adopted into the number of the sonnes of God, having this priviledge and dignity bestowed upon him in Christ, whome John 1. 12. Acts 26. 18. by faith he hath receaved; or, as S. Paul saith, " he is turned from darkness into light, 1 Tim. 2. 26.

and from the power of Sathan, (under which we are all by nature, and until this turning be) unto God;" and elsewhere, to the same effect, delivered "out of the snare of the divell, of whom wee are taken prisoners to do his will," into the glorious liberty of the sonnes of God. So as henceforward he is no more a bonde-slave unto Sathan, "and a stranger and forriner unto God, and aliant from the commonwealth of Israel," but one "of the houshold of God, and a citizen with the saints," even of the greate and holy city newe Jerusalem, into the which entreth none but these newe and holy creatures for whome only God, the builder and maker thereof, hath prepared it.

If any object, all the children of God shall certainly be saved according to that scripture, "If we be children, we are also heires, even the heires of God and heires annexed with Christ:" Therefore, whosoever be the divel's children, (and so they before described to be such) shall certainlye be damed: I answer, that if man, being the child of the divel, could not possibly become the child of God, as he who is once the sonne or daughter of God, can never after be the childe of the divel; then the reason folowed, and whosoever is the childe of the divel, should be condemned: but that beinge most false, the other followeth not thereof at all. This then I affirme, that whosoever are the divels children, (which are all they who are given to blasphemy, swearing, lying, cursing, filthy communication, to speake evill of them which are in aucthority, to railinge, slaundering, to hatred, especially of the brethren, to adultery, fornication, uncleannes, deceit, defrauding one an other in bargaining, and other workes of the divell, and continue therein, livinge and dyinge such) shall indeede goe to the divell, their father, and with him inherite hell fier prepared for the divel and his angels.

Eph. 2. 12. 19. Rev. 21. 5. 27. Rev. 21. 2. 10. Heb. 11. 10. 16. Rom. 8. 18.

Wherein we may observe how evil-minded the devill is towards man.

Furthermore, in observing the nature of the divel, we are to consider "how he standeth affected towards men," how in his nature he is wholly carried to hate man, (for when he hath lost him, he is not at quiet until he have recovered him; if it be possible) to torment him and to destroy him. Now, who that is wise, will not be afraid to fall into the handes of such a one, or rather of God, whose executioner the divel is.

If the divel deale thus with man, beinge sent forth of God to chastise him for his amendment, how will he intreat him, when he shall fall upon him to execute the vengeance to come? that is, the punishment which in justice is due unto man, and answerable to all the dishonor he hath donne upon earth to the Lord of glory. If, in the former case, he cause such crying, gnashing of teeth, and tormenting, as we have heard, what crying, what gnashing of teeth, what tormenting shall there bee in the latter?

Thus we see what an agrement there is betwixt the word and worke of God, as coming both from the same author, and tendinge to the same end, even to make men afraid to fall into the hands of the livinge God; they both teach the same thing, the one more obscurely, the other more plainly. Why, now, will not wee rather take forth this and such like lessons out of this work, and so make our use and profit therof, then impugne and deny the work, as many of us doe? When the Lord, knowing mans dulnes and backwardnes to learne, shall in regard thereof be content to instruct him, not only by his word, but also by his worke, (which sometime prevaileth a little with man, when his word will not) and that man is so farr from being taught and instructed thereby, that he rejecteth such kind of instruction, will the Lorde, or can he possibly, take that in good part?

This worke is of singular use to confound the atheist. Psal. 14. 11. Exod. 5. 2.

Seventhly, It serveth excellently to confound our atheists, whoe say not only with the foole in their hart, that there is no God, but go somwhat further, affirming with their blasphemous mouthes, out of that unspeakable folly and brutishnes of theirs, as Kinge Pharaoh their prædecessor did, "Who is the Lorde, that I should obey him?" These lusty gallants, who will have no heaven, nor hell, no God, nor divel, what say they to this work of that God whome they deny? That there is a divell, howe can they deny it, seing the worke and effects of the divell in and upon the bodye of Somers, (to let the 7. in Lancashire and other goe) the running lumpes, his supernaturall strength,

knowledge, waight in his body and members thereof, his speaking without the instrumentes of speach, throwing into the fier without beinge burnt, his lying as dead could as ice, his face and hands black, no breath comming from him, and thus sometime by the space of an hour, with many more of this kind, will inforce them to confesse the worke of the divell; and by consequent that there is a divell, considering that these things can not posibly come either from nature, or be donne by art, and that som cause of these effects there must needes bee, when they have donne what they can, except they will leave this matter undecided; (whereunto the divel, and the corruption of their nature will be ready to perswad them) they must in the ende say, will they, nill they, and others also with them, that the said strange accidents, and impossible to be donne by man, came and were donne by the divel, there being no other cause to be found, and that Somers therein was a mere patient.

For to deny the matter of fact, that these things were done, or rather suffered by Somers, is plaine Englishe to say, that the 17 persons which have deposed the same are perjured, and not only they, but about 13 more deposed after, in the whole, about 30, whereof 7 be preachers; the which, if some shamles body shoulde not spare to affirme, yet that will not helpe, seinge there are hundreds more redy to avouche the same upon ther othes, and to be so forsworne as are the former. Remember, also, that I delivered to the commissioners a bill of about 60 persons, who were redy to be deposed, a sufficient number, I thinke, for the provinge of any cause, concerning either God or man. If inoughe have not witnessed this matter upon their oathes, there are yet good store remaining, if they were but called thereunto; and, in the meane season, som credit would be given to the bare affirmation of Christians, or els it goeth amisse with all our historiographers and there bookes. It is then a most shamfull and odious thing for man to call the matter of fact into question, especially consideringe the same hath ben done in our own land, and in the midst of us, so as we need not goe beyonde the seas for full inquirie into it, and the circumstances thereof, as time, place, persons possessed, others dealing in ther dispossession, and private Christians witnessinge the same, the commissioners also at Nottingham, with whom, or som of them, who list when he please may confer, which are able to constraine a man to receive this for a truth, if reason can prevaile with him; neither do I doubte, but that other nations and kingdoms about us wil not only give credite to the matter of facte, when they shall heare thereof, and that the same hath ben witnessed upon the othes of so many, but also receive the possession and dispossession we so much gainsaye. Blush then, O England, and be thou ashamed of this thy incredulitie, which is such as the like therof hath not ben red or hearde of before, for others have yet acknowledged the work which have ben done in them, but thou hast not gone so farr, but denied the same.

In these straits, whither will the athists turne him? must he not nedes be confounded in himselfe? or can it be otherwise, but that the divil is entred into him, and he spiritualy possessed with the devil, if now he perceive not that there is a devil? As herby we may sensibly and palpablie perceive that there is a devill, so as wee may in a manner grope him; even so we may looke upon and beholde the Lord himselfe in this worke, deliveringe the partie or parties from there most grevous vexation and torments by Satan, upon request first made unto him by his servants, accordinge to his owne appointment in this behalfe.

As this proveth there is a devill, so that there is a God stronger then he.

When that cruel decree of Haman was gone forth for the destroyinge of the Jews, Mordecai giving queen Hester to understande thereof, and withall usinge dyvers reasons to perswade her to doe what lay in her, according to her place, for the preservation of her people, the church of God; amongest, and after others, useth one in these wordes, "Who knoweth whether thou art com to the kingdom for such a time," as if he had said, who knoweth whether the Lord hath therfore lifted the up so highe, even into the throne and seate of the kingdom, that so thou might be a fitt means, for

Est. 4. 13. 14.

the deliverance of the church, from the affliction and danger it is in at this time. And did not he gesse well, as apeareth by the stories? Yes verily, for thereby it is evident, that God had therefore, and for no other cause, exalted her from base and low degre, into the royall seate of a queene; even so saye I concerning this our present case: who knoweth, whether God hath therfore sent a evill spirits into sundry English persons to vexe them in ther bodies, that, therby, he might confounde the atheysts in England; and either make them more inexcusable, or els bringe them to a better minde, whereof indeed there is small hope. For they which can not be led, (as it were by the hande,) from the creatures to the Creator; which will not heare, neither the works of creation and adminstration, nor yet Moses, the prophets and apostles, tellinge them, that there is a God, surely neither wil they be perswaded ther of, though a devill be sente from hell to preach the same unto them. This, I saye, may well be that which God principally respected herein; for som spetial thinge, no doubt, there is movinge the Lorde more at this time, then in former times, to sende devils into men, yea into divers. Is it not likely to, because at this time him selfe is denyed, called into question whether he is, and hath any beinge; which, in the time of our forefathers, hath not bene, or at the least not by so many, and with so high a hande as even now, and at this daye. May we not well therefore say, who knoweth whether God hath sent this strange judgment for this time, that is, the sinne of this time, ther by himselfe reproving this sinne, (as such as he can not endure,) when man holdeth his peace.

It is very liklie that in these dayes of authisme, the Lord hath sent divills into men thereby to confound athesme. Luke. 16. 31.

Eightly, it commendeth the holy exercise "Of fasting and prayer, and serveth to provoke us to a diligent practise thereof." Is prayer and fastinge of force to cast out divels, though they be principallities and powers, and shall not the same, if it be undertaken in the faith and obedience of God, be availeable, if not to remove, yet to sanctify and bless whatsoever judgement of God is upon us in generalty, or any of us in particular. If wee looke into the booke of God, besides that, we shall find a necessity of fasting and prayinge, to ly uppon us, when any judgment of God is either present or iminent and ready to overtake us; in that wee are then, in such a case, commaunded to fast and pray and humble our soules; for our further incouragement to the performance of this duty, and part of Gods worship, wee shal there reade, that not onlye the people of God, from time to time, have in al. theire afflictions, taken this course, and used this as a meanes for their good and deliverance also from theire affliction, if so it should seem good in the eyes of the Lorde; but, also, that the same hath usualy prevayled so farr with God, as that thereby, they have obtained deliverance from ther præsent affliction. The Philistines having entered the Isralites coastes, and inhabiting the same, the children of Israel, for removal of that judgment, and recovery of their citties, through the counsel of Samuel, gathered themselves to Mizpeh, and then fasted and prayed for a day. The effect and fruit thereof, was, that the Lord fought for them, from Heaven; for it is said, "That the Lord thundred with a great thunder that day, upon the Philistines, and scattered them; so as they were slayne before Israel; and that the Philistines were brought so under, that they came no more againe into the coasts of Israel." In the 20. chap. of the 2. booke of Chron. we reade of "A great multitude of the children of Moab, Amon, and mount Seir," comminge against the Israelites, with purpose, (no doubt,) to have spoiled and destroyed them; thereupon, Jehoshaphat, the kinge, "proclaimed a fast throughout all Judah;" which was so blessed unto them, and prævailed so mightely with God, that even the same faste, when they were all assembled togither, the Lorde sent his spirit uppon on Ichazael, to comfort, and assure them of their safety and deliverance from their enemies, "Thus saith the Lord unto you (said he,) feare you not, neither be afraid for this great multitude; for the battle is not youres but Gods. Ye shall not neede to fight in this battle; stand stil, move not, neither be afraid, to morrowe goe out against them, and the Lord be

The 8 use is, to commend unto us prayer and fastinge, and thereby to provoke us thereunto.

Lev 23. 27. Isa. 22, 12. Joel. 1, 14 and 2. 15, 16. Math, 6. 16. and 9. 16.

1. Sam. 7, 5, 6, 10, 13, 14.

with you. And so it fel out after, for God sent such a spirit of discord amonge them that "they slew one another, so as none escaped." Yea further, it is saide, that "the feare of God was upon all the kingdomes of the earth, when they had heard that the Lorde had fought against the enemies of Israel; so the kingdome of Jehoshaphat was quiet, and his God gave him rest on every side;" looke in the 8. of Ezra, and there you shal finde, that those which returned from the captivity, in Babylon, with Ezra, being in great danger leaste they, their wives and children, should be destroyed of the enemy which laye in waite for them in their way to Jerusalem; did thereuppon betake themselves to this exercise, as the onlye way and meanes for their safety, as appeareth by the speache of Ezra. "At the river, (saith he,) I proclaimed a fast, that we might humble ourselves before our God, and seeke of him a right way for us and our children, and for all our substance; for I was ashamed to require of the king an armie and horsmen, to helpe us against the enemy in the way;" and so indeede it proved, and a safer meanes than an army and horsmen; for it is said, that this fast beinge proclaimed, "they fasted and besought their God for this, and he was intreted of them." And in the 31. ver. it followeth, "and the hand of our God was upon us, and delivered us from the hand of the enemy, and of such as laide waite by the way." When proude and envious Hamman had obtained of Ahashueroth that wicked decree, "to kill, destroy, and roote out all the Jews" upon such a day, it is said, that not only Esther the queene, with her maides, did faste, but that "in every province and place whether the kings charge and commission came, there was among the Jews fasting, wepinge, and mourning, and many lay in sackcloath and in ashes;" which humiliation of theirs prevailed so farr with the Lord, as that thereby they did not only escape the execution of that bloudy decre, but also, upon the day appointed thereto, tooke vengeance themselves uppon their enemies, and had Hamman hanged with his 10. sonnes. And that they used fasting and prayer, was the meanes of the reversing of that cruell decree, and preventinge of that fearful judgemente of God which was ready to breake out against them, it appeareth by the speach of Esther, chap. 4. 16. The Ninivites also, we al knowe, escaped the destruction that was threatned within 40. dayes to have come upon them, by the true fast they kept unto the Lord.

Est. 3. 13. Est. 4. 3. 16. 5. 2. 3. 4. and 7. and 8 9.

And as thus the people of God in al ages have, in the day of their adversity, assembled themselves in prayer and fastinge, and God hath greatly blessed the fastes which they have in publique and in common kept together in their solemne and open assemblies; so, and in like manner, the servants of God have, in secret, and apart from others, fasted and prayed, and God hath likewise greatly blessed the same unto them; whither they humbled themselves before his majesty for and because of some common calamity, either present upon the church, or imminent and hanging over it, or private affliction, or want of some good thinge, publike or private, which also is a kinde of misery. Thus, Nehemiah, understanding that the Jewes, which were in Jerusalem and in Judah, "were in greate affliction and reproach," and that "the wall of Jerusalem was broken downe, and the gates thereof burnt with fire," fasted and prayed because thereof; which was so blessed unto him and that people, that, by his meanes, shortly after the walls and gates of Jerusalem were built up, and the Jewes delivered from that great affliction and reproch they were in. I wil not stand here to speake of Daniels afflictinge his soul in prayer and fasting, for himselfe and his people, and to shewe how that his humiliation was blessed of God unto him, farr above that he desired and expected, but refer you to the 9. of his prophecy, wher that is set downe at large. Neither wil I use many wordes about Cornelius, who, praying and fasting, had, (as Daniel in the like case had before,) an angell sent unto him, to assure him that his "prayer was heard, and come up into remembrance before God," and to direct him to such a one (Peter by name,) who, when he was come, should not only resolve him of

Jonah, 3, 4.

Nehe. 3. 4.

that doubt he was in concerning the Messias, whether he were come or no, as it should seeme, and for which cause it is probable hee then fasted; but also "speake such wordes, as whereby both he and his house should be saved." Only this I wil give an instance or example, (the better to provoke us hereto,) where prayer with fasting hath prævailed with God, when prayer without fasting would not prevaile, and it is in the 20 of Judges, where we reade, that when the children of Israel had susteined an overthrowe by the Benjamites, 22. thousand of them being slaine, they assembled themselves togither, because thereof, in prayer; and after that they set their battle in array against the Benjamites, the second day, but had an other discomfiture and overthrowe, even of 18. thousand, all valiant men; whereuppon they assembled then in fasting and prayer, the fruite and success whereof was this, that going out against Benjamin, "the Lord smote him before Israell;" even as he had said and promised them upon the day of their fast, that "on the morrowe he would deliver them into their hands." That they fasted not on the first day of their assembling in the house of God, as they did on the second day, may apeare by comparing the 23 verse of the chapter with verse 26.; for all that is saide in the 23 is "that they went up and wept before the Lorde unto the evening;" but in the 26. verse we reade thus; "Then all the children of Israell went up, and all the people came also unto the house of God, and wept and sate there before the Lord, and fasted that day unto the evening;" where we see it is expressly said of the latter day, that they fasted, and not so of the former. Againe, by the conferringe of these, it is plaine, that the second dayes assembly was farr more generall and solemne, and with longer continuance then the other; and such were their assemblies at fasts always; for, first, it is said of the latter day, that "all the children of Israel went up;" and againe, "that all the people came up to the House of God." 2d. "That they sate then before the Lord;" whereby is noted, there long continuance in that meetinge; neither of which is saide of the former day.

The reasones why prayer and fasting is so unavaillable with God. The 1 reason. James 5. 16.

Neither is there cause why we should marvile at this; I meane, that the fasting and prayer of a faithful man, or men, is so availeable with God, that it wil, as it were, have no nay; but even then prevaile when prayer without it cannot; considering it is written, "that the prayer of the righteous availeth much, if it be fervent," and that fasting is a meanes to increase and continue fervency of spirit. 2. Consideringe the singuler promise God hath made hereunto, which he doth insinuate by the tytles or names he giveth to the day of fast, caling it "a day of reconciliation, a day of attonement, the acceptable day of the Lord;" whereby the Lord doth secretly signify and promise, to so many of us as shall exercise ourselves herein, that howsoever before for our transgressions he hath been angry and offended with us, which also he hath testified to our faces, either by laying some judgment upon us, or threatninge so to doe, or by withholdinge some good thinge from us; yet if heerein we wil excercise our selves aright, and keepe a true fast unto the Lorde, afflictinge our soules as well as our bodies, rentinge not our garmentes, but our hartes, with compunction and sorrowe for our sinnes, weeping and mourning, and making great lamentation over all the iniquities whereby we have dishonored God, and caused his holy name to be evil spoken of, and justly provoked him against us, and to avenge himself upon us, as he hath begonne; cryinge also unto the Lorde, in the name of Christ Jesus, for pardon and reconciliation; and withall turne unto the Lorde with all our hartes, forsaking our evill wayes, and the wickednes that is in our handes: then and whenesoever this we shall performe, notwithstanding his anger be kindled and broken out against us, yet will he be reconciled, and at one with us, accept of us, and receave us into favor, and give us that wee have intreated him for, if not above the same. 3. It is to be remembred, that this holy exercise semeth greatlye to humble us, and to make us thinke and account vilie and basely of our selves, as dust and ashes, and most unworthye of the leaste of Gods mercies; as partlye appeareth by that which heere followeth of Ahab, and may also be

Lev. 23. 27. 28. and 16. 29. Isa. 58. 5.

Joel 2. 18. 19. The 3 reason.

gathered by that it is so oft saide to the Jewes, being assembled togither upon the 10. day of the 7. monueth; "ye shall humble your soules," meaning thereby, that upon that day they should fast and pray; and againe, "every person that humbleth not himselfe that same day, shall even be cutt of from his people;" which speech, with the former, being spoken not only to every person in particuler, but also to those among them, who were to see this part of Gods worship duly kept, it is thereby plaine, that the Lord ment by those wordes, that every one who joined not with the people of God in fastinge, "should be cut of from the people;" for how they stood inwardly affected, for either humble or proude spirit, men neither colde nor yet were to judge. Nowe, why are these wordes of humblinge our soules used by the spirit of God insteade of fasting, but because the humbling of ourselves is both professed, indevored, and furthered by fastinge. And this is confirmed by that saying of Ezra, "At the river, by Ahana, I proclaimed a fast, that we might humble our selves before our God." And heereupon it is that a fast is called, (and that rightly,) the exercise of humiliation; not only because we indevor and professe therein the humbling and submitting of ourselves to God, and under his hand, but also for that it helpeth forwarde our humiliation. Seeinge nowe that fasting helpeth to humble us, and that this subjecting and base account of ourselves is a thing much pleasing unto God, and greatly movinge him to be gratious and favorable unto man; for, saith the scripture, "God resisteth the proude, and giveth grace unto the humble;" againe, "Humble yourselves under the mighty hand of God, that he may exalt you in due time; cast downe your selves before the Lorde, and he will lift you up;" and againe, "Submit your selves to God, drawe neere to God, and he will drawe neere to you." As if it had bene saide, in humility and greate submission goe yee unto God, and aske that yee want, and so God will come (as it were,) unto you, in giving you that you desire and lack. It is no marvaile though the fastes of Gods people prevailed mightely with God, and obteine that, or above that, they desire; yea this humbling of our selves under the hande of God, is so pleasing unto his Divine Majesty, and of that force with him, that the very shaddowe thereof, even a shrincking under the same hande, or casting downe and humbling of the body, without the truth therof in the soule, hath prevailed so farr with the Lord, that it hath procured a temporall benefit, both to ones selfe and his posterity. Thus, Ahab having this judgmente denounced againste him by Eliah, that, "The Lord would bring evil upon him, and take away his posterity, and cutt of from Ahab him that pissed againste the wall, so as the dogs should eate him of Ahabs stock, that died in the citty, and him that died in the fields, should the fowles of the aire eate;" though hee was a most wicked man, one that "sould himself to worke wickednes," and therefore could not humble himself aright before God, neither yett joine to the outwarde and bodily exercise of fastinge the inward and spiritual of prayer, so as might be accepted of God, and availe with him; for "the sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination unto the Lord, and the prayer of the righteous availeth with him;" yet, notwithstanding, humbling him self by fasting, he obteined thereby thus much, that that evil came not upon him, nor yet of his sonne Ahaziah; for thus we reade, "when Ahab heard the former wordes, he rent his cloathes, and put sackcloath upon him, and fasted, and lay in sackcloath, and went softly; whereupon the word of the Lord came to Eliah, saying, Seest thou how Ahab is humbled before me; because hee submitteth himselfe before mee, I will not bringe that evill in his dayes, but in his sonnes dayes will I bring evill upon his house;" where we see this given by the Lorde himself for the reason why he would be good to Ahab. If then the bodily exercise of fastinge, which profiteth but little alone, without prayer (for there is no mention of any prayer that Ahab made, and if he did it, was but the sacrifice of fools, which the wise God abhorreth,) availe with God: how much more wil the same prevaile with him, when it is not onlye joined with true but fervent prayer. And if the casting downe and humbling of the

Lev. 16. 29. 30. and chap. 23. 27. 29. 32.

Nom. 29. 8.

1. Tim. 4. 7. Eccl. 4. 17.

body, or if of the soule, yet not for sinne, but some temporall punishment of sinne, the rentinge of the cloathes, the layinge down in sackcloath and ashes, which is "the fast the Lord hath not chosen," bee of force to pacifie the wrath of God, at the leaste for a time, and in parte, and to procure some good to man, what will it doe when thereunto is adjoined the casting downe and humbling of the soule, the afflicting and renting of it, with sorrowe for sinne? Shall it not then be much more effectuall to pacify Gods wrath, though kindled or broken out against us, and move him to be good and gratious unto us? Moreover, if the performance of this outwarde and bodily service to God by sinners, his enemyes, be avayleable with the Lorde for theire good, much more shall the same prevaile, when not only it, but also the inwarde and spirituall worship, is performed by the righteous, the frends and children of God. Finally, if these thinges apart, if the outward and bodely service alone, if fervent prayer alone, if the true humbling and casting downe of man under the hande of God alone, be of power to prevaile with God, how much more shall these three, when they doe meete togither, as they doe in a true fast, be of force to prevaile with God to that end and purpose for which they are used.

Isa. 53. 5.

Gen. 32. 24. 26. Thus we see, that the fasting and prayer of the faithful is mighty with God; and that, as it is saide of Jaacob wrastling with God, "that hee would not let him goe until he had blessed him;" so it may fitly, and as trulie, be saide hereof, that it, wrestling as it were with the Lorde, will never let him alone, until such time as he hath blessed the party or parties for whome it is used. Which, well and dulye considered, what man is there, fearinge God, and unfeinedlye desirous of the welfare of himselfe and the church of God, which will not apply himselfe to the practice thereof, when and as oft as God shall give juste occasion? Is there any evill of sinne or punishment, either upon or towardes us, our husbandes, wives, children, parents, or the church of God, either doe we or it stande in neede of some good, which we hunger and thirst after; then let us humble our soules in fastinge and prayer; for wee see that the same having bene used in the like case by the people of God, hath prospered and prevailed mightely with the Lord; yea, if we be desirous from the heart to be freed from the saide evil, or to obteine the good is lacking, how can we but take up and use this holy exercise in such a case, considering it is the best and surest meanes that God himselfe hath ordeined to such ende and purpose? No marvaile then though the hand of God lye and remaine upon us, or many of us, and many blessings be wanting unto us, when we are wantinge and come short in the performance of this duty; for who knoweth not, that as the papists are too common and superstitious herein, on the one side, so we on the other are too short and prophane. It savoreth of precisenes, and of the spirit, to be given much to fasting and prayer. Is not this the fasting that God hath chosen, to loose the bandes of wickedness, to take of the heavy burthen, and to let the oppressed goe free? Is there any better abstinence then this? And is not this the true faste (say some) to fast from sinne? why then require you any more? Againe, this fasting, or precise abstaining from all meate and drinck, and other comfort of this life; for a day, (so much urged by some,) was commaunded to the Jewes, and they indeede, by vertue of that commaundement, were bound thereto; but it reacheth not it self to us, in that being ceremoniall, with other ceremonies it was abrogated by Christ. Thus farre we are (even we that professe to worshipe God aright, and accordinge to his worde,) from the practise of this parte of Gods worshipe, that we dispute and pleade against it; yea some staye not there, but proceede further to contemne, scorne, and reproache, nor only mens persons, but the holy exercise it selfe. But what spirit possesseth these men, trow wee; surely not that spirit that moved the people and holy men of God, before spoken of, to the practice thereof; nor that spirit that moved the holy apostles, and others after, to the practis of the same, even in the time of the gospel, and after that abrogation by Christ they spake of; nor the Holy Spirit of God,

Isa. 58. 67.

Act. 9. 9, and 10.

or the Lord himselfe by his spirit, who of his mercie, and not for the merrit or desert of the worke, hath so greatly blessed and rewarded them that have exercised themselves therein, and performed that service unto him. Finally, not the spirit of Christ, who, 1. In foretellinge that his people shoulde fast; 2 In directinge them touchinge the manner therof, (in the outwarde carriage of themselves towards men;) 3. In promisinge a reward to them that shal be obedient therein; doth therein and thereby, not only require fastinge of his people, as a dutie or service to be done to God, but also (as beinge a singuler parte of Gods worshipe, and making much to his glorye and our good,) laboureth to perswade us to the practise therof; farre, therfore, is that spirit from the condemninge and reasoning against it, yea from the neclect of the same. It remaineth then, that the uncleane spirit possesse and rule them, at least herin, who, as when he possesed the bodies of them 7 in Lancashire, did some time by the howlings and outcryes he sent forth, what lay in him, to hinder them and us from using a praier and fastinge, because he well knew howe it availeth much with God, for the expellinge of him, both out of the bodies and soules of men, and maketh greatly for the subduinge and overthrowe of his kingdome, and the kingdome or power of sinne; so he, possessinge the soules of these men, doth by there wits, toungs, and otherwise, to the uttermost of his power, keepe and hinder, not only them whome he thus ruleth in all disobedience, (herin at the least,) but many others also by there meanes, from the practise hereof. Math. 14, 15. and 16. 17. 18.

Wel, as it is a fearfull thing for a man to use his witt, or tongue, or both, to the disgrace of this holy exercise, for it is a sign that Sathan possesseth his soule, which is much worse than the corporall possession; so it is an evil thinge to be negligent and carelesse in the performance of this dutie, as the most, yea almost all men, are. For where is he, even of those that profese the feare of God, that doth in any measure so often perfourme this dutie and service to God as he shoulde? that when the Lord smiteth him either in his soule or body, or those that be neare and deare unto him, as his wife, child, parents, or the church of God at hand or afar off, or threatneth the same; or when God withdraweth and keepeth backe from him, or any of the aforesaid, some corporal benefit, or spirituall blessing; doth forthwith betake him to fasting and prayer, as to a dutie or service God therin calleth him unto, and he is to performe, and the best meanes to obtaine that at the handes of God which he desireth. There be some amongst us (blessed be God therfore, and the Lorde increase the number) that make conscience of other partes of God's worship publique and private; that be swift and readie to heare the worde, to receive the sacraments as often as they be administred, to praye in church and chamber no doubt; and yet those, even those, I feare, (for the most parte,) are slowe and backwarde in the performance of this parte of God's worshipe, the which cometh to passe either through our ignorance herein; for that we knowe not that God as well requireth this service of us, when he giveth occasion thereof, as the other above specified, and such like: or through our inconsideration and forgetfulness of this dutie, if wee knowe it: or rather hence that we are given too much to spare and pamper our bodies, and cannot abide to tame them, and bring them into subjection by fastinge.

If, through ignorance, we have not donne this service unto God hitherto, either not at all, or more seldome than we should, as I trust, so I desire the Christian reader, that that which hath bene saide in this behalfe may helpe a little to remove that lett, and further helpe you may have, if you will take the paynes to peruse the learned treatises which, even in our mother tongue, are written of this argument. If, in a selfe-love to our fleshe, and feare of weakening our bodyes too much, we have heretofore bene kept and hindred from this soe necessarye and profitable a deuty, let us set before us, 1. The example of the holy apostle heerein, and strive to walke in his steppes; whoe, knowing the pampering of the body to be an enemy to the health and salvation of the

soule, as in effecte he affirmeth, sayeth of himselfe, that hee did beate downe his body and bring it into subjection: the which was not so much donne by an abstaining from the more dainty meates, or a sober and moderate use of all kindes of meates, either of which, yea both which, may be performed by one, without any greate taking downe of the body; but rather by his often fasting, the which, whosoever shall use in that manner the scripture requireth, and as Paul did, shall, by his owne experience, fynde that it is effectuall to beate downe the body, and bringe it into subjection. 2. The examples of the false apostles and theire followers in times past, and the papistes in these dayes, not for our imitation in all thinges heerein, but to provoake us to the same in a better kinde. For is it not a shame for us, that others, in theire false and idolatrous worshippe, shall voluntarilie, and of theire owne accord, not spare their bodies, and that wee, in the true worshipe of God, will not doe the like, though the Lorde himself require it of us? Yes, verily. Let us therefore hereafter, in obedience to the Lord's ordinance or commaundement heerein, exercise ourselves in prayer and fastinge, publique and private, when and as oft as God, by givinge just occasion, shall call us thereunto; and bewailinge our former sinne and negligence therein, labour to recompence the same (as much as in us lieth) with a future diligence. And to this ende and purpose I beseech, and that in the name of our Lorde Jesus Christ, the ministers of Christ and disposers of his misteries, that they woulde be instant herein, and, amongst other of their doctrines, intreate upon this of fastinge, shewing both the necessity thereof, as beinge commaunded of God, and a parte of his worship, and the profit that commeth to those which shall exercise themselves therein, whereof we have heard: likewise the threatninge denounced against the contemners of it, that such the Lorde wil have "cut off from his people;" that such "he will destroy from amonge his people;" and that "this iniquity shall not be purged:" that by this strong and threefoulde coarde, the people of God, though backward and unwillinge, may be drawne thereunto: for I thinck it meete to stire you up, my brethren, by putting you in remembrance heereof, though yee have knowledge farr above myself, and be stablished in this truth. And this I doe so much the rather, for that (as I take it) the sounde of this doctrine is not hearde so much in many of our churches, as some other of no greater truth, necessity, and use, then it is: whence, partlie, it commeth to passe, that many Christians doe so seldome performe this holy and speciall service of God, and that amonge them some are scarcely well acquainted with the same.

9. It confirmeth the truth and authoritie of the scriptures. This appeareth as by the Olde Testament, soby infinite places in the Newe. Rev. 2. 9 John. 8. 44. Rev. 12. 98. 20. 2. 3. 10.

Nynthly, This rare and greate worke of God maketh greatly for the confirmation of the authority and truth of the holy scriptures: The scriptures tell us, that there are wicked spirits called divels; and this wee, which were eye witnesses, have, as it were, with our bodily eyes, seen; for though we sawe them not indeede, neither possibly coulde, because they are invisible creatures, yet we beheld them in theire operations and effects.

In the holy scriptures, we reade that these spirits are given to blasphemy, to lying, to deceipt, indeed not onely because, by their nature, they are carried headlong thereunto, (as to all manner of iniquity, whereupon they are called wicked or evill spirits,) but also for that they move and stirr up men to the committinge of these sinnes; now that the divell is such, and that the scriptures herein saith true, we see by the former story; wherin wee have hearde of the horrible blasphemyes and unspeakable deceipt of Sathan, and might also have heard of infinite lies the lying spirits sent forth.

Act. 19. 12. 13.

In the holy scriptures, these spirits are often termed unclean spirits, partlie to noate their naturall inclination and disposition to all uncleannes, and partly in regard of the effect and operation they have and bring forth in the children of disobedience. How the scripture hath herein bene verified to passe by some of those in Lancashire, who, the day of theire deliverance, in the presence of many, uttered most filthy speeches, he shamefull and unnaturall uncleannes of W. Somers, or rather of the spirit in him,

Matt. 12.433. Marke 1. 23. 24 Act. 5. 16. & 8.

doth beare witnes, who, in presence of many, acted in a most uncleane and vile manner the sinne of whoredome: and after his repossession, when he had committed such uncleannes, first with a dog, then and specially with a bitch, as is not fitt once to be named, he then got the bitch into the bed with him, and there would have committed, you may imagine what abomination: and this also he did before divers.

The scripture affirmeth, that these spirits sometimes enter into men; that being in them, they miserably vexe them in theire bodies, and that often and on the suddaine, that the same, notwithstandinge the possessed are not hurt at all, although by the violence they somtimes offer unto them, one would thinck they should spoile or greatly harm them; that they cause them to wallow, fome, cry, gnash with the teeth, throw them into the fyer and water, and seeke to destroy them or take away their lives, that they make them dumb, deafe, blynde, somtimes deprive them of the right use of their witts. Finally, that they shewe forth in the parties whom they possesse, extraordinary and supernaturall strength, and supernaturall knowledge: nowe the most of these have bene found true in the parties above-named, but all and every of them in W. Somers. Mark 9. 17. with many others throughout the gospill, as hath bene shewed before.

The scriptures say, that "when a strong man armed keepeth his pallace, the things that he possesseth are in peace; but when a stronger then he cometh upon him," then that peace being at an ende, there beginneth war, as I may say, for that semeth to be insinuated. The truth of this hath appeared in their extreame vexation, and continuance therein the whole day of their dispossession: at which time Christ Jesus, the stronger, came upon "the strong armed man, overcame him, tooke away his armour, and devided his spoyles." Secondly, in Somers continuinge quiet from Sathans vexation, although he be in him; the reason whereof is, because the strong man armed keepeth the house, and hath quiet possession, all thinges being according to his desire; for the younge man denyeth that he was possest, yea affirmeth that he counterfeited, and the world also saith the same; and thus lyes and falsehood are imbraced for truth, almost of all men, and the truth indeed rejected, and the lovers thereof hated, scorned, despised, slandered, and some of them worse intreated. It going thus, it is not against, but according to the scriptures; yea herein the scripture is fulfilled, in that Somers is quiet and free from all molestation by Sathan, notwithstanding he is in him, because the strong man armed, saith the scripture, keepinge the house without resistance, there is peace: But let Christ Jesus the stronger come upon him in the means he hath sanctified for the recovery of his house to himself the right owner, and the expellinge of the usurper, then undoubtedly there will be an end of this unjuste peace, and therein likewise we shall see the scripture fulfilled. Luke 11. 21.

In the holy scriptures it is written, that "if we resist the divell, he will flye;" understand this not only of Sathans temptations, but also of his person, and then affirme I that this scripture hath bene fulfilled. In lyke manner the scriptures tells us, that the way to resist Sathan, so as wee may put him to flight and overcome, is to use prayer and the word of God, which is the sworde of the spirit. Understand this as the former, and herein this scripture also hath been verifyed.

The holy scriptures shewe how that great thinges, even incredible, hath bene brought to passe by prayer and fastinge; more particularly, that even divels thereby have bene, and are to be cast out of men; herein the scripture likewise hath bene fulfilled.

In the scriptures it is recorded, that when the devil goeth out of the man whom he possesseth, he renteth him sore, cryeth aloude, the possessed after lying as dead; nowe many of us, even hundreds, have seene with our eyes, and hearde with our eares, this scripture fulfilled.

In the holy scriptures we reade, that when the uncleane spirit is gon out of a man, he will returne, seeking to reenter. Besides the reports of all, and every of the parties possessed, the sudden and unspeakeable frights and terrors, which many of us have often beheld in the spirits assaltes to reenter, doe greatly confirm this retorne upon our. Mark 1.26. and 9. 26. Acts 8. 7. Math. 12. 43. Luke 11. 24.

demoniackes, all which was donne that the scripture herein might be fulfilled. The scripture saith, that if the divell finde the house empty, swept and garnished, that is, the partye out of whom he is come, prepared to receave him, which is, when he is empty or void of the graces of the spirit, and garnished or replenished with iniquities; (for the furniture must be suitable to the ghest, the uncleane spirit must be interteined in all uncleannes), that then he reentreth, and recovereth his prey, as otherwise, although he would faine, yet he cannot. Nowe who seeth not the case to be so with W. Somers, for were he not empty, swepte, and garnished, he would never deny the work of God, which hath been shewed on him; and give forth to the great dishonor of God, hurte of many, and danger of his owne soule, that he had counterfeited, not to speake any thing of his open and notorious lyinge and doublinge with that false tongue of his, nor of his charging mee with the instructing of him, neither of his fearfull perjury, sometimes betaking himselfe, bodye and soule, to the divill, if he counterfeited; at other times protesting as depely, that he did counterfeit. In the repossession, then, of Somers, it is evident that this scripture is fulfilled, as, on the other side, this scripture considered, and his present estate and condition, I meane that he is empty; howe can it otherwise be, but that he is reposessed? Further, the scripture saith, that the uncleane spirit retorning, and reentering, he doth it with 7 other worse then himselfe. Now this hath bene found true in Kath. Wrights repossession; and I doubt not but that the truth thereof will one day appeare also in Somers, when he shall come againe to be dispossessed; if so be at any time it will be grauñted, that the means for the discovery of Sathan, and after for the casting of him out, may be used.

Finally, in the holy scripture it is said, that if the uncleane spirit retorning, finde the party out of whom he came, empty, swept, and garnished, that he will not only enter in, and take up his lodging there, as it were for a night, as a stranger doth in any other mans house, and away in the morninge, as he doth, (as I may say) in his first possession, but will nowe, as having further interest there then he had before, make his aboade, and dwell there. According to this scripture, Sathan doth, and hath dwelt in Kath. Wright these 14 yeares; who, although he was sundry times dispossessed, yet still retorning, entred againe into his saide house, and is now there inhabitinge. Likewise, for the space of 3 yeares, he hath remained in Jane Ashton and still doth, notwithstandinge all that a popishe priest, or exorciste, for a longe time could possiblye doe, with all his exorcizing and adjuring with holy reliques, hallowed bread, and holy water; the holynes, vertue, and power whereof, the divels cannot possibly indure and resist. And, lastly, for the space of 2 yeares and above, he hath dwelt in W. Somers, and still will, (as I thinke) both in him and the rest. Although I deny not, nor yet doubt, but that the meanes being used, Sathan will, or shall be cast out; but returne it is certaine he will againe, and returning, I for my part thinke, through the just judgment of God upon them, for theire intolerable ingratitude, he will enter in againe; and though he be, or at least may be now and then interrupted, the meanes for his expelling being used which God hath ordained, yet he will be dwellinge there as he may. And thus I am induced to thinke, because both the evangelists which speake of this matter say, that the uncleane spirit being entred in againe, wil dwell there. Hereunto also, not very unfitly, we may add, that Christ Jesus who usually was so mild in all his speaches, of those which be repossessed speaketh severely, that the end of such is worse then the begining.

This helpeth to strengthen and increase our faith in the truth of the holy scriptures.

We have here now an helpe to the weaknes of our faith, and that which serveth to the strengthening and increase of the same in the truth of the holy scriptures: For when we see the scriptures verifyed in so many things, both concerninge possession, dispossession, and repossession, so as we may say of this thing, herein was the scripture fulfilled, and of a second thinge, herein was the scripture fulfilled; and of a third thinge, herein also was the scripture fulfilled, and so I knowe not of how many several thinges;

when, I say, we see thus the truth of the holy scriptures proved before our faces, howe can our faith chuse, but receive therby some further assurance in and concerninge the truth of the scriptures, then it had before, and this increase of faith in the certaine and infallable truth of the holy scriptures will bring to him, who, day and night, is meditating of the contents therof, and, namely, of the future joyes to come, such increase of joy, that his cup therwith will overflowe.

I doe not say that the sacred scriptures stand in neede of this worke, for the confirmation of the truth and aucthority of them; neither yet doe I affirme, that man standeth in neede hereof, as he did of miracles when they were wrought; but this is it that I say and meane, when God affordeth man such an helpe to the weakness of his faith as this is, it is his part and duty as to blesse God for that mercy, so to receave it and use it accordingly. I doubt not, therefore, but that it is his weaknes and sinne, who, being throughly informed in this rare and extraordinary worke of God, shall not thereby receave (besides other good,) some increase in his faith. And they that are so rich in faith, as the same faith of theires cannot be inriched thereby, they may lett this worke alone, and leave it for the poore in faith; and insteade of this worke of God, looke upon that word of his uttered by the blessed virgin, "the rich he sendeth empty away;" and that in the 6 of Luke, "woe be to you that are full," and that also which is said of the Laodicyans, who thinking that they were "rich and increased with goods," and that "they had neede of nothing;" were notwithstanding, "wretched, and miserable and poore, and blind, and naked." Luke 1. 53. ver. 25. Rev. 3. 17.

As this work of God being first knowne, and well understood, maketh for the confirmation of theire faith, in the truth of the holy scriptures, who already beleeve them; so it serveth very wel, to induce and perswade men to that faith and perswasion of the truth thereof, which yet they have not. For when they heere the premisses resisted by a cloud of witnesses, and by many of them upon their oathes, and thereby see, and evidently perceave the scripture in sundry things to be true, as in the report it maketh of divels, and of their entering into men, and tormenting of them, being there, with the manner of their handling and vexing of them they possesse, making them to gnashe with their teeth, to wallowe, fome, to be of supernaturall strength and knowledge, throwinge them into the fier to destroy them, and of their furious handlinge of them at thier going out, most sore, and extreamly tormenting them, causing them to cry aloud, and after to lye as deade, according to the scriptures; when, I say, in some thinges, and in part, we see and know the scripture to be true, and that in thinges as incredible and unlikely to be true as the most there reported, what, even in reason, should hinder us from being so perswaded of the whole, or why should we suspect or doubt of the truth thereof in any thing? What can men alleadge for such doubt, or for their continuance in their former incredulity? Is it likely, or credible, that the scriptures should be true in theis things which are there set downe concerninge divells, those invisible creatures, theire nature, theire entering into men, their manner of vexing men when they are in them, there manner of goinge forth of them, what is effectuall to inforce them therunto, there returning to enter againe after they have bene expelled, in what case, and when the prevaile and recover the partie, and not so in the residue, can any be so grosse as to imagine that the scriptures speake truelye in and concerning the matter of possession, dispossession, and repossession, and not according to the truth in other things? Will any be so absurde, as to thinke and confesse, that the holy scriptures speake must truely, as touching the tormentinge here on earthe of the bodies of those men the divils enter into, and will they not as well beleve the same writinges, telling them, that after death, and in another world, the divels shall torment the workers of iniquity in hell fire, which never shall be quenched, and of which tor-

mentes there will never be an end. And seeinge the substance of this booke (I meane the Holy Bible) is spent in reportinge thinges incredible to flesh and bloud, such as the reason of man rejecteth and scorneth, among which these concerning divels, their nature, power, entrance into men, &c. are some; and that this is it which letteth man from imbracing it as a word of truth; and that sundry of these incredible and impossible thinges to reason, we evidently see with our eyes, and our selves of our own knowledge know to be most true, why should we not be fullye perswaded of the divine and certaine trueth of the other incredible things there reported? And that all those also in theire time we shall as certainely see fulfilled, as we have already in part seene these? Thus, methinketh, the fulfillinge of many sayinges in the scriptures, in this worke of God, should be a motive and inducement to many, to give that credit unto them, which percase before they did not; yea surely, if man will but give eare to his reason, wherewith God hath indued him, and discusse or debate hereof, after this sayde manner, it will perswade him hereunto.

I doe not saye that this is effectuall, or of power, and sent of God to that ende, to worke savinge faith in man; for I knowe "faith cometh by hereinge, and how shall they beleeve in him of whom they have not hearde?" but this I meane, that he which before thought basely, and gave no regarde or credit to the holy worde of God, by this rare worke of his, and serious meditation thereof may well be brought to think more reverently of the worde, and to be perswaded of the truth therof, where before he doubted, and so brought to the historicall faithe, as we call it, where beinge, happely he will not reste, but therby be drawen to give eare unto the worde preached, and so be brought to that faith, the end whereof will be the salvation of his soule; whereof, if this worke of God be an occassion to any, oh howe will such bless God for the same, and joye in this, that the sounde there of came to his eare!

Thus we plainely see howe this worke of God sarveth to confirm the authority and truth of the holy scriptures, I meane, howe it som what helpeth to perswade us incredulous men to beleve, or more stedfastly to beleve, that the are devine, and certainly true, in that we see many things spoken of in them, and very incredible to flesh and blud, as well as otheis there mentioned, fulfilled before our eyes, and to be most true.

Seinge then no hurte, but much good, as we have heard, cometh by this worke, why should any be offended with us for bearinge witness to this worke? and why doe any stand up, and set themselves against this work, indevoring to annihilate the same? Certainly in so doing, they are not only injurious to man, hindring him of the good fruite he might reape thereby, but also adversaries to God and his glory, prophaninge, and not hallowinge or sanctifinge this his name. Christ Jesus, to such as he cured, was wont say; "be it unto thee as thou belevest; thy faith hath made thee whole; goe in peace, thy sinnes are forgiven thee; synne no more, least a worse thinge come unto thee;" and to many, "see thou tell no man of this I have donne unto thee;" yea somtimes he straightly charged others that they should "tell no man what was doune." But to him out of whome he had cast out the divell, he saide, "goe shewe what greate thinges the Lorde hath donne unto thee, and howe hee hath compassion on thee." It is also to be observed, that we reade not the same or like speach to this, used to any besides of all those that Jesus healed, whereby it may seeme that the Lorde Jesus woulde not have this worke in any case smothered, and kept close, no not for a time, but rather set as a candle in a candlestick upon the table, that it may give such light unto men as we have already seene; and no marvaile, considering the wordes followinge of our Saviour; "Goe shew" (saith he) "what great thinges the Lorde hath donne unto

thee." Are there greate thinges to be looked upon in this worke we speake of, even by the testimony of Christ himself? Whoe then, and where is he, if Somers, the 7 in Lancashire, and the rest, were possessed and dispossessed, that dare stand up to darken and obscure the saide worke, whereby the people of God be kept from beholding the greate thinges of the Lord, and so hindred from the greate good they might reape thereof, and God from his glory? If it be evident, that upon these persons this worke of God hath bene wrought, who seeth not how contrary minded such are unto Christ?

Of the 70 disciples whom Jesus sent forth by there preaching and miracles, to prepare and make awaye for him selfe, and his ministrie, it is saide, that when they had accomplished this worke, "they returned againe with joye, sayinge, Lord, even the devils are subdued to us, through thy name." In this subjection of the spirits unto them, above all the greate workes and miracles they wrought, they rejoiced; wherein howsoever they exceeded, whereupon Christ reproveth them, sayinge, "In this rejoice not that the spirits are subdued unto you, but rather rejoice because your names are written in heaven." Yet marke that he doth it so, as that he denieth not, but that they might rejoice therein, but rather indede aloweth and commendeth the same, so that we keepe a measure, and make it not our cheife joye, the which should be, that our names are written in heaven, whereof the other giveth no assurance, forasmuch as it may fall into a reprobate.

And, truely, how can they which heare of the aforesaide worke of God but rejoice, when they see the Lorde Jesus subduing Satan unto men; when we see, by praier and fastinge, devills cast out of men; when we see God performing his promise, the scripture before our eyes fulfilled, and our Christian brethren also delivered from the torments of Sathan; if wee turne our eye either to God or man, can wee chuse but rejoice, and blesse God for such a worke? Greatly then are they to blame, and farre from that affection they should have, who are disquieted and offended here with; and most faultie of all shall they be, who, when the worke shall be made manifest to there conciences, (as I trust by this treatise it is), shall yet notwithstanding lift up there heele against it.

THE END.

The Dutie of a King in his Royal Office, shewing how it is to be used in the Administration of Justice and Politick Government in his Kingdomes. Likewise declaring,

The true glory of kings.
The difference between a king and a tyrant.
The authoritie and true use of parliaments.
The diseases of the church, and the remedie.
Generall advices in behalfe of the church.
Paritie incompatible with a monarchie.
Of the nobilitie and their formes.
The laudable customes of England.
Admonition for making warrs.
The right extention of king craft, &c.

Written by the High and Mightie Prince James, King of Great Brittaine, France, and Ireland, Defender of the true, ancient, Catholicke and Apostolicke Faith, &c.

Lord Orford has expressed some doubts of this Tract being genuine; but it is humbly presumed, that the very first sentence contains the most conclusive internal evidence that it was composed by the British Solomon. Indeed the whole Tract is composed in his majesty's very best manner, exhibiting that extraordinary mixture of learning and pedantry, sense and folly, reason and prejudice, vanity and prudence, which most deservedly procured James the character of the wisest fool in Christendom. The truth, however, is, that Lord Orford never took the trouble to look at the Tract of which he impeached the authenticity; for a single glance would have shewn him that it is no other than an extract from the Basilicon Doron, or Precepts concerning the Art of Government, addressed by James to his Son; a work which Dr Robertson thus characterizes:—"Notwithstanding the great alterations and refinements in national taste since that time, we must allow this to be no contemptible performance, and not to be inferior to the works of most cotemporary writers, either in purity of style or justness of composition. Even that vain parade of erudition with which it abounds, and which now disgusts us, raised the admiration of that age; and as it was filled with those general rules, which speculative authors deliver for rendering a people happy, and of which James could discourse with great plausibility, though often incapable of putting them in practice, the English conceived an high opinion of his abilities, and expected an increase of national honour and prosperity, under a prince so profoundly skilled in politics, and who gave such a specimen both of his wisdom and of his love to the people."—Robertson, *ad ann.* 1599.

The state of monarchie is the supremest thing upon earth; for kings are not only Gods lieutenants upon earth, and sit upon Gods throne, but even by God himselfe they are called gods. There be three principall similitudes that illustrate the state of monarchie: one taken out of the word of God; and the two other out of the grounds of policie and philosophie. In the scriptures, kings are called gods; and so their power, after a certaine relation, compared to the divine power. Kings are also compared to fathers of families: for a king is truely *parens patriæ*, the politique father of his people. And, lastly, kings are compared to the head of this microcosme of the body of man.

Kings are justly called gods; for that they exercise a manner or resemblance of divine power upon earth. For, if you will consider the attributes of God, you shall see how they agree in the person of a king. God hath power to create or destroy, make or unmake, at his pleasure; to give life or send death, to judge all, and not to be judged nor accountable to none; to raise low things, and to make high things low at his pleasure, and to God are both soule and body due. And the like power have kings: they make and unmake their subjects; they have power of raising and casting down; of life and of death; judges over all their subjects, and in all causes, and yet accountable to none but God only. They have power to exalt low things, and abase high things, and make of their subjects like men at the chesse; a pawne to take a bishop or a knight, and to cry up or down any of their subjects, as they do their money. And to the king is due both the affection of the soule and the service of the body of his subjects. And, therefore, that reverend bishop here amongst you, though I heare, that by divers he was mistaken, or not well understood, yet did he preach both learnedly and truly anent this point concerning the power of a king; for what he spake of a kings power in *abstracto*, is most true in divinitie: for to emperours, or kings that are monarches, their subjects bodies and goods are due for their defence and maintenance. But if I had been in his place, I would only have added two words, which would have cleared all; for, after I had told as a divine what was due by the subjects to their kings in generall, I would then have concluded as an Englishman, shewing this people, that, as in generall all subjects were bound to relieve their king; so to exhort them, that, as we lived in

a setled state of a kingdome, which was governed by his own fundamentall lawes and orders, that, according thereunto, they were now (being assembled for this purpose in parliament) to consider how to help such a king as now they had; and that according to the ancient forme and order established in this kingdome: putting so a difference between the generall power of a king in divinity and the setled and established state of this crown and kingdome. And I am sure that the bishop meant to have done the same, if he had not been straited by time, which, in respect of the greatnesse of the presence, preaching before me, and such an auditory, he durst not presume upon.

As for the father of a familie, they had of old, under the law of nature, *patriam potestatem*, which was *potestatem vitæ et necis*, over their children or familie (I mean such fathers of families as were the lineall heires of those families whereof kings did originally come;) for kings had their first originall from them, who planted and spread themselves in colonies through the world. Now a father may dispose of his inheritance to his children at his pleasure; yea, even disinherit the eldest upon just occasion, and preferre the youngest, according to his liking; make them beggars or rich at his pleasure; restraine or banish out of his presence, as he finds them give cause of offence, or restore them in favour againe with the penitent sinner: so may the king deale with his subjects.

And, lastly, as for the head of the naturall body, the head hath the power of directing all the members of the body to that use which the judgement in the head thinkes most convenient. It may apply sharpe cures, or cut off corrupt members, let blood in what proportion it thinkes fit, and as the body may spare, but yet is all this power ordained by God *ad ædificationem, non ad destructionem;* for although God have power, aswell of destruction as of creation or maintenance, yet will it not agree with the wisdome of God to exercise his power in the destruction of nature, and overturning the whole frame of things, since his creatures were made, that his glory might thereby be the better expressed: so were he a foolish father that would disinherit or destroy his children without a cause, or leave off the carefull education of them; and it were an idle head that would, in place of physicke, so poyson or phlebotomize the body as might breede a dangerous distemper or destruction thereof.

But now, in these our times, we are to distinguish between the state of kings in their first originall, and between the state of setled kings and monarches that do at this time governe in civill kingdomes: for even as God, during the time of the Old Testament, spake by oracles and wrought by miracles, yet how soone it pleased him to settle a church, which was bought and redeemed by the blood of his only Sonne Christ; then was there a cessation of both, he ever after governing his people and church within the limits of his revealed will. So in the first originall of kings, whereof some had their beginning by conquest, and some by election of the people; their wills at that time served for law: yet how soone kingdomes began to be setled in civilitie and policie; then did kings set down their mindes by lawes, which are properly made by the king only; but at the rogation of the people, the kings graunt being obtained thereunto, and so the king became to be *lex loquens*, after a sort binding himselfe by a double oath to the observation of the fundamentall lawes of his kingdome: tacitly, as by being a king, and so bound to protect aswell the people as the lawes of his kingdome; and expresly by his oath at his coronation: so as every just king, in a setled kingdome, is bound to observe that paction made to his people by his lawes, in framing his government agreeable thereunto, according to that paction which God made with Noe after the deluge—"Hereafter seede time and harvest, cold and heate, sommer and winter, and day and night, shall not cease, so long as the earth remains." And therefore a king, governing in a setled kingdom, leaves to be a king, and degenerates into a tyrant, as soone as he leaves off to rule according to his lawes. In which case the kings conscience may speake unto him, as the poore widow said to Philip of Macedon; "Either

governe according to your law, *aut ne rex sis.*" And though no Christian man ought to allow any rebellion of people against their prince, yet doeth God never leave kings unpunished when they transgresse these limits; for in that same Psalme where God saith to kings, "*Vos Dii estis,*" he immediately thereafter concludes, "But ye shall die like men." The higher we are placed, the greater shall our fall be. "*Ut casus, sic dolor;*" the taller the trees be, the more in danger of the winde; and the tempest beates sorest upon the highest mountaines. Therefore all kings that are not tyrants, or perjured, will be glad to bound themselves within the limits of their lawes; and they that perswade them the contrary are vipers and pests, both against them and the commonwealth. For it is a great difference between a kings government in a setled state, and what kings in their originall power might do in *individuo vago.* As for my part, I thank God, I have ever given good proofe, that I never had intention to the contrary: and I am sure to go to my grave with that reputation and comfort, that never king was in all his time more carefull to have his laws duely observed, and himselfe to governe thereafter, then I.

I conclude then this point touching the power of kings with this axiome of divinity, that as to dispute what God may do is blasphemie; but *quid vult Deus,* that divines may lawfully, and do ordinarily, dispute and discusse; for to dispute *a posse ad esse* is both against logicke and divinity: so is it sedition in subjects to dispute what a king may do in the height of his power: but just kings will ever be willing to declare what they will do, if they will not incurre the curse of God. I will not be content that my power be disputed upon; but I shall ever be willing to make the reason appear of all my doings, and rule my actions according to my lawes.

A prince, as he is clothed with two callings, so much the more ought he to be carefull of the discharge of them both; that, as he is a good Christian, so he ought to be a good king, discharging his office in the points of justice and equitie, which, in two sundrie wayes, he must do: the one, in establishing and executing (which is the life of the law) good lawes among your people; the other, by your behaviour in your own person, and with your servants, to teach your people by your example; for people are naturally inclined to counterfeite (like apes) their princes manners, according to the notable saying of Plato, expressed by the poet:

> ——————*Componitur orbis*
> *Regis ad exemplum, nec sic inflectere sensus*
> *Humanos edicta valent, quàm vita regentis.*

For the part of making and executing of lawes, consider first the true difference betwixt a lawfull good king and an usurping tyrant, and ye shall the more easily understand your dutie herein: for *contraria juxta se posita magis elucescunt.* The one acknowledgeth himselfe ordained for his people, having received from God a burthen of government, whereof he must be countable: the other thinketh his people ordained for him, a prey to his passions and inordinate appetites, as the fruits of his magnanimitie. And, therefore, as their ends are directly contrary, so are their whole actions, as meanes whereby they presse to attaine their ends. A good king thinketh his highest honour to consist in the due discharge of his calling, employeth all his study and paines to procure and maintaine, by the making and execution of good lawes, the well-fare and peace of his people; and, as their naturall father and kindly master, thinketh his greatest contentment standeth in their prosperity, and his greatest surety in having their hearts; subjecting his own private affections and appetites to the weale and standing of his subjects, ever thinking the common interest his chiefest particular; whereby, the contrary, an usurping tyrant, thinking his greatest honour and felicitie to consist in attaining *per fas, vel nefas,* to his ambitious pretenses, thinketh

never himselfe sure, but by the dissention and factions among his people, and counterfeiting the saint while he once creepe in credit, will then (by inverting all good lawes, to serve only for his unrulie private affections) frame the commonweale ever to advance his particular, building his surety upon his peoples miserie; and in the end (as a stepfather and an uncouth hireling) make up his own hand upon the ruines of the republicke: and according to their actions, so receive they their reward. For a good king (after a happy and famous reigne) dieth in peace, lamented by his subjects, and admired by his neighbours; and, leaving a reverent renowne behinde him in earth, obtaineth the crown of eternall felicitie in heaven. And although some of them (which falleth out very rarely) may be cut off by the treason of some unnaturall subjects, yet liveth their fame after them, and some notable plague faileth never to over-take the committers in this life, beside their infamie to all posterities hereafter. Whereby, the contrary, a tyrannes miserable and infamous life, armeth in the end his own subjects to become his burreaux: and although that rebellion be ever unlawfull on their part, yet is the world so wearied of him, that his fall is little meaned by the rest of his subjects, and but smyled at by his neighbours. And, besides the infamous memory he leaveth behinde him here, and the endlesse paine he sustaineth hereafter, it oft falleth out, that the committers not only escape unpunished, but, farther, the fact will remain as allowed by the law in divers ages thereafter. It is easie then for you (my sonne) to make a choice of one of these two sorts of rulers, by following the way of vertue to establish your standing; yea, in case ye fell in the highway, yet should it be with the honourable report and just regret of all honest men.

And therefore, to return to my purpose anent the government of your subjects, by making and putting good lawes to execution, I remitte the making of them to your owne discretion, as yee shall find the necessity of new-rising corruptions to require them: for, *ex malis moribus bonæ leges natæ sunt;* besides, that in this country, we have already more good lawes then are well excute, and am only to insist in your forme of government anent their execution. Only remember, that, as parliaments have been ordained for making of lawes, so yee abuse not their institution, in holding them for any mens particulars: for, as a parliament is the honourablest and highest judgment in the land (as being the kings head court) if it be well used, which is by making of good lawes in it; so is it the injustest judgment-seat that may be, being abused to mens particulars; irrevocable decreits against particular parties being given therein under colour of general lawes, and oftentimes the estates, not knowing themselves whom thereby they hurt; and therefore hold no parliaments but for necessity of new lawes, which would be but seldome; for few lawes, and well put in execution, are best in a well-ruled common-weale. As for the matter of fore-faltures, which also are done in parliament, it is not good tigging with these things; but my advice is ye fore-fault none but for such odious crimes as they make them unworthy ever to be restored againe; and for smaller offences, yee have other penalties sharpe enough to be used against them.

And as for the execution of good lawes, whereat I left, remember, that, among the differences that I put betwixt the formes of the government of a good king and a usurping tyrant, I shew how a tyrant would enter like a saint, while he found himselfe fast under-foote, and then would suffer his unruly affections to burst forth. Therefore bee yee contrary, at your first entry to your kingdome, to that *Quinquennium Neronis*, with his tender-hearted wish, *vellem nescirem literas*, in giving the lawfull execution against all breakers thereof, but exception: for, since ye came not to your reigne *precario*, nor by conquest, but by right and due discent, feare no uproares for doing of justice, since yee may assure your selfe, the most part of your people will ever naturally favour justice; providing always, that yee doe it only for love to justice, and not for satisfying any particular passions of yours under colour thereof; otherwise, how justly that ever the offender deserve it, yee are guilty of murther before God;

for yee must consider, that God ever looketh to your inward intention in all your actions.

And when yee have, by the severity of justice, once setled your countries, and made them know that ye can strike, then may yee thereafter, all the days of your life, mixe justice with mercie, punishing or sparing, as ye shall finde the crime to have been wilfully or rashly committed, and according to the by-past behaviour of the committer: for if otherwise ye kyth your clemency at the first, the offences would soone come to such heapes, and the contempt of you grow so great, that, when yee would fall to punish, the number of them to be punished would exceed the innocent, and ye would be troubled to resolve whom at to begin; and, against your nature, would be compelled then to wracke many, whom the chastisement of few in the beginning might have preserved. But in this my over-deare-bought experience may serve you for a sufficient lesson; for, I confesse, where I thought (by being gracious at the beginning) to winne all mens hearts to a loving and willing obedience, I, by the contrary, found the disorder of the country and the losse of my thanks to be all my reward.

But as this severe justice of yours upon all offences, would bee but for a time (as I have already said) so is there some horrible crimes that ye are bound in conscience never to forgive; such as witchcraft, wilfull murther, incest, (especially within the degrees of consanguinity), sodomy, poisoning, and fale coine.[1] As for offences against your owne person and authority, since the fault concerneth your selfe, I remit to your owne choise to punish, or pardon therein, as your heart serveth you, and according to the circumstances of the turne and the quality of the committer.

Here would I also eike another crime to be unpardonable, if I should not be thought partiall; but the fatherly love I beare you will make mee breake the bounds of shame in opening it unto you. It is then, the false and unreverent writing or speaking of malicious men against your parents and predecessors. Ye know the command of Gods law, "honour your father and mother;" and consequently, sen you are the lawful magistrate, suffer not both your princes and your parents to be dishonoured by any; especially, sith the example also toucheth your selfe, in leaving thereby to your successors, the measure of that which they shall mette out againe to you, in your like behalfe. I grant we have all our faults, which privately, betwixt you and God, should serve you for examples to meditate upon, and mend in your person; but should not be a matter of discourse to others whatsoever.

And sith yee are come of as honourable predecessours as any prince living, represse the insolence of such as, under pretence to tax a vice in the person, seeks craftily to staine the race, and to steale the affection of the people from their posterity. For how can they love you, that hated them whom of ye are come? Wherefore destroy men innocent young sucking wolves and foxes, but for the hatred they beare to their race? and why will a colt of a courser of Naples, give a greater price in a market, then an asse-colt, but for love of therace? It is, therefore, a thing monstrous, to see a man love the child and hate the parents: as, on the other part, the infaming and making odious of the parent, is the readiest way to bring the sonne in contempt.

And, for conclusion of this point, I may also alledge my owne experience. For, besides the judgments of God, that with my eyes I have seene fall upon all them that were chiefe traitors to my parents, I may justly affirme, I never found yet a constant biding by me in all my straites, by any that were of perfit age in my parents dayes, but only by such as constantly bode by them. I meane, specially by them that served the queene my mother: for so that I discharge my conscience to you, my son, in revealing to you the truth, I care not what any traitor or treason-allower think of it.

[1] It will be observed, how naturally the king places the imaginary crime of witchcraft, against which he had himself written his Demonologie, in the very van of enormity.

And although the crime of oppression be not in this ranke of unpardonable crimes, yet the over common use of it in this nation, as if it were a vertue, especially by the greatest ranke of subjects in the land, requireth the king to be a sharp censurer thereof. Be diligent to trie, and awfull to beate downe the hornes of proud oppressors; embrace the quarrell of the poore and distressed, as your own particular, thinking it your greatest honour to represse the oppressours; woo for the pleasure of none, neither spare ye any paines in your owne person, to see their wronges redressed, and remember of the honourable stile given to my grandfather of worthy memory, in being called "the poore mans king." And as the most part of a kings office standeth in deciding that question of *meum* and *tuum* among his subjects; so remember, when ye sit in judgment, that the throne ye sit on is Gods, as Moses saith, and sway neither to the right hand nor to the left; either loving the rich, or pitying the poore. Justice shoulde be blinde and friendlesse; it is not there ye should reward your friends, or seek to crosse your enemies.

Here now, speaking of oppressours and of justice, the purpose leadeth me to speak of hieland and bordour oppressions. As for the hielands, I shortly comprehend them all in two sorts of people: the one that dwelleth in our maine land, that are barbarous for the most part, and yet mixed with some shew of civility; the other that dwelleth in the isles, and are all uterly barbares, without any sort or shew of civility. For the first sort, put straitly to execution the laws made already by me against their over lords, and the chiefs of their clannes; and it will be no difficulty to danton them.[1] As for the other sort, follow forth the course that I have intended, in planting colonies among them of answerable inland subjects, that within short time may reform and civilize the best inclined among them; rooting out, or transporting, the barbarous and stubborne sort, and planting civility in their roomes.[2]

But as for the bordours, because I know if ye enjoy not this whole isle, according to Gods right and your lineall discent, ye will never get leave to brooke this north and barrenest part thereof; no, not your owne head whereon the crowne should stand; I need not in that case trouble you with them; for then they will be the midlest of the isle, and so as easily ruled as any part thereof.

And that ye may the readier with wisdom and justice governe your subjects, by knowing what vices they are naturally most inclined to, as a good physician, who must first know what peccant humours his patient naturally is most subject unto, before hee can begin his cure: I shall therefore shortly note unto you, the principall faults that every ranke of the people of this country is most affected unto. And as for England, I will not speake by guesse of them, never having been among them; although I hope in that God, who ever favoureth the right, before I die, to be as well acquainted with their fashions.

As the whole subjects of our country (by the ancient and fundamentall policie of our kingdome) are divided into three estates; so is every estate hereof generally subject to some speciall vices; which in a manner, by long habitude, are thought rather virtue than vice among them; not that every particular man, in any of these rankes of men, is subject unto them; for there is good and evill of all sorts; but that I meane,

[1] Very severe laws were made in the reign of James VI. for restraining the rapine and inroads of the Highlanders and Borderers. The landlords and chieftains of clans were declared responsible for the peaceable demeanour of their kinsmen and vassals, and obliged to lodge hostages for maintaining good order, or delivering up offenders to public justice. See the Scottish acts of parliament for the year 1602.

[2] James made a fair experiment to civilize the Hebrides, by planting in the island of Lewis a colony, selected chiefly from the inhabitants of Fife; but these *undertakers*, as they were called, did not use sufficient precautions for defending their new possessions, and were surprised and expelled by the islesmen, under the command of their chieftain M'Leod.

I have found by experience, these vices to have taken greatest hold with these rankes of men.

And first, that I prejudge not the church of her ancient priviledges, reason would she should have the first place, for orders sake, in this catalogue.

The naturall sicknesses that ever troubled, and beene the decay of all the churches, since the beginning of the world, changing the candlesticke from one to another, as John saith, have beene pride, ambition, and avarice: and now last, the same infirmities wrought the overthrow of the popish church, in this country and divers others. But the reformation of religion in Scotland, being extraordinarilie wrought by God, wherein many things were inordinately done by a popular tumult, and rebellion, of such as blindly were doing the worke of God, but clogged with their owne passions and particular respects, as well appeared by the destruction of our policie, and not proceeding from the princes order, as it did in our neighbour countrey of England, as likewise in Denmarke, and sundrie parts of Germanie; some fiery spirited men in the ministery got such a guiding of the people at that time of confusion, as finding the guste of government sweete, they began to fantasie to themselves a democratick forme of government; and having (by the iniquitie of time) been over well baited upon the wracke, first of my grandmother, and next of my own mother; and after usurping the libertie of the time in my long minoritie, setled themselves so fast upon that imagined democracie, as they fed themselves with the hope to become *tribuni plebis:* and so in a populare government, by leading the people by the nose, to beare the sway of all the rule. And for this cause, there never rose faction in the time of my minoritie, nor trouble sinsyne, but they that were upon that factious part were ever careful to perswade and allure these unrulie spirits among the ministrie, to spouse that quarrell as their owne; where-through I was ofttimes calumniated in their populare sermons, not for any evill or vice in me, but because I was a king, which they thought the highest evill.[1] And because they were ashamed to professe this quarrell, they were busie to looke narrowly in all my actions; and I warrant you a moate in my eye, yea, a false report, was matter enough for them to worke upon; and yet, for all their cunning, whereby they pretended to distinguish the lawfulnes of the office from the vice of the person, some of them would some-times snapper out well grossely with the truth of their intentions; informing the people, that all kings and princes were naturally enemies to the libertie of the church, and could never patiently beare the yoke of Christ: with such sound doctrine fed they their flockes.[2] And because the learned, grave, and honest men of the mi-

[1] James was often the theme of the ministers' denunciations, even while he himself sat in the congregation. On one occasion he was so far provoked as to command the preacher either to speak sense, or to come down from the pulpit. "I tell thee, man," answered the divine, incensed at the interruption, "I will neither speak sense, nor come down." Another time he had the pleasure to hear a zealous preacher denounce a solemn curse upon every man, horse, and spear, who should assist the king against the Earl of Gowrie. His favourites were usually compared to Haman, his wife to Herodias, and he himself to Ahab, Herod, and Jeroboam; but the most celebrated insult was offered by Mass David Black, who declared in his sermon, that all kings were the *devil's bairns*, all ministers cormorants, and Queen Elizabeth an atheist. Being called before the privy council, he declined to answer to any temporal jurisdiction for words spoken in the pulpit, and his brethren making common cause with him, excited a popular tumult, in which the kings person was endangered. But the consequences were favourable to James's cause; for the conduct of the clergy disgusted all thinking persons, and justified the king in taking strong measures for repressing their insolence.

[2] The claims of the church, and her independence upon the crown, were strongly contested in a conference between the king and the commissioners of the General Assembly of the kirk, in 1596.

"In the moneth of September, the commissioners appointed by the last General Asemblie, and some others of the ministrie, conveened at Couper, understanding certainly that the popish lords were returned to the countrey, and what purposes they had with their favourers and assisters, thought good to direct some of their number to the king, to crave that these dangerous enterprises may be prevented. Masters Andrew Melvine, Patrick Galloway, James Nicolson, and James Melvine, came to Falkland, and were admitted into the kings ca-

nisterie were even ashamed and offended with their temeritie and presumption, preassing by all good meanes, by their authoritie and example, to reduce them to a greater moderation; there could be no way found out so meete in their conceit, that were turbulent spirites among them, for maintaining their plottes, as paritie in the church: whereby the ignorants were emboldened (as bairds) to crie the learned, godlie, and modest out of it: paritie, the mother of confusion, and enemie to unitie, which is the mother of order. For if, by the example thereof, once established in the ecclesiasticall government, the politicke and civill estate should be drawne to the like, the greate confusion that there-upon would arise may easily be discerned. Take heed therefore (my sonne) to such puritanes, verie pestes in the church and commonweale; whom no deserts can oblige, neither oathes or promises binde; breathing nothing but sedition and calumnies, aspiring without measure, rayling without reason, and making their owne imaginations (without anie warrant of the word) the square of their conscience. I protest before the great God, and since I am here as upon my testament, it is no place for me to lye in, that ye shall never finde with any hie-land or border theeves greater ingratitude, and more lies and vile perjuries then with these phanaticke spirits; and suffer not the principalls of them to brooke your land, if ye like to sit at rest; except ye would keepe them for trying your patience, as Socrates did an evill wife.

And for preservative against their poyson, intertaine and advance the godly, learned, and modest men of the ministry, whom of (God be praised) there lacketh not a sufficient number; and by their provision to bishopricks and benefices (annulling that vile act of annexation, if ye finde it not done to your hand) yee shall not onely banish their conceited parity, whereof I have spoken, and their other imaginary grounds, which can neither stand with the order of the church, nor the peace of the common-weale and well ruled monarchie; but ye shall also re-establish the old institution of three

binet. Mr James Melvine, their mouth, shewed that the commissioners appointed by the General Assembly, to watch in so dangerous a time, had conveened with certain of the brethren at Couper. The king interrupted him, and challenged the meeting as seditious, and without warrant; and said, they made themselves and the countrey conceive fear where there was none. Mr James began to reply after his milde manner; but Mr Andrew taketh the speech from him, and howbeit the king was in anger, yet he uttered their commisssion, as from the mightie God; called the king Gods silly vassal; and, taking him by the sleeve, said this in effect:—"Sir, we will humblie reverence your majestie alwayes, namely, in publicke, but we have this occasion to be with your majestie in privat, and you are brought in extreem danger, both of your life and of your crown, and with you the country and kirk of God is like to be wracked, for not telling you the truth, and giving you a faithful counsel; we must discharge our dutie, or else be enemies to Christ and you: Therefore, sir, as diverse times before, so now I must tell you, that there are two kings and two kingdomes: there is Christ, and his kingdome the kirk, whose subject King James the Sixt is, and of whose kingdom he is not a king, nor a head, nor a lord, but a member; and they whom Christ hath called and commanded to watch over his kirk, and govern his spiritual kingdom, have sufficient authority and power from him so to do, which no Christian king nor prince should control nor discharge, but fortifie and assist, otherwise they are not faithful subjects to Christ. Sir, when you were in your swadling clouts, Christ reigned freely in this land, in spight of all your enemies. His officers and ministers conveened and assembled for ruling of his kirk, which was ever for your welfare also, when the same enemies were seeking your destruction; and have been by their assemblies and meetings since, terrible to these enemies, and most steedable for you; will ye now, when there is more then necessitie, challenge Christs servants, your best and most faithful servants, for their conveening, and for the care they have of their dutie to Christ and you; when as you should rather commend and countenance them, as the godly kings and emperours did? The wisdom of your counsel, which is devillish and pernicious, is this, that you may be served with all sort of men to come to your purpose and grandour, Jew and Gentile, Papist and Protestant. Because the ministers and Protestants in Scotland are too strong, and control the king, they must be weakened and brought low, by stirring up a party against them, and the king being equal and indifferent, both shall be fain to flee to him: so shall he be well settled. But, Sir, let Gods wisdom be the only true wisdom, this will prove meer and mad follie; for his curse cannot but be light upon it; so that, in seeking both, you shall lose both; whereas, in cleaving uprightly to God, his true servants shall be your true friends, and he shall compel the rest counterfitely and lyingly to serve you, as he did to David."—CALDERWOOD'S *History of the Church of Scotland*, 1704, p. 329.

estates in parliament, which can no otherwise be done. But in this I hope (if God spare my dayes) to make you a faire entry: alwayes where I leave, follow ye my steps.

And to end my advice anent the church estate, cherish no man more than a good pastor, hate no man more than a proud puritan; thinking it one of your fairest stiles to be called a loving nourish-father[1] to the church; seeing all the churches within your dominions planted with good pastors, the schooles (the seminary of the church) maintained, the doctrine and discipline preserved in purity, according to Gods word, a sufficient provision for their sustentation, a comely ordour in their policy, pride punished, humility advanced, and they so to reverence their superiours, and their flockes them, as the flourishing of your church in piety, peace, and learning, may bee one of the chiefe points of your earthly glory; being ever alike at war with both the extremities, as well as ye represse the vaine Puritan, so not to suffer proud papall bishops: but as some for their qualities will deserve to bee preferred before others, so chaine them with such bonds as may preserve that estate from creeping to corruption.

The next estate now that by order commeth in purpose, according to their ranks in parliament, is the nobility, although seconde in ranke, yet over-far first in greatnesse and power, either to doe good or evill, as they are inclined.

The naturall sicknesse, that I have perceived this estate subject to in my time, hath been, a fectlesse,[2] arrogant conceit of their greatnesse and power; drinking in with their very nouris milke, that their honour stoode in committing three points of iniquity; to thrall, by oppression, the meaner sort that dwelleth neare them, to their service and following, although they hold nothing of them; to maintaine their servants and dependers in any wrong, although they be not answerable to the laws (for any body will maintaine his man in a right cause) and for any displeasure, that they apprehend to be done unto them by their neighbour, to take up a plaine feide against him; and (without respect of God, king, or common-weale) to bang it out bravely, he and all his kinne, against him and all his; yea, they will thinke the king farre in their common, in case they agree to grant an assurance to a short day, for keeping of the peace; where, by their naturall duty, they are obliged to obey the law, and keepe the peace all the dayes of their life, upon the perill of their craigges.[3]

For remedey to these evils in their estate, teache your nobility to keepe your lawes as precisely as the meanest: feare not ther carping or being discontented, as long as ye rule well; for their pretended reformation of princes taketh never effect, but where evill governement precedeth. Acquaint your selfe so with all the honest men of your barrones and gentlemen, and be in your giving accesse so open and affable to every ranke of honest persons, as may make them pearte without scarring at you, to make their own suites to you themselves, and not to employ the great lords their intercessours; for intercession to saints is papistry: so shall you bring to a measure their monstrous backes. And for their barbarous feides,[4] put the lawes in due execution made by me there-anent, beginning ever rather at him that yee love best, and is most obliged unto you, to make him an example to the rest. For ye shall make all your reformations to begin at your elbow, and so by degrees to flow to the extremities of the land. And rest not, untill ye roote out these barbarous feides, that their effects may be as well smoared downe, as their barbarous name is unknowne to any other nation. For if this treatise were written either in French or Latine, I could not git them named unto you but by circumlocution. And for your easier abolishing of them, put sharply to execution my lawes made against guns and trayterous pistolets;[5] thinking in your heart, tearming in your

[1] Nourice-father, *i. e.* nursing-father.
[2] *Fectless*, ineffectual.
[3] *Craigges*, throats.
[4] The feuds were the family wars, the *fehde* of the German chivalry.
[5] James had a particular aversion at pistols. When the war in the Palatinate was commenced, Wilson tells

speech, and using by your punishments, all such as weare and use them, as brigands and cut-throates.

On the other part, eschew the other extremitie, in lightlying and contemning your nobility. Remember how that errour brake the king my grandfather's heart. But consider that vertue followeth oftest noble bloud: the worthienesse of their antecessours craveth a reverent regard to be had unto them: honour them therefore that are obedient to the law among them, as the peeres and fathers of your land: the more frequently that your court can be garnished with them, thinke it the more your honour; acquainting and employing them in all your greatest affaires; sen it is they must be your armes and executers of your lawes; and so use yourselfe lovingly to the obedient, and rigorously to the stubborne, as may make the greatest of them to thinke that the chiefest point of their honour standeth in striving with the meanest of the land in humility towards you, and obedience to your lawes: beating ever in their eares, that one of the principal points of service that ye crave of them, is, in their persons to practise, and by their power to procure due obedience to the law; without the which, no service they can make can be agreeable unto you.

But the greatest hinderance to the execution of our lawes in this country, are these heritable sherifdomes and regalities, which, being in the hands of the great men, doe wracke the whole country. For which I know no present remedy, but by taking the sharper account of them in their offices; using all punishment against the slothfull, that the law will permit; and ever as they vaike, for any offences committed by them, dispone them never heritablie again: preassing, with time, to draw it to the laudable custome of England, which ye may the easier doe, being king of both, as I hope in God ye shall.[1]

And as to the third and last estate, which is our burghes (for the small barones are but an inferior part of the nobility and of their estate) they are composed of two sorts of men, merchants and craftsmen; either of these sorts being subject to their owne infirmities.

The merchants thinke the whole commonweal ordained for making them up; and accounting it their lawfull gaine and trade, to enrich themselves upon the losse of all the rest of the people, they transport from us things necessarie, bringing back sometimes unnecessarie things, and at other times nothing at all. They buy for us the worst wares, and sell them at the dearest prices; and albeit the victualls fall or rise of their prices according to the abundance or scantnesse thereof; yet the prices of their wares ever rise, but never fall: being as constant in that their evill custom, as if it were a setled law for them. They are also the special cause of the corruption of the coyne, transporting all our own, and bringing in forraine, upon what price they please to set on it. For order putting to them, put the good lawes in execution that are alreadie made anent these abuses: but especially doe three things. Establish honest, diligent, but few searchers; for many hands make slight work; and have an honest and diligent treasurer to take count of them. Permit and allure forrain merchants to trade here; so shall ye have best and best cheap wares, not buying them at the third hand. And set every yeare down a certaine price of all things; considering, first, how it is in other countries; and the price being set reasonably downe, if the merchants will not bring them home on the price, cry forrainers free to bring them. And because I have made

us of Colonel Gray, "an old German commander, one that affected buff in the time of peace, and wore it in the face of the court; which the king seeing him in, and a case of pistols at his girdle (which he never well liked of) he told him merrily, He was now so fortified, that if he were but well victualled, he would be impregnable." WILSON *apud* KENNET, II. p. 789.

[1] This excellent suggestion was not carried into force until the consequences of the insurrection in 1745, enabled government to pass the *Jurisdiction Act*, as it is called, taking away all the heritable sheriffdoms and regalities.

mention here of the coyne, make your money of fine gold and silver; causing the people be payed with substance, and not abused with number: so shall ye enrich the commonweale, and have a great treasure laid up in store, if ye fall in wars or in any straits. For the making it baser will breed your commoditie; but it is not to be used, but as at great necessitie.

And the craftsmen thinke, we should be content with their work, how bad and dere so ever it be; and if they in any thing be controlled, up goeth the blew blanket.[1] But for their part take example by England, how it hath flourished both in wealth and policie, since the strangers craftsmen came in among them. Therefore not only permit, but allure strangers to come here also: taking as strait order for repressing the mutining of ours at them, as was done in England at their first in bringing there. But unto one fault is all the common people of this kingdom subject, as well burgh as land; which is, to judge and speak rashly of their prince: setting the commonweale upon foure props, as wee call it; ever wearying of the present estate, and desirous of novelties. For remedie whereof (besides the execution of lawes that are to be used against unreverent speakers) I know no better meane, then so to rule, as may justly stop their mouths, from all such idle and unreverent speeches: and so to prop the weale of your people, with provident care for their good government, that, justly, Momus himselfe may have no ground to grudge at; and yet so to temper and mix your severitie with mildnesse, that as the unjust railers may be restrained with a reverent awe, so the good and loving subjects may not only live in suretie and wealth, but be stirred up and invited by your benigne curtesies, to open their mouthes in the just praise of your so well moderated regiment. In respect whereof, and therewith also the more to allure them to a common amitie among themselves, certain dayes in the yeare would be appointed, for delighting the people with publike spectacles of honest games, and exercise of arms: as also for convening of neighbours, for entertaining friendship and heartlines, by honest feasting and merrines. For I cannot see what greater superstition can be in making playes and lawfull games in May, and good cheere at Christmasse, then in eating fish in Lent, and upon Fridayes, the Papists as well using the one as the other; so that always the Sabboths be kept holy, and no unlawfull pastime be used.[2] And as this forme of contenting the peoples minds hath bin used in all well governed republicks, so will it make you to perform in your government, that old good sentence,

Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci.

Ye see now (my son) how for the zeale I beare, to acquaint you with the plain and single verity of all things, I have not spared to be something satyrick, in touching well quickly the faults in all the estates of my kingdom. But I protest before God, I do it with the fatherly love that I owe to them all; only hating their vices, whereof there is a good number of honest men free in every state. And because, for the better reformation of all these abuses among your estates, it will be a great help unto you, to be well acquainted with the nature and humours of all your subjects, and to know particularly the estate of every part of your dominions; I would therefore counsell you, once in the year, to visit the principal parts of the country ye shall be in for the time: and, because I hope ye shall be king of more countries than this; once in the three years to visit all your kingdomes; not depending on vice-royes, but hearing yourself their complaints; and having ordinary councels and justice-seats in every kingdome of their own countrymen; and the principall matters ever to be decided by yourselfe when ye

[1] The Blue Blanket, anciently called the banner of the Holy Ghost, is the standard of the craftsmen or mechanics of Edinburgh, who are understood to be bound to arise in arms whenever it is displayd. It is a pennon of blue silk, said to have been anciently brought from the Holy Land.

[2] See his Majesty's Book of Sports.

come in those parts.[1] Ye have also to consider, that ye must not only be carefull to keep your subjects from receiving any wrong of others within, but also ye must be carefull to keep them from the wrong of any forraine prince without; sen the sword is given you by God, not only to revenge upon your own subjects, the wrongs committed among themselves, but, further, to revenge and free them of forraine injuries done unto them. And therefore wars upon just quarrels are lawfull: but above all, let not the wrong cause be on your side.

Use all other princes as your brethren, honestly and kindly; keep precisely your promise unto them, although to your hurt; strive with every one of them in courtesie and thankfulnesse; and as with all men, so especially with them, be plain and truthfull; keeping ever that Christian rule, "to doe as ye would be done to;" especially in counting rebellion against any other prince, a crime against your own selfe, because of the preparative. Supply not, therefore, nor trust not other prince's rebels; but pitie and succour all lawfull princes in their troubles. But if any of them will not abstaine, notwithstanding whatsoever your good deserts, to wrong you or your subjects, crave redress at leisure; heare and doe all reason; and if no offer that is lawfull or honourable can make him to abstain, nor repair his wrong-doing, for the last refuge, commit the justnes of your cause to God, giving first honestly up with him, and in a public and honourable forme. But, omitting now to teach you the form of making warr, because that art is largely treated of by many, and is better learned by practise then speculation, I will only set downe to you here a few precepts therein. Let, first, the justnesse of your cause be your greatest strength; and then omit not to use all lawfull means for backing of the same. Consult therefore with no necromancier nor false prophet upon the successe of your wars; remembring K. Sauls miserable end; but keep your land cleane of all southsayers, according to the command in the law of God, dilated by Jeremie. Neither commit your quarrell to be tried by a duell;[2] for, besides that generally all duells appeareth to be unlawfull, committing the quarrell, as it were, to a lot, whereof there is no warrant in the scripture, since the abrogating of the old law: it is specially most unlawfull in the person of a king, who, being a public person, hath no power therefore to dispose of himselfe, in respect, that to his preservation or fall, the safety or wrack of the whole commonweale is necessarily coupled, as the body is to the head.

Before yee take on war, play the wise kings part, descrived by Christ; foreseeing how ye may beare it out with all necessarie provision: especially remember, that mony is *nervus belli:* Choose old experimented captaines, and young able souldiers; be extreamely strait and severe in martiall discipline, as well for keeping of order, which is as requisite as hardinesse in the wars, and punishing of sloath, which at a time may put the whole armie in hazard; as likewise for repressing of mutinies which in wars are wonderfull dangerous. And looke to the Spaniard, whose great successe in all his wars hath onely come through straitnesse of discipline and order; for such errours may be committed in the wars as cannot be gotten mended againe.

Be in your owne person walkrife, diligent, and painfull; using the advice of such as

[1] This conceit of discharging in person the office of a judge, gave offence in England, and obviously tended to interrupt the course of the common law of the country.

[2] Although James disapproved of duels, and would hardly have been induced to have adventured his own sacred person, even for the dearest of his rights, he indulged his loving subjects with the privilege of fighting in the lists for value received in the Exchequer. "The 15 of March, ane singill combat foughtin betwixt Adam Bruntfield and James Carmichael. The said Adam Bruntfield challengit James Carmichael, for murthering of his umwhile brother, Stephen Bruntfield, capitane of Tantallon. The said Adam purchasit ane licence of his Majesty, and faucht the said James, on Barnbougle Links, before five thousand gentilmen; and the said Adam being bot ane young man, and of a mean stature, slew the said James Carmichael, he being as abill a lyke man as wes living."—Birrel's Diary, *ad ann.* 1597.

are skilfullest in the craft, as ye must also doe in all other. Be homely with your souldiers as your companions, for winning their hearts, and extreamely liberall, for then is no time of sparing. Be cold and foreseeing in devising, constant in your resolutions, and forward and quick in your executions. Fortifie well your camp, and assaile not rashly without an advantage; neither feare nor lightly your enemy. Be curious in devising stratagems, but alwayes honestly; for of any thing, they work greatest effects in the wars, if secrecy be joyned to invention. And once or twice in your owne person hazard yourselfe fairely; but, having acquired so the fame of courage and magnanimity, make not a daily souldier of yourselfe, exposing rashly your person to every perill; but conserve yourselfe thereafter for the weale of your people; for whose sake ye must more care for yourselfe then for your own. And, as I have counselled you to be slow in taking on a war, so advise I you to be slow in peace making. Before ye agree, looke that the ground of your wars be satisfied in your peace, and that ye see a good surety for you and your people; otherwayes, a just and honourable war is more tolerable then a dishonourable and disadvantageous peace.

But it is not enough to a good king, by the scepter of good lawes, well executed, to governe, and by force of armes to protect his people; if he joyn not therewith his vertuous life in his owne person, and in the person of his court and company; by good example alluring his subjects to the love of vertue, and hatred of vice.

And therefore (my sonne) sith all people are naturally inclined to follow their princes example (as I shewed you before) let it not be said, that ye command others to keep the contrary course to that, which in your own person yee practise; making so your words and deeds to fight together; but by the contrarie, let your own life be a lawbooke and a mirour to your people; that therein they may read the practise of their owne lawes, and therein they may see, by your image, what life they should leade. And this example in your own life and person, I likewise divide in two parts: The first, in the government of your court and followers in all godlinesse and vertue: The next, in having your own minde decked and enriched so with all vertuous qualities, that therewith yee may worthily rule your people: For it is not enough that ye have and retaine (as prisoners) within yourselfe never so many good qualities and vertues, except ye imploy them, and set them on work for the weale of them that are committed to your charge: *Virtutis enim laus omnis in actione consistit.*

First, then, as to the government of your court and followers; king David sets down the best precepts, that any wise and Christian king can practise in that point. For as ye ought to have a great care for the ruling well of all your subjects, so ought ye to have a double care for the ruling well of your own servants; since unto them ye are both a politick and oeconomick governour. And as every one of the people will delight to follow the example of any of the courteours, as well in evil as in good, so what crime so horrible can there be committed and over-seen in a courteour, that will not be an examplare excuse for any other boldly to commit the like? And therefore in two points have yee to take good heed anent your court and household: First, in choosing them wisely; next, in carefully ruling them whom ye have chosen.

It is an old and true saying, that a kindly aver will never become a good horse: for albeit good education and companie be great helps to nature, and education be therefore most justly called *altera natura:* yet is it evill to get out of the flesh, that is bred in the bone, as the old proverbe saith. Be very warie then in making choice of your servants and companie;——*Nam turpius ejicitur, quam non admittitur hospes:* and many respects may lawfully let an admission, that will not be sufficient causes of deprivation.

All your servants and court must be composed partly of minors, such as young lords, to be brought up in your companie, or pages and such like, and partly men of perfite

age, for serving you in such roomes, ought to be filled with men of wisedome and discretion. For the first sort, yee can do no more, but choose them within age, that are come of a good and virtuous kinde, *in fide parentum*, as baptisme is used. For though *anima non venit ex traduce*, but is immediately created by God, and infused from above: yet it is most certaine, that virtue or vice will oftentimes, with the heritage, be transferred from the parents to the posteritie, and runne on a blood (as the proverbe is) the sickness of the mind becoming as kindly to some races, as these sicknesses of the body, that infects in the seede. Especially choose such minors, as are come of a true and honest race, and have not had the house, whereof they are descended, infected with falsehood.

And as for the other sort of your company and servants, that ought to be of perfect age; first, see that they be of good fame, and without blemish; otherwise, what can the people think, but that ye have chosen a companie unto you, according to your owne humour, and so have preferred these men, for the love of their vices and crimes, that ye knew them to be guiltie of? For the people that see you not within cannot judge of you, but according to the outward appearance of your actions and companie; which only is subject to their sight. And next, see that they be indued with such honest qualities, as are meete for such offices, as ye ordaine them to serve in; that so your judgment may be known in imploying every man according to his gifts. And shortly, follow good king David's counsell in the choice of your servants, by setting your eyes upon the faithful and upright of the land to dwell with you.

But heere I must not forget to remember, and according to my fatherly authoritie, to charge you to preferre specially to your service, so many as have truely served me, and are able for it: the rest, honourably to reward them, preferring their posteritie before others, as kindliest: so shall ye not only be best served, (for if the haters of your parents cannot love you, as I shewed before, it followeth of necessitie their lovers must love you); but further, ye shall kyth your thankfull memorie of your father, and procure the blessing of these old servants, in not missing their old master in you, which otherwayes would be turned in a prayer for me, and a curse for you. Use them therefore, when God shall call me, as the testimonies of your affection towards me; trusting and advancing those farthest, whom I found faithfullest; which ye must not discern by their rewards at my hand, (for rewards, as they are called *bona fortunæ*, so are they subject unto fortune) but according to the trust I gave them; having oftentimes had better heart then hap to the rewarding of sundry. And on the other part, as I wish you to kyth your constant love towards them that I loved, so desire I you to kyth, in the same measure, your constant hatred to them that I hated: I meane, bring not home nor restore not such as ye finde standing banished or fore-faulted by me. The contrary would kyth in your over great contempt of me, and lightnesse in your own nature: for how can they be true to the sonne, that were false to the father?

But to return to the purpose anent the choice of your servants; ye shall by this wise forme of doing, eschew the inconvenients, that in my minoritie I fell in anent the choice of my servants. For by them that had the command where I was brought up, were my servants put unto me; not choosing them that were meetest to serve me, but whom they thought meetest to serve their turne about me; as kythed well in many of them at the first rebellion raised against me, which compelled me to make a great alteration among my servants. And yet the example of that corruption made me to be long troubled thereafter with soliciters, recommending servants unto me more for serving in effect their friends that put them in, then their master that admitted them. Let my example then teach you to follow the rules heere set down; choosing your servants for your owne use, and not for the use of others. And since ye must be *communis parens* to all your people, so choose your servants indifferently out of all quarters; not respect-

ing other men's appetites, but their own qualities. For as ye must command all, so reason would ye should be served out of all, as ye please to make choice.

But specially take good heed to the choice of your servants, that ye preferre to the offices of the crown and estate; for in other offices ye have only to take heede to your owne weale; but these concern likewise the weale of your people, for the which ye must be answerable of God. Choose then, for all these offices, men of known wisdome, honestie, and good conscience; well practised in the points of the crafte that ye ordaine them for, and free of all factions and partialities; but specially free of that filthy vice of flattery, the pest of all princes, and wrack of republickes. For since, in the first part of this treatise, I forwarned you to bewarre with your own inward flatterer Φιλαυτία, how much more should ye bewarre with outward flatterers, who are nothing so sib to you as yourself is; by the selling of such counterfeit wares, only preassing to ground their greatnesse upon your ruines? And therefore be carefull to preferre none, as ye will be answerable to God, but only for their worthinesse. But specially choose honest, diligent, meane, but responsall men, to be your receivers in money matters: meane I say, that ye may, when ye please, take a sharpe account of their intromission, without perill of their breeding any trouble to your estate: for this oversight hath been the greatest cause of my misthriving in money matters. Especially, put never a forrainer in any principall office of estate: for that will never faile to stirre up sedition and envie in the countrymen's hearts, both against you and him. But (as I said before) if God provide you with more countries then this, choose the borne-men of every countrie to be your chiefe counsellers therein.

And, for conclusion of my advice anent the choice of your servants, delight to be served with men of the noblest blood that may be had: for, besides that their service shall breede you goodwill and least envie, contrarie to that of start-ups, ye shall oft finde vertue follow noble races, as I have said before, speaking of the nobilitie.

Now as to the other point, anent your governing of your servants when ye have chosen them; make your court and companie to be a paterne of godlinesse and all honest vertues, to all the rest of the people. Be a daily watchman over your servants, that they obey your laws preciselie; for how can your laws be kept in the countrie, if they be broken at your eare? Punishing the breach thereof in a courtier more severely then in the person of anie other of your subjects: and, above all, suffer none of them, (by abusing their credite with you,) to oppresse or wronge anie of your subjects. Be homlie or strange with them, as ye think their behaviour deserveth, and their nature may beare with. Thinke a quarrelous man a pest in your companie. Be carefull ever to preferre the gentilest natured and trustiest, to the nwardest offices about you; especially in your chamber. Suffer none about you to meddle in any mens particulars; but, like the Turkes Janissares, let them know no father but you, nor particulars but yours. And if any will meddle in their kin or friends quarells, give them their leave:[a] for since ye must be of no surname nor kinne, but equall to all honest men, it becometh you not to be followed with partiall or factious servants. Teach obedience to your servants, and not to thinke themselves over wise: and, as when any of them deserveth it, ye must not spare to put them away, so, without a seen cause, change none of them. Pay them, as all other your subjects, with *præmium* or *pœna*, as they deserve; which is the very ground stone of good government. Employ every man as ye think him qualified, but use not one in all things, lest he wax proud, and be envyed by his fellowes. Love them best that are plainest with you, and disguise not the truth for all their kinne: suffer none to be evill-tongued, nor backbiters of them they hate: command a hartly and brotherlie love among all them that serve you. And, shortlie, maintaine peace in your court, baunish envie, cherish modestie,

[a] *i. e.* dismiss them.

bannish deboshed insolence, foster humilitie, and represse pride: setting down such a comlie and honourable order in all the points of your service, that when strangers shall visit your court, they may, with the queen of Sheba, admire your wisdome in the glorie of your house and comelie order among your servants.

But the principall blessing that ye can get of good companies, will stand in your marying a godly and virtuous wife; for shee must be nearer unto you then anie companie, being "Flesh of your flesh, and bone of your bone," as Adam said of Hevah: And, because I know not but God may call me before ye be readie for marriage, I will shortlie set down to you here my advice therein.

First of all, consider, that marriage is the greatest earthly felicitie or miserie that can come to a man, according as it pleaseth God to blesse or cursse the same. Since then, without the blessing of God, ye cannot look for a happie successe in marriage, ye must be carefull both in your preparation for it, and in the choice and usage of your wife, to procure the same. By your preparation, I meane, that ye must keepe your bodie cleane and unpolluted, till ye give it to your wife, whom to onlie it belongeth. For how can ye justlie crave to be joyned with a pure virgine, if your body be polluted? Why should the one half be cleane, and the other defiled? And, although I know fornication is thought but a light venniall sin by the most part of the world, yet remember well what I said to you in my first book anent conscience, and count every sinne and breach of God's law, not according as the vaine world esteemeth of it, but as God, the judge and maker of the law, accounteth of the same. Heare God commanding by the mouth of Paul, to "abstaine from fornication," declaring, "that the fornicator shall not inherite the kingdome of heaven:" and by the mouth of John, reckoning out fornication amongst other grievous sinnes, that debarres the committers, amongst "dogges and swine, from entrie in that spirituall and heavenly Jerusalem." And, consider, if a man shall once take upon him to count that light which God calleth heavie, and veniall, that which God calleth grievous; beginning first to measure any one sinne by the rule of his lust and appetites, and not of his conscience; what shall let him to do so with the next, that his affections shall stirre him to, the like reason serving for all; and so to go forward till he place his whole corrupted affections in God's roome? And then what shall come of him, but as a man given over to his owne filthie affections, shall perish into them? And because we are all of that nature, that sibbest examples touches us neerest, consider the difference of successe that God granted in the marriages of the king my grandfather, and me your owne father: the reward of his incontinencie (proceeding from his evill education) being the suddaine death, at one time, of two pleasant young princes; and a daughter only borne to succeede to him, whom he had never the hap, so much as once, to see or blesse before his death: leaving a double curse behind him to the land, both a woman of sexe, and a new borne babe of age, to raigne over them. And as for the blessing God hath bestowed on me, in graunting me both a greater continence, and the fruits following thereupon, your selfe, and sib folkes to you, are (praise be to God) sufficient witnesses: which, I hope the same God, of his infinite mercy, shall continue and increse, without repentance to me and my posteritie. Be not ashamed then, to keepe cleane your body, which is the temple of the Holy Spirit, notwithstanding all vaine allurements to the contrary: discerning truly and wisely of every vertue and vice, according to the true qualities thereof, and not according to the vaine conceits of men.

As for your choice in marriage, respect chiefly the three causes, wherefore marriage was first ordained by God; and then join three accessories, so farre as they may be obtained, not derogating to the principalls.

The three causes it was ordained for, are, for staying of lust, for procreation of children, and that man should by his wife get a helper like himself. Deter not then to marrie till your age; for it is ordained for quenching the lust of your youth. Especi-

ally a king must timously marrie for the weale of his people. Neither marrie ye, for any accessorie cause or worldly respects, a woman unable, either through age, nature, or accident, for procreation of children; for in a king that were a double fault, as well against his own weale, as against the weale of his people. Neither also marrie one of known evil conditions, or vicious education; for the woman is ordained to be a helper, and not a hinderer to man.

The three accessories, which (as I have said) ought also to be respected, without derogating to the principall causes, are beautie, riches, and friendship by alliance, which are all blessings of God. For beautie encreaseth your love to your wife, contenting you the better with her, without caring for others; and riches and great alliance do both make her the abler to be a helper to you. But if, over great respect being had to these accessories, the principall causes be over seen (which is over oft practised in the world) as of themselves they are blessings, being well used, so the abuse of them will turn them into a curse. For what can all these worldly respects avale, when a man shall find himself coupled with a divell, to be one flesh with him, and the half-marrow in his bed? Then (though too late) shall he find that beautie without bountie, wealth without wisdome, and great friendship without grace and honesty, are but faire shewes, and the deceitfull masques of infinite miseries.

But have ye respect, my sonne, to these three speciall causes in your marriage, which flow from the first institution thereof, *et cætera omnia adjiciuntur vobis;* and therefore I would rathest have you to marrie one that were fully of your own religion; her ranke and other qualities being agreeable to your estate. For although that, to my great regrate, the number of any princes of power and account, professing our religion, be but very small, and that therefore this advice seemes to be more straite and difficulte, yet ye have deeply to weigh and consider upon these doubts, how ye and your wife can be of one flesh, and keep unitie betwixt you, being members of two opposite churches: disagreement in religion bringeth ever with it disagreement in manners; and the dissention betwixt your preachers and hers will breed and foster a dissention among your subjects, taking their example for your familie; besides the perill of the evill education of your children. Neither pride you that ye will be able to frame and make her as ye please: that deceived Solomon, the wisest king that ever was: the grace of perseverance not being a flower that groweth in our garden.

Remember, also, that marriage is one of the greatest actions that a man doth in all his time, especiallie in taking of his first wife. and if he marrie first baselie beneath his ranke, he will ever be the less accounted of thereafter. And, lastlie, remember to choose your wife as I advised you to chuse your servant; that she be of a whole and clean race, not subject to the hereditarie sicknesses, either of the soule or the body. For if a man will be carefull to breed horses and dogs of good kinds, how much more careful should he be for the breed of his own loines? So shall ye in your marriage have respect to your conscience, honour, and naturall weale in your successours.

When ye are married, keepe inviolable your promise made to God in your marriage; which standeth all in doing of one thing, and abstaining from another; to treat her in all things as your wife and the halfe of your selfe; and to make your bodie (which then is yours, but properlie hers) common with none other. I trust I neede not to insist here to disswade you from the filthie vice of adulterie: remember only what solemn promise ye make to God at your marriage: and since it is onlie by the force of that promise that your children succeede to you, which otherwaies they could not do, equitie and reason would ye should keep your part thereof: God is ever a severe avenger of all perjuries; and it is no oath made in jest, that giveth power to children to succeed to great kingdomes. Have the king my grandfathers example before your eyes, who, by his adulterie, bred the wreck of his lawfull daughter and heire, in begetting that bastard, who unnaturallie rebelled and procured the ruine of his own soveraigne and

sister.[1] And what good her posterity hath gotten sen-syne of some of that unlawful gen eration, Bothuell his treacherous attempts can bear witnesse.[2] Keep precisely then your promise made at marriage, as ye would wish to be partaker of the blessing therein.

And for your behaviour to your wife, the scripture can best give you counsel therein. Treate her as your owne flesh, command her as her lord, cherish her as your helper, rule her as your pupill, and please her in all things reasonable; but teach her not to be curious in things that belongs her not. Ye are the head, she is your bodie: It is your office to command, and hers to obey; but yet, with such a sweet harmonie, as she should be as readie to obey, as ye commande, as willing to follow, as ye to go before: your love being wholly knit unto her, and all her affections lovinglie bent to follow your will.

And, to conclude, keep speciallie three rules with your wife: first, suffer her never to meddle with the politick government of the common-weale, but hold her at the œconomick rule of the house; and yet all to be subject to your direction: keepe carefullie good and chaste companie about her; for women are the frailest sexe: and be never both angrie at once; but when ye see her in passion, ye should with reason daunton yours; for both when ye are setled, ye are meetest to judge of her errours; and when she is come to her self, she may be best made to apprehend her offence, and reverence your rebuke.

If God send you succession, be carefull for their vertuous education: love them as ye ought, but let them know as much of it as the gentlenesse of their nature will deserve; containing them ever in a reverent love and fear of you. And in case it please God to provide you to all these three kingdomes, make your eldest sonne Isaac, leaving him all your kingdomes, and provide the rest with private possessions. Otherwaies, by dividing your kingdomes, ye shall leave the seede of division and discorde among your posteritie, as befell to this ile, by the division and assignment thereof, to the three sonnes of Brutus, Locrine, Albanact, and Camber. But if God give you not succession, defraud never the nearest by right, whatsoever conceit ye have of the person; for kingdomes are ever at Gods disposition, and in that case we are but live-rentars, lying no more in the kings nor peoples hand to dispossesse the righteous heir.

And as your companie should be a paterne to the rest of the people, so should your person be a lampe and mirrour to your companie; giving light to your servants to walke in the path of vertue, and representing unto them such worthie qualities as they should preasse to imitate.

I need not to trouble you with the particular discourse of the four cardinall vertues, it is so troden a path; but I will shortly say unto you, make one of them, which is temperance, queene of all the rest within you: I meane not by the vulgar interpretation of temperance, which only consists in *gustu et tactu*, by the moderating of these two senses, but I meane of that wise moderation, that, first commanding your selfe, shall, as a queen, command all the affections and passions of your minde; and, as a physicion, wisely mixe all your actions according thereto. Therefore, not only in all your affections and passions, but even in your most vertuous actions, make ever moderation to be the chiefe ruler. For although holinesse be the first and most requisite quality of a Christian, as proceeding from a feeling feare and true knowledge of God, yet ye remember how, in the conclusion of my first booke, I advised you to moderate all your outward actions flowing there fra. The like say I now of justice, which is the greatest vertue that properly belongeth to a kings office.

[1] James Stuart, Earl of Murray, natural son of James V. and finally Regent of Scotland.

[2] Francis Stuart, Earl of Bothwell, son of John Prior of Coldingham, a natural son of James V. His repeated treasons disturbed a great part of James's reign.

Use justice, but with such modration, as it turne not in tyrannie: otherwayes *summum jus*, is *summa injuria*. As, for example, if a man of a known honest life be invaded by brigands or theeves, for his purse, and in his owne defence slaie one of them, they being both more in number, and also known to be deboshed and insolent livers; whereby, the contrarie, he was single alone, being a man of sounde reputation; yet because they were not at the horne, or there was no eye-witnesse present that could verifie their first invading of him, shall he therefore lose his head? And likewise, by the law-burrowes in our lawes, men are prohibited, under great pecuniall paines, from anie waies invading or molesting their neighbours person or bounds; if, then, his horse breake the halter, and pastor in his neighbours meadow, shall he pay two or three thousand pounds for the wantonnesse of his horse, or the weaknesse of his halter? Surelie no. For lawes are ordained as rules of virtuous and sociall living, and not to be snares to trap your good subjects; and therefore the law must be interpreted according to the meaning, and not to the literall sense thereof; *Nam ratio est anima legis.*

And as I said of justice, so say I of clemencie, magnanimitie, liberalitie, constancie, humilitie, and all other princelie vertues; *Nam in medio stat virtus.* And it is but the craft of the divell that falselie coloureth the two vices that are on either side thereof, with the borrowed titles of it; albeit, in verie deed they have no affinitie therewith; and the two extremities themselves, although they seeme contrarie, yet growing to the height, runnes ever both in one. For *in infinitis omnia concurrunt;* and what difference is betwixt extreame tyrannie, delighting to destroy all mankinde, and extreame slacknesse of punishment, permitting every man to tyrannize over his companion? or, what differeth, extreame prodigalitie, by wasting of all to possesse nothing, from extreame niggardlinesse, by hoarding up all to enjoy nothing, like the ass that, carrying victuals on her back, is like to starve for hunger, and will be glad of thistles for her part? And what is betwixt the pride of a glorious Nebuchadnezzar and the preposterous humilitie of one of the proud puritans, claiming to their parity, and crying, "we are all but vile wormes;" and yet will judge and give law to their king, but will be judged nor controlled by none? Surely there is more pride under such a ones black bonnet then under Alexander the Great his diademe, as was said of Diogenes in the like case.

But above all vertues, study to know well your own craft, which is to rule your people. And when I say this, I bid you know all crafts: for, except yee know every one, how can yee controle every one, which is your proper office? Therefore, besides your education, it is necessary ye delight in reading, and seeking the knowledge of all lawfull things; but with these two restrictions: first, that ye choose idle houres for it, not interrupting therewith the discharge of your office; and next, that ye studie not for knowledge nakedly, but that your principal end be, to make you able thereby to use your office; practising according to your knowledge in all points of your calling: not like these vain astrologians, that study night and day on the course of the stars, only that they may, for satisfying their curiositie, know their course. But since all arts and sciences are linked every one with other, their greatest principles agreeing in one, (which moved the poets to faine the nine muses to be all sisters) studie them, that, out of their harmony, ye may sucke the knowledge of all faculties; and consequently be on the counsell of all crafts, that ye may be able to containe them all in order, as I have already said. For knowledge and learning is a light burthen, the weight whereof will never presse your shoulders.

First of all then, studie to be well seene in the scriptures, as I remembered you in the first book, as well for the knowledge of your own salvation, as that ye may be able to containe your church in their calling, as *custos utriusque Tabulæ;* for the ruling them well is no small point of your office; taking special heed, that they vague not from their text in the pulpit: and if ever ye would have peace in your land, suffer them not

to meddle in that place with the estate or policy; but punish severely the first that presumeth to it. Do nothing towards them without a good ground and warrant; but reason not much with them; for I have overmuch surfeited them with that, and it is not their fashion to yeeld. And suffer no conventions nor meetings among church-men, but by your knowledge and permission.

Next the scriptures, studie well your own lawes; for how can yee discerne by the thing yee know not? But presse to draw all your laws and processes to bee as short and plaine as ye can; assure your selfe the long-somnesse both of rights and processes breedeth their un-sure loosenesse and obscurity; the shortest being ever both the surest and plainest forme; and the long-somnesse serving only for the enriching of the advocates and clerkes with the spoile of the whole country. And therefore delight to haunt your session, and spie carefully their proceedings; taking good heed, if any bribery may be tried among them, which cannot over severely be punished. Spare not to goe there, for gracing that far any that ye favour, by your presence to procure them expedition of justice; although that should be specially done, for the poore that cannot waite on, or are debarred by mighty parties; but when ye are there, remember the throne is Gods and not yours, that ye sit in, and let no favour, nor whatsoever respects, move you from the right. Ye sit not there, as I shewed before, for rewarding of friends or servants, nor for crossing of contemners, but only for doing justice. Learn also wisely to discerne betwixt justice and equity; and for pitie of the poor, rob not the rich, because he may better spare it; but give the little man the larger coat if it be his; eschewing the errour of young Cyrus therein: For justice, by the law, giveth every man his owne; and equity, in things arbitrall, giveth every one that which is meetest for him. Be an ordinary sitter in your secret counsell; that judicature is only ordained for matters of estate, and repressing of insolent oppressions. Make that judgment as compendious and plaine as ye can; and suffer no advocates to be heard there with their dilatours, but let every party tell his own tale himselfe; and weary not to heare the complaints of the oppressed, *aut ne rex sis.* Remit every thing to the ordinary judicature, for eschewing of confusion; but let it be your own craft, to take a sharp account of every man in his office. And next the lawes, I would have you to be well versed in authenticke histories, and in the chronicles of all nations, but specially in our own histories *(ne sis peregrinus domi)* the example whereof most neerely concerns you. I meane not of such infamous invectives, as Buchanans or Knoxes chronicles; and, if any of these infamous libels remaine untill your dayes, use the law upon the keepers thereof.* For in that point I would have you a Pythagorist, to think that the very spirits of these archibellouses of rebellion have made transition in them that hoards their books, or maintaines their opinions; punishing them, even as it were their authors risen again. But by reading of authentick histories and chronicles, ye shall learne experience by theoricke, applying the by-past things to the present estate, *quia nihil novum sub sole;* such is the continuall volubility of things earthly, according to the roundnesse of the world, and revolution of the heavenly circles, which is expressed by the wheeles in Ezechiel's visions, and counterfeited by the poets *in rota fortunæ.* And likewise, by the knowledge of histories, ye shall know how to behave your selfe to all embassadours and strangers; being able to discourse with them upon the estate of their owne country.

And among all prophane histories, I must not omit most specially to recommend

* There is an affecting account of Buchanan's last illness, during which some of his friends visited him, with the purpose of requesting he would soften some passages of his history then printing, which were likely to incense the king. "Is not what I have said true?" said the dying author—They answered in the affirmative. "Then," rejoined he, "I will stand his feud and that of all his kin.—I am going shortly where very few kings are admitted." Yet we must sympathise with James's feelings towards those works in which his mother was so severely censured.

unto you the Commentaries of Cæsar, both for the sweet flowing of the stile, as also for the worthinesse of the matter it selfe: For I have ever bin of that opinion, that of all the ethnick emperours, or great captaines that ever was, he hath farthest excelled, both in his practice and in his præcepts, in martiall affaires. As for the study of other liberall arts and sciences, I would have you reasonably versed in them, but not preassing to be a passe-master in any of them; for that cannot but distract you from the points of your calling, as I shewed you before; and when, by the enemy winning the towne, ye shal be interrupted in your demonstration, as Archimedes was; your people (I think) will look very bluntly upon it. I grant it is meet ye have some entrance, specially in the mathematicks; for the knowledge of the art military, in situation of campes, ordering of battels, making fortifications, placing of the batteries, or such like. And let not this your knowledge be dead, without fruits, as S. James speaketh of faith, but let it appeare in your daily conservation, and in all the actions of your life.

Embrace true magnanimity, not in being vindictive, which the corrupted judgments of the world thinks to be true magnanimity; but by the contrary, in thinking your offender not worthy of your wrath, empyring over your own passion, and triumphing in the commanding yourselfe to forgive; husbanding the effects of your courage and wrath, to be rightly employed upon repelling of injuries within, by revenge taking upon the oppressours, and in revenging injuries without, by just wars upon forrain enemies. And so, where ye finde a notable injury, spare not to give course to the torrents of your wrath. The wrath of a king is like to the roaring of a lion. Foster true humility, in bannishing pride, not only towards God, considering ye differ not in stuffe, but in use, and that only by his ordinance, from the basest of your people, but also towards your parents. And if it fall out that my wife shall out live me, as ever ye think to purchase my blessing, honour your mother: set Beersheba in a throne on your right hand; offend her for nothing, much lesse wrong her; remember her,——*Quæ longa decem tulerit fastidia menses;* and that your flesh and bloud is made of hers; and begin not like the young lords and lairds, your first wars upon your mother; but presse earnestly to deserve her blessing.[1] Neither deceive yourselfe with many that say, they care not for their parents curse, so they deserve it not. O invert not the order of nature, by judging your superiours chiefly in your own particular! but assure yourselfe, the blessing or curse of the parents hath almost ever a prophetick power joyned with it: and if there were no more, honour your parents, for the lengthning of your own dayes, as God in his law promiseth. Honour also them that are *in loco parentum* unto you, such as your governours, up-bringers, and præceptours: be thankfull unto them, and reward them, which is your duty and honour.

But on the other part, let not this true humility stay your high indignation to appeare, when any great oppressours shall presume to come in your presence; then frowne as ye ought. And in case they use a colour of law in oppressing their poor ones, as over-many do, that which ye cannot mend by law, mend by the withdrawing of your countenance from them; and once in the yeare crosse them, when their erands come in your way, recompencing the oppressour, according to Christs parable of the two debtours. Keep true constancy, not only in your kindnesse towards honest men, but being also *invicti animi* against all adversities; not with that stoicke insensible stupidity, wherewith many in our dayes, pressing to win honour, in imitating that ancient sect, by their inconstant behaviour in their own lives, belyes their profession. But although ye are not a stocke not to feel calamities, yet let not the feeling of them so over-rule and doazen your reason, as may stay you from taking and using the best resolution for remedy, that can be found out.

[1] King James's own first and last warfare was with his mother.

Use true liberality in rewarding the good, and bestowing frankly for your honour and weale; but with that proportionall discretion, that every man may be served according to his measure; wherein respect must be had to his ranke, deserts, and necessity. And provide how to have, but cast not away without cause. In speciall empaire not by your liberality the ordinary rents of your crown; whereby the estate royall of you, and your successours, must be maintained, *ne exhaurias fontem liberalitatis;* for that would ever be kept *sacrosanctum et extra commercium;* otherwayes, your liberality would decline to prodigality, in helping others with your and your successors hurt. And above all, enrich not your selfe with exactions upon your subjects; but thinke the riches of your people your best treasure, by the sins of offenders, where no prevention can availe, making justly your commoditie. And in case necessity of wars, or other extraordinaries, compell you to lift subsides, do it as rarely as ye can; employing it only to the use it was ordained for; and using your selfe in that case, as *fidus depositarius* to your people. And principally, exercise true wisdome, in discerning wisely betwixt true and false reports; first, considering the nature of the person reporter; next, what intresse he can have in the weale or evill of him of whom he maketh the report; thirdly, the likely-hood of the purpose it selfe; and last, the nature and by-past life of the dilated person; and where ye finde a tratler, away with him. And although it be true, that a prince can never without secrecy doe great things, yet it is better oft-times to try reports, then by credulity to foster suspition upon a honest man. For since suspition is the tyrants sicknesse, as the fruits of an evill conscience, *potius in alteram partem peccato;* I meane, in not mistrusting one, whom-to no such un-honesty was knowne before. But as for such as have slipped before, former experience may justly breed prevention by fore-sight.

And, to conclude my advice anent your behaviour in your person, consider that God is the author of all virtue, having imprinted in mens mindes, by the very light of nature, the love of all morall vertues; as was seen by the vertuous lives of the old Romans; and presse then to shine as far before your people in all vertue and honesty, as in greatnesse of ranke; that the use thereof, in all your actions, may turne, with time, to a naturall habitude in you; and as by their hearing of your lawes, so by their sight of your person, both their eyes and their ears may leade and allure them to the love of vertue and hatred of vice.

The Prince, or Maxims of State. Written by Sir Walter Rawley, and presented to Prince Henry.

Sapere and Silere.

This compendium of the art of government was one of the tracts which Sir Walter Raleigh composed, during his long imprisonment. We have elsewhere remarked his intimacy with the promising young prince, to whom he inscribed this as well as some of his other works. See Vol. II. p. 199. The piece was first printed at London in 4to. 1648.

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Sophismes of the sophisticall, or subtill Tyrant, to hould up his State.
Of Preservation of an Aristocracy.
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Politicall Nobility.

Of Adoniah aspiring to the kingdome.

Observations.

Of wayes of such as aspire to the kingdome, and markes to discerne them.

Of Government.

Government is of two sorts. 1. Private of himselfe. Sobriety. Of his family; called œconomy.

2. Publique of the common-wealth, called policy. A man must first governe him-

selfe, ere he be fit to governe a family; and his family, ere hee bee fit to beare the government in the common-wealth.

Of Policy.

Policy is an art of government of a common-wealth, and some part of it according to that state, or forme of government, wherein it is setled for the publique good.

State is the frame or set order of a common-wealth, or of the governours that rule the same, specially of the chiefe and soveraigne governour that commands the rest.

The state or soveraignty consisteth in 5. points.

1. Making or annulling of lawes. 2. Creating and deposing of magistrates. 3. Power over life and death. 4. Making of warre or peace. 5. Highest or last appeale. Where these 5. are, either in one or in more, there is the state.

These 5. points of state rest either in; 1. One monarchy or kingdome. 2. Some few chiefe of men for vertue and wisedome, called an aristocracy. 3. Many, called a free state or a popular state. These three sorts of government have respect to the common good, and therefore are just and lawfull states.

These 3. degenerate into 3. other governments. 1. Monarchy. 2. Aristocracy. 3. Popular estate.

Into, 1 Tyranny. 2. Oligarchy, or government of a few, rich or able. 3. Common-wealth, or government of all the common and baser sort, and therefore called a common-wealth, by an usurped nick-name.

These all respect their owne, and not the publique good, and therefore are called bastard governments.

1. *Monarchy.*

A monarchy, or kingdome, is the government of a state by one head or chiefe, tending to the common benefit of all.

Monarchies, or kingdomes, are of 3 sorts touching the right or possession of them; viz.

1. Hereditary, by discent, as the English, French, &c.

2. Elective, by suffrage of the other orders, or some of them, as the Polonian.

3. Mixt, or of both kinds; viz. by discent, yet not tyed to the next of bloud, as the ancient Jewish state.

Monarchies are of 2 sorts touching their power or authority; viz.

1. Intire, where the whole power of ordering all state matters, both in peace and warre, doth by law and custome appertaine to the prince, as in the English kingdome, where the prince hath power to make lawes, league and warre, to create magistrates, to pardon life, of appeale, &c. Though, to give a contentment to the other degrees, they have a suffrage in making lawes; yet ever subject to the princes pleasure, nor negative will.

2. Limited, or restrained, that hath no full power in all the points or matters of state, as the military king, that hath not the soveraignty in time of peace, as the making of lawes, &c., but in warre onely, as the Polonian kings.

2. *Aristocracy, or Senatory State.*

An aristocracy is the government of a common-wealth by some competent number of the better sort, preferred for wisedome and other vertues for the publique good.

Aristocracies are of 3. sorts, viz. where the senators are chosen, for 1. vertue, riches, and the common good, as the Venetian.

2. Vertue and the publique good, without respect of wealth, as sometimes the Roman, when some of the senators were fetched from the plough, and some from the schooles.

3. Vertue and wealth, more respecting their private then the publique good, which inclineth towards an oligarchy, or the government of the richer or nobler sort, as in Rome towards the end.

3. *Free State, or Popular State.*

The popular state is the government of a state by the choiser sort of people, tending to the publique good of all sorts; viz. with due respect of the better, nobler, and richer sort.

In every just state, some part of the government is, or ought to bee, imparted to the people; as in a kingdome, a voice or suffrage in making lawes; and sometimes also in levying of armes, (if the charge bee great, and the prince forced to borrow helpe of his subject,) the matter rightly may bee propounded to a parliament, that the taxe may seeme to have proceeded from themselves. So consultations, and some proceedings in judiciall matters, may in part bee referred to them. The reason, least seeing themselves to be in no number, nor of reckoning, they mislike the state or kind of government; and where the multitude is discontented, there must needs bee many enemies to the present state. For which cause, tyrants, (which allow the people no manner of dealing in state matters,) are forced to bereave them of their wits and weapons, and all other meanes, whereby they may resist, or amend themselves, as in Rusheland, Turkey, &c.

4. *Tyranny.*

A tyranny is the swarving, or distorting of a monarchy, or the government of one tending not to the publique good, but the private benefit of himselfe and his followers; as in the Russe and Turkish government, where the state and wealth of other orders are employed onely to the upholding of the greatnesse of the king, or emperour. This is the worst of all the bastard states, because it is the perverting of the best regiment, to wit, of a monarchy, which resembleth the soveraigne government of God himselfe.

5. *Oligarchy, or the Government of a Few.*

An oligarchy is the swarving, or the corruption of an aristocracy; or the government of some few that are of the wealthier or nobler sort, without any respect of the publique good. The chiefe end of these governours is their owne greatnesse and enriching; and therefore their manner is to prepare fit meanes to uphold their estates. This state is not wholly so bad as is the tyranny, and yet worse then the commonwealth, because it respecteth the good of a few.

6. *Common-wealth.*

A common-wealth is the swarving or depravation of a free or popular state, or the government of the whole multitude of the base and poorer sort, without respect of the other orders.

These two states, to wit, the oligarchy and common-wealth, are very adverse the one to the other, and have many bickerings and dissentions betweene them. For that the richer or nobler sort suppose a right of superiority to appertaine unto them in every respect, because they are superior, but in some respects onely, to wit, in riches, birth, parentage, &c. On the other side, the common people suppose there ought to be an equality in all other things, and some state matters; because they are equall with the rich or noble, touching their liberty; whereas indeed neither the one nor the other are simply equall or superiour as touching government and fitnes thereunto, because they are such, to wit, because they are rich, noble, free, &c. but because they are wise, vertuous, valiant, &c. and so have fit parts to governe a state.

These severall states are sometimes mixed and inter-wrought one with the other, yet ever so, as that the one hath the preheminent predomination over the other, as in the humours and complections of the body. So, in the Roman state, the people had their *Plæbiscita*, and gave the suffrage in the election of magistrates: yet the senate, (as the state stood,) for the most part swayed the state, and bare the chiefe rule. So, in the Venetian state, the duke seemeth to represent a monarch, and the senate to bee his councell; yet the duke hath no power in state matters, but is like a head set on by art, that beareth no braine; and so that state is senatoricall or aristocraticall.

Causes of States and Common-wealths in generall.

Causes of states or of common-wealths are of 3. sorts, viz. 1. Founding or settling a state were to bee considered. 2. Preserving a state. 3. Changing and alltering a state. 1. Measure. 2. Parts and their qualities.

Founding a State.

In founding a state are to bee considered 2. things. 1. Proportion. 2. Parts.

Proportion is a just measure or mediocrity of the state, whereby it is framed and kept in that order, as that neither it exceed nor bee defective in this kind; to wit, so that a monarch bee not too monarchicall, nor strict or absolute, as the Russe kings; nor aristocraticall, that is overmated or ecclipsed by the nobility, as the Scottish kingdom; but ever respective to the other degrees. That an aristocracy bee not too magnificent nor intire to it selfe, but communicate with the people some commodities of state or government, as the Venetian, and sometimes the Roman, allowed the people to elect certaine magistrates out of themselves, to have a tribune, to make *Plæbiscita*, &c. So a free state or common-wealth, that it bee not over popular, viz. that it depress not too much the richer, wiser, nor learneder sort, but admit them to offices with a caution out of the rules and misteries of that state. The reason, because the moderate states in their severall kindes, (as all other things that obsesve the meane,) are best framed for their continuance, because they give lesse cause of grudge, envy, and affecting the wealth, honour, and liberty which they see in others, that governe the state; and so are lesse subject to stirres and commotions, and easiest kept in their present state wherein they are set.

Parts.

The parts of the state, or those magistrates that beare place or sway in the publique government.

Parts, or partakers of publique government, are, 1. Counsell or senate, which consulteth of all matters pertaining to warre and peace, magistrates, &c. in admitting of whom there ought to bee a more speciall care that they bee men expert in matter of policy, because it is their trade and vocation, as men use to choose pilots and masters of shippes, such as know the art of navigation, and not husbandmen &c.; and so the contrary.

2. Magistrates and officers, which are to bee executioners of that which is consulted and found to bee expedient for the common-wealth, wherein are to bee observed the kinds of magistrates, that they bee such as fit that kind of government; the time of their continuance, and the manner of their election or appointing, by whom, out of whom, and in what manner they be chosen.

3. Judges; to determine in civill and criminall matters, where are to bee observed, out of whom they are to bee chosen, what kinds are necessary, and the manner of judgement and judiciall proceeding.

In magistrates are to be observed, 1. Kinds of magistrates, as, 1. Civill. 2. Ecclesiasticall. 1. Superiour, which are to be such, and of that kind, as agree with the state; as consuls for a yeare, and not perpetuall dictatours in a senatory state; prætors and censors, that oversee manners and orders of the people.

For a kingdome, lieutenants of shires, marshals, masters of horse, admirals, &c.

Inferiour, as conservatours of peace, constables, &c.

Overseers of youth, that take care of their education for civil and warlike exercise.

Clarkes of the market, that provide for the quantity and prize of victualls.

Ediles for buildings, streets, bounds.

Quæstours or treasurours to keepe and dispence the publique records.

Actuaries, or recorders, which keep the publique records.

Gaolers, to keepe prisons and prisoners.

Surveyours of woods and fields, &c.

2. Ecclesiasticall, as bishops, or pastours, elders, wardens.

2. Time of magistrates, whereof some are perpetuall, some for a time, viz. for more yeares, a yeare, halfe a yeare, according to the necessity of the common-wealth, and not perpetuall, or at least not hereditary in a kingdome. Yearely in an aristocracy, or halfe yearely in a free state.

3. Manner of choise, by whom and how to bee chosen, where especially they are to bee chosen by suffrage, and not by lot.

Causes preserving a State or Common-wealth.

In preserving of states, two things required. 1. Mysteries or sophismes. 1. Generall to all states. 2. Particular for every severall state. 2. Rules or actions. 1. General for all states. 2. Particular for every state.

Mysteries or Sophismes.

Mysteries or sophismes of state, are certaine secret practizes, either for the avoiding of danger, or averting such effects as tend to the preservation of the present state, as it is set or founded.

State mysteries are of two sorts: First, Generall, that pertaine to all states; as, first, to provide, by all meanes, that the same degree or part of the common-wealth doe not exceed both in quantity and quality. In quantity, as that the number of the nobility, or of great persons, be not more then the state or common-wealth can beare. In quality, as that none grow in wealth, liberty, honours, &c. more then that is meet for that degree; for, as in weights, the heavier weights beare downe the skale; so in common-wealths, that part or degree that excelleth the rest in quality and quantity, oversway-eth the rest after it, whereof follow alterations and conversions of state. Secondly, To provide by all meanes, that the middle sort of people exceed both the extreames, viz. of nobility and gentry, and the base, rascall and beggerly sort. For this maketh the state constant and firme, when both the extreames are tied together by a middle sort, as it were with a band, as for any conspiracy of the rich and beggerly sort together, it is not to bee feared. To these two points, the particular rules or sophismes of every common-wealth are to be applied.

2. Particular, that serve for preservation of every common-wealth in that forme of state, wherein it is setled in a kingdome. That the nobility may be accustomed to beare the government of the prince, especially such as have their dwelling in remote places from the princes eye, it is expedient to call them up at certaine times to the princes court, under pretence of doing them honour, or being desirous to see and enjoy their presence, and to have their children, especially their eldest, to bee attendant upon the prince, as of special favour towards them and theirs, that so they may be trained up in duty and obedience towards the prince, and be as hostages for the good behaviour and faithfull dealing of their parents, especially if they bee of any suspected note. To that end serves the Persian practize in having a band or traine of the Satrapæs children, and other nobles, to attend the court, which was well imitated by our traine of Henchmen, if they were of the noble sort. Againe, sometimes to borrow smale summes of his subjects, and to pay them againe, that he may after borrow greater summes, and never pay: So in an oligarchy, least it decline to a popular state, they deceive the people with this and the like sophismes, viz. they compell their owne sort, to wit, the rich men, by great penalties, to frequent their assemblies for choosing of magistrates, for provision of armour, warlike exercise, making an execution of lawes, &c. By that meanes seeming to beare a hard hand over the richer; but to suffer the poorer and meaner sort to bee absent, and to neglect those assemblies under pretence, that they will not draw them from their businesse and private earnings: yet withall to cite thither some few of them, viz. so many as are easily over-matched by the richer sort, to make a shew, that they would have the people, or poorer sort, partakers likewise of those matters, yet terrifying those that come to their assemblies with the tediousnesse of consultations, greatnesse of fines, if they should misdoe; to the end to make them unwilling to come againe, or to have to doe with those consultations; by which meanes the richer sort doe still governe the state with the peoples liking and good contentment.

Axioms.

Axioms or rules of preserving the state, are, 1. Generall, that serve for all common-wealths. 2. Particular, that serve for every severall state.

Generall Rules.

1. The first and principall rule of policy to bee observed in all states, is to professe, and practize, and maintaine the true worship and religion of Almighty God, prescribed

unto us in his word, which is the chiefe end of all government. The axiom, that God bee obeyed simply without exception, though he command that which seemeth unreasonable and absurd to human policy, as in the Jewes common-wealth, that all the men should repaire yearely to one place to worship God four times, leaving none to defend their coast, though being beset with many enemies; not to sow the seventh yeare, but to suffer the ground to rest untilled without respect or fear of famine, &c.

2. To avoid the causes of conversions, whereby states are overthrowne that are set downe in the title of conversions; for that common-wealths, (as naturall bodies) are preserved by avoiding that which hurteth the health and state thereof, and are so cured by contrary medicines.

3. To take heed, that no magistrate bee created or continued contrary to the lawes and policy of that state. As that in a senate, there bee not created a perpetuall dictator, as Cæsar in Rome. In a kingdome, that there be no senate or convention of equall power with the prince, in state matters, as in Poland.

4. To create such magistrates as love the state as it is settled, and take heed of the contrary practize, as to advance popular persons in a kingdome, or aristocracy. And, secondly, to advance such as have skill to discerne what doth preserve, and what hurteth or altereth the present state.

5. To that end, to have certaine officers to pry abroad, and to observe such as do not live and behave themselves in fit sort, agreeable to the present state; but desire rather to bee under some other forme or kind of government.

6. To take heed that magistracies bee not sold for money, nor bribed in their offices, which is specially to bee observed in that common-wealth which is governed by a few of the richer sort: for if the magistrate gaine nothing but his common fees, the common sort and such as want honour take in good part, that they bee not preferred, and are glad rather that themselves are suffered to intend private businesse; but if the magistrate buy and sell matters, the common people are doubly grieved, both because they are debarred of those preferments, and of that gaine which they see to grow by them, which is the cause that the Germaine oligarchies continue so firme, for both they suffer the poorer sort to grow into wealth, and the richer sort are by that meanes freed and secured from being under the poore.

7. To take heed that the state, as it is settled and maintained, bee not over strict, nor exceed in his kind, viz. that a kingdome be not too monarchiall, nor a popular state bee too popular: For which cause, it is good that the magistrates sometimes yeeld of his right touching honour, and behave themselves familiarly with those that are equall unto them in other parts, though inferior for place and office. And sometimes popularly with the common people, which is the cause that some common-wealths, though they bee very simply and unskilfully set, yet continue firme, because the magistrates behave themselves wisely, and with due respect towards the rest that are without honour: And, therefore, some kind of moderate popularity is to be used in every common-wealth.

8. To take heed of small beginnings, and to meet with them even at the first, as well touching the breaking and altering of lawes, as of other rules which concerne the continuance of every severall state; for the disease and alteration of a common-wealth doth not happen all at once, but grows by degrees, which every common wit cannot discerne, but men expert in policy.

9. To provide, that that part be ever the greater in number and power which favours the state, as now it stands. This is to bee observed as a very oracle in all common-wealths.

10. To observe a meane in all the degrees, and to suffer no part to exceed or decay overmuch. As, first, for preferments, to provide that they bee rather small and short, then great and long: And if any be growne to over much greatnesse, to withdraw or diminish some part of his honour. Where the sophismes are to be practized, viz. to doe

it by parts and degrees; to doe it by occasion or colour of law, and not all at once. And if that way serve not, to advance some other, of whose vertue and faithfulnesse wee are fully assured, to as high a degree, or to greater honour; and to be the friends and followers of him that excelleth, above that which is meet. As touching wealth, to provide, that those of the middle sort (as before was said) bee more in number; and if any grow high, and overcharged with wealth, to use the sophismes of a popular state, viz. to send him on embassages, and forraine negotiations, or employ him in some office that hath great charges and litle honour, &c. To which end the Edileship serves in some common-wealths.

11. To suppresse the factions and quarrels of the nobles, and to keepe other that are yet free from joyning with them in their partakings and factions.

12. To encrease or remit the common taxes and contributions, according to the wealth or want of the people and common-wealth. If the people bee increased in wealth, the taxes and subsidies may bee increased. If they be poore, and their wealth diminish, specially by dearth, want of traffique, &c. to forbeare taxes and impositions, or to take litle, otherwise grudge and discontentments must needs follow. The sophismes that serve for impositions are these, and other of like sort, to pretend business of great charge, as warre, building of ships, making havens, castles, fortifications, &c. for the common defence; sometimes by lotteries and like devices, wherein some part may bee bestowed, the rest reserved for other expences; but princely dealing needs no pretences.

13. To provide that the discipline and training of youth of the better sort bee such as agreeth with that common-wealth: As that in a kingdome, the sonnes of noble-men to bee attendant at the court, that they may be accustomed to obedience towards the prince: In the senatory state, that the sonnes of the senatours bee not idly, nor over daintily brought up, but well instructed and trained up in learning tongues and martiall exercise; that they may bee able to beare that place in the common-wealth, which their father held, and contrary wise in a popular state.

14. To take heed, least their sophismes, or secret practizes for the continuance of that state bee not discovered, least by that meanes they refuse and disappoint themselves, but wisely used and with great secresie.

Particular Rules.

Rules and Axioms for preserving of a Kingdome, hereditary or conquered.

Kingdomes hereditary are preserved at home by the ordering,

1. Himselfe, viz. by the tempering and moderation of the princes power and prerogative. For the lesse and more temperate their power and state is, the more firme and stable is their kingdome and government, because they seem to be further off from a master-like and tyrannical empire; and lesse unequal condition to the next degree, to wit, the nobility, and so lesse subject to grudge and envy.

2 Nobility, viz. by keeping that degree and due proportion, that neither they exceed not in number more then the realme or state can beare, as the Scottish kingdome, and sometime the English, when the realme was overcharged with the numbers of dukes, earles, and other nobles; whereby the authority of the prince was ecclipsed, and the realme troubled with their factions and ambitions. Nor that any one excell in honour, power or wealth, as that he resemble another king within the kingdome; as the house of Lancaster within this realme. To that end not to load any with too much honour or preferement, because it is hard even for the best and worthiest men to beare

their greatnesse and high fortune temperately, as appeareth by infinite examples in all states. The sophismes, for preventing or reforming this inconvenience, are to bee used with great caution and wisdome. If any great person bee to bee abated, not to deale with him by calumniation, or forged matter, and so to cut him off without desert, especially if hee bee gratious, among the people, after the Machivilian policy, which, besides the injustice, is an occasion many times of greater danger toward the prince. Nor to withdraw their honour all at once, which maketh a desperate discontentment in the party, and a commiseration in the people, and so greater love, if hee bee gratious for his vertue and publique service. Nor to banish him into forraine countries, where he may have oportunity of practizing with forraine states, whereof great danger may ensue, as in the example of Coriolanus, Henry the Fourth, and such like. But to use these and the like sophismes, viz. to abate their greatnesse by degrees, as David, Joab, Justinian, Bellisarius, &c. To advance some other men to as great or greater honour, to shadow or overmate the greatnesse of the other. To draw from him, by degrees, his friends and followers, by preferrements, rewards, and other good and lawful meanes; especially, to be provideed that these great men bee not employed in great or powerful affaires of the common-wealth, whereby they may have more oportunity to sway the state.

3 People: (viz.) so to order and behave himselfe, that hee bee loved and reverenced of the people. For that the prince need not greatly feare home conspiracies, or forraine invasion, if hee bee firmely loved of his owne people. The reason; for that the rebell can neither hope for any forces for so great enterprise, nor any refuge, being discovered and put to flight, if the multitude affect their prince: but the common people being once offended, hath cause to feare every moving, both at home and abroad. This may bee effected by the prince, if hee use meanes and art of getting the favour of the people, and avoid those things that breed hatred and contempt; (viz.) if hee seeme as a tutor, or a father, to love the people and to protect them, if he maintaine the peace of his kingdome; for that nothing is more popular nor more pleasing to the people then is peace.

4. If hee shew himselfe oftentimes gratiously, yet with state and majesty to his people, and receive complaints of his suppliants, and such like.

5. If hee sit himselfe sometimes in open courts and place of justice, that hee may seeme to have a care of justice among his people. If he bestow many benefits and graces upon that city, which hee maketh the seat of his empire, and so make it sure and faithful unto him, which is fit to bee in the middle of his kingdome, as the heart in the middle of the body, or the sunne in the middle of heaven, both to divide himselfe more easily into all the parts of his dominions, and least the furthest parts at one end move, whilest the prince is in the other, if hee goe in progresse many times to see his provinces, especially those that are remote.

6. If hee gratifie his courtiers and attendants in that sort, and by such means, as that hee may seeme not to pleasure them with the hurt and injury of his people, as with monopolies, and such like.

7. If hee commit the handling of such things as procure envy, or seeme grievous to his ministers, but reserve those things which are gratefull and well pleasing to himselfe, as the French kings, who, for that purpose, as may seeme, have erected their court at Paris, which acquitteth the prince from grudge and envy, both with the nobles and the people.

8. If he borrows sometimes summes of money of his people, though he have no need, and pay the same justly without defalcation of any part, by his exchequer or other officers.

9. If hee avoid all such things as may breed hatred or contempt of his person, which may bee done, if hee shew himselfe not too light, inconstant, hard, cruell, effeminate, fearefull, and dastardly, &c. but contrariwise, religious, grave, just, valiant, &c.

Whereby appeareth the false doctrine of the Machivilian policy; with feare, the better meanes, to keepe the people in obedience, then love, and reverence of the people towards the prince.

10. If the prince bee well furnished with warlike provision, which is to be rumored and made knowne abroad, if it be knowne that hee is reverenced and obeyed by his people at home.

11. If hee provide so much as lieth in him, that his neighbour kingdom grow not over much in power and dominion; which, if it happen, he is to joine speedily with other princes, who are in like danger to abate that greatnesse, and to strengthen himselfe and the rest against it: An oversight of the Christian princes towards the king of Spaine.

12. If hee get him intelligencers, by reward or other means, to detect or hinder the designes of that prince with whom hee hath differences, if any thing be intended against his state: Or at least have some of his own living abroad about that princes court, under colour of embassage, or some other pretence; which must bee men of skill and dexterity to serve for that turne.

13. To observe the lawes of his countrey, and not to encounter them with his prerogative, nor to use it at all where there is a law; for that it maketh a secret and just grudge in the peoples hearts, especially if it tender to take from them their commodities, and to bestow them upon other of his courtiers and ministers.

14. To provide especially, that that part which favoureth the state as it standeth, bee more potent then the other that favoureth it not, or desireth a change.

15. To make speciall choice of good and sound men to beare the place of magistrates, especially of such as assist the prince in his councils, and policies, and not to leane over much to his owne advise, contrary to the rule of Machivill, who teacheth that a prince can have no good councell except it be in himself; his reason, because, if he use the councell of some one, he is in danger to be overwrought and supplanted by him; and if hee councel with more, then he shall be distracted with the differences in opinion. As if a prince of great or meane wisdome could not take the judgment of all his counsellors in any point of policy, or of so many as himselfe thinketh good, or to take it either by word or in wrighting; and himselfe then in private peruse them all, and so, after good and mature deliberation, make choice of the best, without any destraction or binding himselfe to the direction of one; for the proverb is true, that two eyes see more than one; and, therefore, the advises and consultations of a senatory state are compared by some to a feast, or dinner, where many contribute towards the shot, by which meanes they have more variety of dishes, and so better fare; and yet every man may make choice of that dish that serveth him best for his health and appetite.

16. The prince himselfe is to sit sometimes in place of publique justice, and to give an experiment of his wisdome and equity, whereby great reverence and estimation is gotten, as in the example of Solomon; which may seem the reason why our kings of England had their Kings Bench, in place of publique justice, after the manner of the ancient kings that sate in the gate; where, for better performing this princely duty, some special causes may be selected, which may throughly bee debated, and considered upon by the prince in private, with the helpe and advice of his learned counsell, and so be descided publiquely, as before is said, by the prince himselfe: at least, the prince is to take accompt of every minister of publique justice, that it may be knowne that he hath a care of justice, and doing right to his people, which makes the justicers also to be more carefull in performing of their duties.

17. To be moderate in his taxes and impositions; and when need doth require to use the subjects purse, to doe it by parliaments, and with their consents, making the cause apparent unto them, and shewing his unwillingnesse in charging them. Finally,

so to use it, that it may seem rather an offer from his subjects, than an exaction by him.

18. To stop small beginnings; unto this end, to compound the dissentions that arise amongst the nobles with caution, that such as are free be not drawn into parts, whereby many times the prince is endangered, and the whole common-wealth set in a combustion; as in the example of the barons warres, and the late warres of France, which grew from a quarrell betwixt the Guision faction and the other nobility.

19. To stirre up the people, if they grow secure, and negligent of armour, and other provision for the common-wealth, by some rumour or feare of danger at home, to make them more ready when occasion requireth. But this seldome to be used, least it bee supposed a false alarme, when there is need indeed.

20. To have speciall care, that his children, especially the heire apparent, have such bringing up as meet for a king (viz.) in learning, specially of matters pertaining to state, and in marshall exercise, contrary to the practize of many princes, who suffer their children to bee brought up in pleasure, and to spend their time in hunting, &c. which, by reason of their defects afterwards, is a cause of mis-government and alteration of state.

2. *Kingdoms new gotten, or purchased by force, are preserved by these meanes.*

1. If they have beene subjects before to his ancestors, or have the same tongue, manners, or fashions as have his owne countrey, it is an easie matter to retaine such countries within their obedience, in case the princes bloud of the said countrey bee wholly extinct; for men of the same quality, tongue, and condition, doe easily shole and combine themselves together, so much the rather, if the people of that countrey have served before, and were not accustomed to their owne liberty, wherein specially is to bee observed, that the lawes and customes of that purchased countrey bee not altered nor innovated, or at least it bee done by little and little. So the Burgundians and Acquitaines were anexed to France. The reason, because partly they have bin accustomed to serve; and partly, for that they will not easily agree about any other to bee their prince, if the bloud royall be once extinguished. As for the invasion of a forraine countrey, whereunto the prince hath no right, or whereof the right heir is living, it is not the part of a just civill prince, much lesse a prince Christian, to enforce such a countrey; and, therefore, the Machivelian practises in this case, to make sure worke, by extinguishing wholly the bloud royall, is leud and impertinent: The like is to bee said of murthering the natives, or the greatest part of them, to the end hee may hold the rest in sure possession; a thing not onely against Christian religion, but inhumane justice, cruell, and barbarous.

2. The safest way is, (supposing a right) that some good part of the natives bee transplanted into some other place, and our colonies, consisting of so many as shall be thought meet, be planted there in some part of the province; castles, forts, and havens, seised upon, and more provided in fit places, as the manner was of the Babylonian monarch, which transplanted 10 tribes of the Jewes; and of the Romans in France, Germany, Britany, and other places. The reason: 1. For that, otherwise, forces of horse and foote are to be maintained within the province, which cannot bee done without great charge. 2. For that the whole province is troubled and grieved with removing and supplying the army with victuals, carriages, &c. 3. For that collonies are more sure and faithfull than the rest. As for the natives that are removed from their former seates, they have no meanes to hurt, and the rest of the natives being free from the inconvenience, and fearing that themselves may bee so served, if they

attempt any thing rashly, are content to bee quiet. The Turkes practise in Asia, where the chiefe grounds and dwellings are possessed by the souldiours, whom they call *Timariotæ*. That the prince have his seat and his residence in his new purchase, especially for a time, till things be well setled; especially if the province bee great and large, as the Turke in Greece. The reasons: 1. Because the presence of the prince availeth much to keepe things in order, and get the good-will of his new subjects. 2. They conceive that they have refuge by the princes presence, if they bee oppressed by the lieutenants and inferiour governours; where it will bee convenient, for the winning the peoples hearts, that some examples bee made of punishing of such as have committed any violence or oppression. 3. Because, being present, hee seeth and heareth what is thought and attempted, and so may quickly give remedy to it; which, being absent, hee cannot doe, or not doe in time.

3. If the prince himselfe cannot bee present to reside, then, to take heed that the charge of governing, or new purchases, bee committed to such as bee sure men, and of other meet quality, that depend wholly upon the princes favour, and not to natives or other of their owne subjects, that are gratious there for their nobility, or vertue; especially if the province bee great, and somewhat farre distant, which may soone seduce the unsettled affections of those new subjects. As for such governours as depend wholly upon the princes favour, being not borne but created noble, they will not so easily suffer themselves to bee wonne from their duty; and in case they would revolt, yet they are not able to make any great strength, for that the people obey them but as instruments and ministers to keepe them in subjection, and not for any good-will.

4. To have the children of the chiefe noblemen, and of greatest authority, hostages with them in safe keeping; the more the better: for that no bond is stronger than that of nature to containe the parents and allies of obedience, and they the rest.

5. To alter the lawes, but by degrees one after another, and to make others that are more behovefull for the establishing of the present government.

6. To keepe the people quiet and peaceable, and well affected so much as may bee, that they may seeme, by being conquered, to have gotten a protectour rather than a tyrant; for the common people, if they enjoy peace, and bee not distracted, nor drawne from their businesse, nor exacted upon beyond measure, are easily contained under obedience; yet, notwithstanding, they are to bee disused from the practice of armes, and other exercises, which encrease courage, and bee weakened of armour, that they have neither spirit nor will to rebell.

7. If there bee any faction in the countrey, to take to him the defence of the better and stronger part, and to combine with it, as Cæsar in France.

8. To looke well to the borders and confining provinces, and if any rule there, of great or equall power to himselfe, to joine league with some other borderers, though of lesse strength, to hinder the attempts (if any should bee) by such neighbour prince; for it happeneth often, that a countrey infested by one neighbour prince, calleth in another of as great or greater power to assist, and rescue it from the other that invadeth it: So the Romans were called into Greece by the Ætolians; the Saxons by the Britaines, the Danes by the Saxons.

9. To leave their titles and dignities to the natives, but the command and authority wholly his owne.

10. Not to put much trust, nor to practise too often the sophismes of policy, especially those that appertaine to a tyrannicall state, which are soone detected by men of judgement, and so bring discredit to the prince, and his policy among the wiser and better sort of his subjects, whereof must needs follow very evill effects.

The sophismes of tyrants are rather to be knowne then practised, (which are for the

supporting of their tyrannicall states) by wise and good princes, and are these, and such like as follow.

Rules Politique of Tyrants.

Rules practised by tyrants are of 2 sorts; viz. 1. Barbarous and professed, which are proper to those that have got head, and have power sufficient of themselves, without other helpes, as in the Turkish and Russe government.

2. Sophistical and dissembled; as in some states, that are reputed for good and lawfull monarchies, but inclining to tyrannies, proper to those which are not yet settled, nor have power sufficient of themselves, but must use the power and helpe of others, and so are forced to bee politique sophisters.

1. *Sophismes of a barbarous and professed Tyrant.*

1. To expell and banish out of his countrey all honest meanes, whereby his people may attaine to learning, wisdome, valour, and other vertues, that they might bee fit for that estate and servile condition; for that, in these two, learning and martiall exercise, effect two things most dangerous to a tyranny, viz. wisdome and valour, for that men of spirit and understanding can hardly endure a servile state. To this end, to forbid learning of liberall arts, and martiall exercise, as in the Russe government, so Julian the apostate dealt with the Christians. Contrarywise, to use his people to base occupations and mechanicall arts, to keepe them from idlenesse, and to put away from them all high thoughts and manly conceites, and to give them a liberty of drinking drunke, and of other base and lewd conditions, that they may bee sotted, and so made unfit for great enterprizes. So the Egyptian kings dealt with the Hebrews; so the Russe emperour with his Russe people; and Charles the Fifth with the Netherlanders, when he purposed to enclose their priviledges, and to bring them under his absolute government.

2. To make sure to him and his state his military men, by reward, liberty, and other meanes, especially his guard, or prætorian band, that, being partakers of the spoile and benefit, they may like that state, and continue firme to it, as the Turke his janizaries, the Russe his Boyarens, &c.

3. To unarme his people of weapons, money, and all meanes, whereby they may resist his power, and to end, to have his set and ordinary exactions, once in two, three, or four yeares, and sometimes yearely, as the Turke and Russe, who is wont to say, that his people must bee used as his flock of sheep: viz. Their fleece taken from them, least it overlade them, and grow too heavy; that they are like to his beard, that the more it was shaven, the thicker it would grow; and if there bee any of extraordinary wealth, to borrow of them in the mean while, till the taxe come about, or, upon some devised matter, to confiscate their goods, as the common practise is of the Russe and Turke.

4. To bee still in warres, to the end, his people may need a captaine, and that his forces may be kept in practise, as the Russe doth yearely against the Tartar, Polonian, and Sweden, &c.

5. To cut off such as excell the rest in wealth, favour, or nobility, or bee of a pregnant or aspiring wit, and so are fearfull to a tyrant, and to suffer none to hold office, or any honour, but onely of him, as the Turke his Bashaes, and the Russe his Ruezzes.

6. To forbid guilds, brotherhoods, feastings, and other assemblies among the people, that they have no meanes or opportunity to conspire or conferre together of publique

matters, or to maintaine love amongst themselves, which is very dangerous to a tyrant, the Russe practice.

7. To have their beagles or listners in every corner and parts of the realme, especially in places that are more suspect, to learn what every man saith or thinketh, that they may prevent all attempts, and take away such as mislike their state.

8. To make schisme and division among his subjects, viz. to set one noble man against another, and one rich man against another, that, through faction and disagreement among themselves, they may bee weakened, and attempt nothing against him; and by this meanes, entertaining whisperings and complaints, hee may know the secrets of both parts, and have matter against them both when need requireth; so the Russe made the faction of the Zemsky and the Oppressinie.

9. To have strangers for his guard, and to entertaine parasites, and other base and servile fellowes, not too wise, but yet subtill, that will be ready for reward to doe and execute what he commandeth, though never so wicked and unjust; for that good men cannot flatter, and wise men cannot serve a tyrant.

All these practises, and such like, may be contracted into one or two, viz. to bereave his subjects of will and power to doe him hurt, or to alter the present state. The use is caution, not imitation.

2. *Sophismes of the sophisticall, or subtill Tyrant, to hold up his State.*

1. To make a shew of a good king, by observing a temper and mediocrity in his government and whole course of life; to which end, it is necessary that this subtill tyrant bee a cunning polititian, or a Machivelian at the least, and that hee bee taken so to be, for that it maketh him more to bee feared and regarded, and is thought thereby not unworthy for to governe others.

2. To make shew not of severity, but of gravity, by seeming reverent, and not terrible in his speech, and gesture, habite, and other demeanour.

3. To pretend care of the commonwealth, and to that end, to seeme loath to exact tributes and other charges, and yet to make necessity of it where none is: To that end, to procure such warre as can bring no danger towards his state, and that might easily be compounded, or some other chargeable businesse; and to continue it on, that hee may continue his exaction and contribution so long as hee list, and thereof to employ some part in his publique service; the rest to hoord up in his treasury, which is sometimes practised even by lawfull princes; as Edward the Fourth in his warres against France, when, having levied a great summe of money throughout his realme, especially of the Londoners, hee went over seas, and returned without any thing doing.

4. Sometimes to give an accompt, by open speech and publique writing, of the expense of such taxes and impositions as hee hath received of his subjects, that hee may so seeme to bee a good husband, and frugall, and not a robber of the commonwealth.

5. To that end, to bestow some cost upon publique buildings, or some other worke, for the common good, especially upon the ports, forts, and chief cities of his realme, that so hee may seeme a benefactour, and to have a delight in the adorning of his countrey, or doing some good for it.

6. To forbid feastings and other meetings, which increase love, and give opportunity to conferre together of publique matters, under pretence of sparing cost for better uses. To that end, the curfieu bell was first ordained by William the Conquerour, to give men warning to repaire home at a certaine houre.

7. To take heed, that no one grow to bee over great, but rather many equally great, that they may envy and contend one with another; and if hee resolve to weaken any of this sort, to doe it warily and by degrees; if quite to wrack him and to have his

life, yet to give him a lawfull triall after the manner of his countrey; and if hee proceed so farre with any of great power and estimation as to doe him contumely or disgrace, not to suffer him to escape, because contumely and disgrace are things contrary unto honour, which great spirits doe most desire, and so are moved rather to a revenge for their disgrace, than to any thankfulnesse, or acknowledging the princes favour for their pardon or dismission; true in atheists, but not in true Christian nobility.

8. To unarme his people, and store up their weapons under pretence of keeping them safe, and having them ready when service requireth, and then to arme with them such and so many as hee shall thinke meet, and to commit them to such as are sure men.

9. To make schisme or division under-hand among his nobility, and betwixt the nobility and the people, and to set one rich man against another, that they combine not together, and that himselfe, by hearinge the griefes and complaints, may know the secrets of both parts, and so have matter against them both, when it listeth him to call them to an accompt.

10. To offer no man any contumely or wrong, especially about womens matters, by attempting the chastity of their wives or daughters, which hath beene the ruine of many tyrants, and subversion of their states; as of Tarquinius, by Brutus; Appius, by Virginius; Pisistratus, by Harmodius; Alexander Medicis, Duke of Florence; Aloisus of Placentia, Rodericus, King of Spaine, &c.

11. To that end, to bee moderate in his pleasures, or to use them closely, that hee bee not seene; for that men, sober or watchfull, or such as seeme so, are not lightly subject to contempt, or conspiracies of their owne.

12. To reward such as achieve some great or commendable enterprise, or doe any speciall action for the commonwealth, in that manner as it may seeme they could not be better regarded in case they lived in a free state.

13. All rewards and things gratefull to come from himselfe; but all punishments, exactions, and things ungratefull, to come from his officers and publique ministers: and when he hath effected what hee would by them, if hee see his people discontented withall, to make them a sacrifice to pacifie his subjects.

14. To pretend great care of religion, and of serving of God, (which hath beene the manner of the wickedest tyrants) for that people doe lesse feare any hurt from those whom they thinke vertuous and religious, nor attempt lightly to doe them hurt, for that they thinke that God protects them.

15. To have a strong and sure guard of forraine souldiers, and to bind them by good turnes, that they having at least profit, may depend upon him and the present state; as Caligula, the German guard, where the nobility are many and mighty. The like is practised by lawfull kings, as by the French king.

16. To procure that other great persons bee in the same fault or case with them, that for that cause they bee forced to defend the tyrant for their owne safety.

17. To take part, and to joine himselfe, with the stronger part; if the common people and meane degree bee the stronger, to joine with them; if the rich and noble, to joine with them; for so that part with his own strength will bee ever able to overmatch the other.

18. So to frame his manners and whole behaviour, as that hee may seeme, if not perfectly good, yet tollerably evill, or somewhat good, somewhat bad.

These rules of hipocriticall tyrants are to be known, that they may bee avoided and met withall, and not drawne into imitation.

Preservation of an Aristocracy.

Rules to preserve a senatory state are partly taken from the common axioms, and partly from those that preserve a kingdome.

Preservation of an Oligarchy, by Sophismes, or Rules.

1. In consultations and assemblies about publique affaires, so to order the matter, that all may have liberty to frequent their common assemblies and councels; but to impose a fine upon the richer sort, if they omit that duty. On the other side, to pardon the people if they absent themselves, and to beare with them under pretence, that they may the better attend their occupations, and not bee hindered in their trades and earnings.

2. In election of magistrates and officers, to suffer the poorer sort to vow and abjure the bearing of office under colour of sparing them, or to enjoine some great charge as incident to the office, which the poore cannot beare; but to impose some great fine upon those that bee rich, if they refuse to beare office, being elect unto it.

3. In judiciall matters, in like manner, to order that the people may be absent from publique trials, under pretence of following their business. But the richer to bee present, and to compell them by fines to frequent the court.

4. In warlike exercise and armes, that the poore sort bee not forced to have armour, horse, &c. under pretence of sparing their cost, nor to bee drawne from their trades by martiall exercises; but to compell the richer sort to keepe their proportion of armour, horse, &c. by excessive fines, and to exercise themselves in warlike matters, &c.

5. To have speciall care of instructing their children in liberall arts, policy, and warlike exercise, and to observe good order and discipline. For as populous states are preserved by the frequency and liberty of the people, so this government of the richer is preserved by discipline and good order of governours.

6. To provide good store of warlike furniture, especially of horse and horsemen, and of armed men, viz. pike, &c. which are proper to the gentry, as shot and light furniture are for a populous company.

7. To put in practise some points of a populous state, viz. to lade no one man with too much preferrement; to make yearely or halfe yeares magistrates, &c.; for that the people are pleased with such things, and they are better secured by this meanes from the rule of one; and if any grow to too much greatnesse, to abate him by the sophismes fit for this state.

8. To commit the offices and magistracies to those that are best able to beare the greatest charges for publique matters, which both tendeth to the conservation of this state, and pleaseth the people, for that they reape some reliefe and benefit by it.

9. To the same end, to contract marriages among themselves, the rich with the rich, &c.

10. In some things which concerne not the points and matters of state, as electing magistrates, making lawes, &c. to give an equality, or sometimes a preferment to the common people, and not to doe, as in some olygarchies they were wont, viz. to sweare against the people, to suppresse and bridle them; but rather contrary, to minister an oath at that admission, that they shall doe no wrong to any of the people; and if any of the richer offer wrong to any of the commons, to shew some example of severe punishment.

For other axioms that preserve this state, they are to bee borrowed from those other rules that tend to the preserving of a populous and tyrannicall state, for the strict kind of olygarchy is kinne to tyranny.

Preservation of a Popular State, Sophismes. Rules or Axioms.

1. In publique assemblies and consultations, about matters of state, creating of magistrates, publique justice and exercise of armes, to practise the contrary to the former kind of government, to wit, an oligarchy; for, in popular states, the commons and meaner sort are to bee drawne to those assemblies, magistracies, offices, warlike exercises, &c. by mulcts and rewards, and the richer sort are to bee spared, and not to be forced by fine, or otherwise, to frequent these exercises.

2. To make shew of honouring and reverencing the richer men, and not to swear against them, as the manner hath beene in some popular states; but rather to preferre them in all other matters that concerne not the state and publique government.

3. To elect magistrates from among the commons by lot or balloting, and not to choose any for their wealths sake.

4. To take heed that no man beare office twice, except it bee military, where the pay and salery, &c. is to bee reserved in their owne hands, to bee disposed of by a common councell, &c. and to see that no man bee too highly preferred.

5. That no magistracy bee perpetuall, but as short as may bee, to wit, for a yeare, half a yeare, &c.

6. To compell magistrates, when their time expireth, to give an accompt of their behaviour and government, and that publiquely before the commons.

7. To have publique saleries and allowance for their magistrates, judges, &c. and yearely dividends for the common people, and such as have most need among them.

8. To make judges of all matters, out of all sorts, so they have some aptnes to performe that duty.

9. To provide that publique judgments and trials bee not frequent, and to that end, to inflict great fines and other punishments upon pettifoggers and dilatours, as the law of requitall, &c. because, for the most part, the richer and nobler, and not the commons, are indicted and accused in this commonwealth, which causeth the rich to conspire against the state, whereby many times the popular state is turned into an olygarchy, or some other government. Hereto tendeth that art of civill law made against accusers and calumniatours: *Ad Senatos Consultum Turpilianum, lib.* 1. *de Calumniatoribus.*

10. In such free states as are popular, and have no revenue, to provide the publique assemblies bee not after, because they want salery for pleaders and oratours; and if they bee rich, yet to bee wary, that all the revenue bee not divided amongst the commons; for that this distribution of the common revenue among the multitude is like a purse or barrell without a bottom; but to provide, that a sufficient part of the revenue bee stored up for the publique affaires.

11. If the number of the poore encrease too much in this kind of state, to send some abroad out of the cities into the next country places, and to provide above all that none doe live idly, but bee set to their trades. To this end, to provide that the richer men place in their farmes and coppiholds such decayed citizens.

12. To bee well advised what is good for this state, and not to suppose that to bee fit for a popular state, that seemeth most popular, but that which is best for the continuance thereof: And to that end, not to lay into the exchequer, or common treasury, such goods as are confiscate, but to store them up as holy and consecrated things, which, except it bee practised, confiscations and fines of the common people would bee frequent, and so this state would decay by weakening the people.

Conversion of States in Generall.

Conversion of a state is the declining of the commonwealth, either to some other forme of government, or to his full and last period appointed by God.

Causes of Conversions of States, and of two Sorts, Generall and Particular.

Generall, (viz.) 1. Want of religion; viz. of the true knowledge and worship of God prescribed in his word, and notable sinnes that proceed from thence in prince and people, as in the examples of Saul, Uzziah, the Jewish state; the four monarchies, and all other.

2. Want of wisedome, and good councell to keepe the state, the prince, nobles, and people in good temper and due proportion, according to their severall orders and degrees.

3. Want of justice, either in administration (as ill lawes, or ill magistrates) or in the execution, as rewards not given where they should be, or there bestowed where they should not be, or punishments not inflicted where they should be.

4. Want of power and sufficiency to maintaine and defend itselfe; viz. of provision, as armour, money, captaines, souldiours, &c. Execution, when the meanes or provision is not used or ill used.

2. *Particular:* To bee noted and collected out of the contraries of those rules that are prescribed for the preservation of the commonwealths.

Particular Causes of Conversion of State are of two Sorts.

1. *Forraine:* By the over greatnesse of invasion of some forraine kingdome, or other state of meane power, having a part within our owne, which are to bee prevented by the providence of the chiefe, and rules of policy for the preserving of every state. This falleth out very seldome for the great difficulty to overthrow a forraine state.

2. *Domestique:* Sedition or open violence by the stronger part. Alteration without violence.

Sedition.

Sedition is a power of inferiours opposing itselfe with force of armes against the superiour power, *Quasi ditio secedens.*

Causes of Sedition are of two Sorts. 1. *Generall. Liberty, Riches, Honour.*

Liberty.—When they that are of equall quality in a commonwealth, or doe take themselves so to bee, are not regarded equally in all, or in any of these three.

Riches.—Or when they are so unequall in quality, or take themselves so to bee, are regarded but equally, or with lesse respect, then those that bee of lesse defect in these three things, or in any of them.

Honour.—1. *In the Chiefe:* Covetousnesse, or oppression by the magistrate or higher power, viz. when the magistrates, especially the chiefe, encreaseth his substance and revenue beyond measure, either with the publique or private calamity, whereby the

governours grow to quarrell among themselves, as in olygarchies, or the other degrees conspire together, and make quarrell against the chiefe, as in kingdomes: The examples of Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, &c.

2. *In the Chiefe:* Injury, when great spirits, and of great power, are greatly wronged and dishonoured, or take themselves so to be, as Coriolanus, Cyrus minor, Earle of Warwick. In which cases, the best way is to decide the wrong.

3. Preferment, or want of preferment, wherein some have over much, and so wax proud and aspire higher; or have more or lesse, they deserve as they suppose; and so in envy and disdaine seek innovation by open faction, so Cæsar, &c.

4. Some great necessity or calamity; so Xerxes, after the foile of his great army; and Senacheris, after the losse of 185 in one night.

2. *Particular.*—1. Envy, when the chiefe exceed the mediocrity before mentioned, and so provoketh the nobility and other degrees to conspire against him; as Brutus, Cassius, &c. against Cæsar.

2. Feare, viz. of danger, when one or more dispatch the prince, by secret practice or force, to prevent his owne danger, as Artabanus did Xerxes.

3. Lust or Lechery, as Tarquinius Superbus, by Brutus; Pisistratin dæ, by Armodius; Appius, by Virginius.

Chiefe.—4. Contempt, for vile quality and base behaviour, as Sardanapalus, by Arbaces; Dionisius the younger, by Dion.

Other degrees.—5. Contumely; when some great disgrace is done to some of great spirit, who standeth upon his honour and reputation, as Caligula, by Chæreas.

Other degrees. 6. Hope of advancement, or some great profit, Mithidrates, Anobarsanes.

Alteration without Violence.

Causes of alteration without violence are; 1. Excesse of the state; when by degrees, the state groweth from that temper and mediocrity, wherein it was, or should have been setled, and exceedeth in power, riches, and absolutenes in his kind, by the ambition and covetousnesse of the chiefes, immoderate taxes and impositions, &c. applying all to his owne benefit without respect of other degrees, and so in the end changeth itselfe into another state or forme of government, as a kingdome into a tyranny, an olygarchy into an aristocracy.

2. Excesse of some one or more in the commonwealth; viz. when some one or more in a commonwealth grow to an excellency or excesse above the rest, either in honour, wealth, or vertue, and so, by permission and popular favour, are advanced to the soveraignty; by which meanes popular states grow into olygarchies, and olygarchies and aristocracies into monarchies. For which cause, the Athenians, and some other free states, made their lawes of *ostrocismos*, to banish any for a time that should excell, though it were in vertue, to prevent the alteration of their state; which, because it is an unjust law, 'tis better to take heed at the beginning to prevent the meanes, that none should grow to that hight and excellency, then to use so sharp and unjust a remedy.

A Method how to make Use of the Booke before in the Reading of Story.

David being seventy yeares of age, was of wisedome, memory, &c. sufficiente to governe his kingdome; 1. Reg. chap. 1.

Old Age is not ever unfit for publique Government.

David being of great yeares, and so having a cold, dry, and impotent body, married with Abishag, a faire maide of the best complection through his whole realme, to revive his body and prolong his life; 1. Reg. chap. 1. verse 3.

Example of the like Practice in Charles the Fifth.

David being old and impotent of body, by the advice of his nobles and phisitians, married a young maid called Abishag, to warm and preserve his old body.

Observation.

Whether David did well in marrying a maide; and whether it be lawfull for an old decayed and impotent man to marry a young woman; or, on the other side, for an old worne and decrepite woman to marry a young and lusty man.

For the Affirmative.

Arg. The end of marriage is society and mutuall comfort; but there may bee society and mutuall comfort in a marriage betwixt an old and young party: *Ergo* it is lawfull.

Answ. Society and comfort is an use and effect of marriage; but none of the principall end is of marriage, which are:

1. Procreation of children, and so the continuance of mankind. 2. The avoiding of fornication.

As for comfort and society, they may be betwixt man and man, woman and woman, where no marriage is, and therefore no proper ends of marriage.

The Negative.

Arg. 1. That conjunction which hath no respect to the right and proper ends for which marriage was ordained by God, is no lawfull marriage. But the conjunction betwixt an old impotent and young party, hath no respect to the right end for which marriage was ordained by God: Therefore it is no lawfull marriage.

2. No contract, wherein the party contracting bindeth himselfe to an impossible condition, or to doe that which he cannot doe, is good or lawfull. But the contract of marriage by an impotent person with a young party bindeth him to an impossible condition, to doe that which hee cannot doe (viz.) to performe the duties of marriage; Therefore it is unlawfull.

For the same cause, the civill law determineth a nullity in these marriages, except the woman know before the infirmity of the man, in which case she can have no wrong, being a thing done with her owne knowledge and consent, because *Volenti ne fit injuria:—In legem Julian. de adulteriis leg. Si uxor, &c.*

It provideth further for the more certainty of the infirmity, that three yeares bee expired before the dissolution of the marriage, because that men, that have beene infirme at

the first, by reason of sicknesse, or some other accident, afterwards proved to bee sufficient: *De repudiss leg. in causis.*

Defence for David in marrying Abishag.

1. It was rather a medicine then a marriage, without any evill or disordered affection.
2. It was by the perswasion of his nobles and phisitians.
3. It was for the publique good to prolong the life of a worthy prince.
4. It was with the knowledge and consent of the young maid, who was made acquainted with the kings infirmity, and to what end shee was married unto him; who if shee did it for the common good, and for duties sake, having withall the guift of continency, shee is to bee commended; if for ambition, or some vaine respect, it is her owne, and Davids fault.

Politicall Nobility. Adoniah aspiring to the Kingdome.

First, tooke the advantage of Davids affection and kindnesse towards him, and made him secure of any ill dealing.

Secondly, of his age and infirmities, disabling his father as unfit for government.

Thirdly, blazed his title and right to the crowne.

Fourthly, got him chariots, horsemen, and footmen, and a guard, to make shew of state.

Fiftly, being a comly and goodly person, made a popular shew of himselfe, and his qualities.

Sixthly, joyned to himselfe in faction Joab, the generall of the army, who was in displeasure for murdering of Abner and Amasa, and feared that David would supply Benajah into his place, and so was discontented. And Abiather the high priest, that was likewise discontented with David, for the preferrement of Zadoch.

Seventhly, had meetings with them, and other his confederates, under pretence of a vow and offering at the fountaine of Raguell, in the confines of Judea.

Eighthly, made a shew of religion by sacrificing, &c.

Ninthly, made himselfe familiar with the nobles and people, and entertained them with feasting.

Tenthly, drew into his part the chiefe officers of the court, and servants to the king, by rewards, familiarity, &c.

Eleventhly, disgraced and abased the competitour, and such as hee knew would take part with him, and concealeth his ambition and purpose from them.

Twelfthly, had Jonathan a favorite of the court, and neere about the king, to give him intelligence, if any thing werediscovered, and moved at the court, whilest himselfe was in hand about his practise.

Observations. Wayes of such as aspire to the Kingdome, and Markes to discerne them.

First, they wind into princes favour, by service, officiousnesse, flattery, &c. to plant him in a good opinion of their loyalty and faithfulnesse, thereby to make him secure of their practises.

2. They take advantages of princes infirmities, age, impotency, negligence, sexe, &c. and worke upon that by disabling the prince, and secret detracting of his person and government.

3. They blaze their title and claime to the crowne, (if they have any) with their friends and favourers.

4. They provide them in secret of extraordinary forces and furniture for the warres, make much of good souldiers, and have a pretence (if it bee espied) of some other end, as for the kings honour, or service, and to bee in readines against forraine enemies, &c.

5. They make open shew of their best qualities and comlines of their person (which, though it be vaine as a dumbe shew, it is very effectuall to winne the liking of the popular sort, which, according to the rule of the election of kings, in the Bees common-wealth, thinke that *Forma est digna imperare*) activity nobility, ancestry, &c.

6. To have their blazers abroad to set out their vertues, and to prepare their friends in every province.

7. To draw into their part, and make sure unto them, of the chiefe peeres, and men of best quality, such as are mightiest, and most gratious with the souldiers, and the military men, and most subtill and politique, especially such as be ambitious and discontent with the state.

8. To have meetings for conference under some pretence of some ordinary matter in some convenient place, not too neare, nor too farre off, but where friends may best resort and assemble unto them without suspition.

9. To take up a shew and pretence of religion more then before, and beyond the practise of their former life.

10. They use popular curtesie (which in a great person is very effectuall) feasting, liberality, gaming, &c.

11. To bee over liberall, and winne to them by guifts, familiarity, &c. the chiefe officers of the court and governours of shires.

12. To have some neere about the prince, to keepe them in credite, and remove suspition, if any rise.

13. To disgrace such as they know to bee sure and faithfull to the prince and present state, or to the competitour, and to bring them into contempt by slander, detraction, and all meanes they can, and to conceale the designes from them, least they bee discovered before they bee ripe.

14. To have some spie neere about the prince, to advertise them if any inkling of suspition arise whilest themselves are practising.

Note the practises of Absolon: 2. Sam. chap. 16. and of Cyrus minor, in Xenophon, Περὶαναβα ρκῶς, cap. 1.

Politicall Prince.

David being a most worthy and excellent prince for wisdome, valour, religion, and justice, and so highly deserving of the common-wealth, yet growne into age, grew withall into contempt, and had many, both of his nobles and common people, that fell from him; first with Absolon, then with Adoniah, who affected the kingdome, and rebelled against him: For remedy whereof, hee stirred up himselfe to publique actions, which might shew his vigour and sufficiency to manage the affaires of his kingdome.

1. After the victory against Absolon, he forced himselfe to forbeare mourning, and shewed himselfe to his discontented army, when all were like to fall from him, for his unreasonable sorrow and lamentation for his sone.

2. After the victory, hee caused a general convention to be assembled of the whole

nation, to bring him home with honour to Jerusalem, which was a renewing and re-establishing of him; 2. Sam. 19. 12.

3. He gave an experiment of his power and authority, by deposing a person of great authority and estimation, to wit, Joab, general captaine of the army, and advancing Amasa to his place.

4. Hee sent kind messengers to Jerusalem, and to other chiefe and head townes, and specially men of Judea, his contributes, putting them off their alliance with him, with these words, that they were of his own flesh and bloud, with protestation of his speciall love and affection towards them, to provoke them with like kindnesse and affection towards him.

5. Hee assembled a parliament of his whole realme, and tooke occasion upon the designing of his successour, to commend unto them the succession of his house, and the continuance and maintenance of Gods true worship and religion, then established, and gave a grave and publique charge to his successour, now designed, touching the manner of his government, and maintaining of religion, 1. Chron. 12. 13.

6. Hee sheweth his bounty and magnificence in congesting matter for the building of the temple, as gold, silver, brasse, &c.; and caused it to bee published and made known to the parliament and the whole nation, 1. Chron. 22. 13.

7. Hee revived the church government, and set it in a right order, assigning to every church officer his place and function.

8. Hee suppressed the faction of Adoniah, and ordained Solomon his successour, 1. Reg. 1. 22. By these meanes, he retained his majesty and authority in his old age, as appeareth by th' effect; for that being bedrid, he suppressed the faction of Adoniah, (which was growne mighty, and was set on foote) with his bare commandement, and signification of his pleasure, and so he died in peace.

A Discourse of the State of Spaine, written in the yeare 1607, *by Sir Charles Cornewayles, Knight, Ambassadour for his Majestie of Great Brittaine to the King of Spayne.* MSS.

The king possesseth, at this present, Spaine entirely, wherein are contained 14 kingdomes and principalities: Portugall, Algarve, Granada, Andalusia, Murcia, Valentia, Cataluna, Arragon, Navarra, Biskay, Galicia, Leon, Castilla the New, and Castilla the Old

For Italy, he hath the kingdome of Naples, that of Sicylye, and the dukedome of Millan, which, in riches, in number of subjects, and in revenue, exceedeth divers kingdomes.

In the Low Countryes he possesseth a title in reversion to the dukedomes of Brabant, Lymburche, and Lunenburgh; and entitleth himselfe in like manner to six earledomes, viz. Flanders, Holland, Zelande, Artois, Namur, and Zutphen; to four signiories, namely, Friseland, Groyninghen, Henault, and Mali.

In the West Indies he hath Nova Espana, Peru, Mexico, Brazil, with other islands.

The seate of government in Peru, he hath changed to Lyma, and that of Mexico to Lemysten.

In the East Indies, beyond the islands of Cabo Verde, and that of St. Thomas (from whence comes the sugar) having passed the Cape Bona Esperanza, he holdeth Mozambique, a place of great import for the traffique of the East.

He hath the kingdome of Ormus, and many other fortresses in the rivers of all that

ocean sea, to the Gulph of Bengala, and from thence to Scian, Canton, and the confines of China.

He holdeth moreover the islands of Molucca, and those of the Phillipinas, by meanes whereof he is master of all the ocean sea, in such sort, as departing from Spain towards the west, and passing the Straight of Magellain towards the Phillipinas, and, the Moluccas, and taking their way by the sea to the Gulph of Bengala, after Ormur; and, lastly, to the Cape of Esperanza, turning themselves towards the islande of St Thomas, and the Straits of Gibraltar. In this sort they go about the circle of the whole worlde.

Besides all these estates, he is possessed of many other places of much importance, which are as accessaries and adjuncts to his dominions; as the islands of Terceras to his kingdomes of Portugal, the Canaries to Castile, Mayorca, Minorca, and Sardena to Arragon, divers places to Tuscanye to the kingdome of Naples, the marquesate of Finall, and to the state of Millan, Oran and de Pegnou, in Affrica to Castile, Tanger, Arzyla, Mesagen, and Ceuta to the crowne of Portugall, and the earledome of Burgundye which should most aptly have been reckoned with his other signiories in the lowe countries.

The iles of Mayorca, Minorca, and Serdena, are not of such strength, but they may easily be possessed by an enemy, that was able with a potent army to assault them.

The West Indies they possesse not so strongly, but they may have cause to feare; for although the naturall Indians, they have not much occasion to make doubt, being in their owne disposition cowardlye, and without all experience, and leaders to direct them; yet hath their such a multitude of people transferred themselves thither out of Spaine, to the much dispeopling of their owne countrye, and multiplied so abundantly there, as what with discontents given them from their own countrey, with confidence of their multitude there, and the great distance from Spaine, were there added unto it any hope of assistance of some other powerfull prince by sea, they may, without any great difficulty, become moved to make such a revolt, as will be hard for the king of Spaine to suppress.

Hereunto the Spaniard gives what remedy he can, having forbidden the building of any fortresses or strong places in those countries, whereunto his enemies or rebells might have retreate; prohibiting the planting of vines wherewith to make wine, of olive-trees for oile, the making of linnen and silkes, and such other necessaries, and not permitting any other nation to have commerce with them, whereby to hold them in a continual necessity of his yearly assistance and hope from Spaine.

In the East Indies, although they possesse little, but the very extremities and outsides of the land, notwithstandinge, by meanes of the fortresses that there they have builded, they hold their owne, and the rather, by reason of the navigation and commerce that they have in those seas, which, before the Hollanders in those late yeares gave them disturbance, were wholly in their power. For by meanes of that navigation they may with the more facility releive, strengthen, victuall, and put garrisons in every one of the said places that they are possessed of, having so digged away the earthe near unto those fortresses, that they have accesse unto them by water, and herewith have so invironed them, as they have put them almost all into the form of ilandes.

Those places are in greatest perill to receive hurt from the Turke, who being disposed to send a great navie by the Sea, or by the Persian Gulph, may disturbe their navigation, and besiege their fortresses of most importance, overthrowing their traffique of pepper and other spices, which from those partes are transported to Spaine. And this, by experience of theise few years, we find not to be of any great difficulty to a potent army, considering that the Hollanders, with those few ships which they have adventured thither, have already in a manner destroyed all the Portugall traffique for spices, which is the chiefe commodity of that navigation.

Touching the Low Countries, of some part whereof for the present the archdukes are the proprietarie la. and possessors, who are now, with consent of the king of Spaine, in treaty for a peace with the other estates united, and have assented to relinquish their title and interest to those parts, that by them are with-held from their obedience, I will say nothing, but leave them to such successe as so suddaine and so inexpected a motion may with time produce; the same having, in the understanding and judgement of man, so many and so various dependancies, as to decipher them all, would rather require a whole volume than a short discourse.

Only this, by way of divination; if a peace it prove, to Spaine it is not very likely to be for the present either honorable or advantagious; and to the estates, for the time to come, neither safe nor durable. If a warr continued, it may in time become the ruine of the one, or the impoverishing and envassaling of the other.

The townes in Affrica, in fear of such fortune as they suffered at Thunis and Golletta, places so important and neare to the kingdome of Spaine, which were taken from them by the enemie, they keepe with great care and providence, as those whom the losse of theise townes have made more circumspect and regardfull of the rest that be in their possession.

The revenue of the crown of Spaine, some nine or tenn yeares passed, amounted unto fourteen millions and duckatts; whereof Spaine yeilded seven millions, viz. Castile five millions, Portugall one million, and 60,000 duccats, Aragon and Catalugna 200,000; Granada, Murtia, and Valentia 200,000; out of Majorca, Minorca, and Sardeyna, the king hath yearely 200,000; out of Sicylia 700,000; out of the state of Milan 900,000; out of the kingdome of Naples one million and 200,000; out of the townes he hath in Toscan 10,000; out of the Low Countries he had 720,000; out of the East Indies one million and 600,000; and out of the West Indies which in the whole amount to the aforesaid somme of fourteen millions and 566,000. But in the year 1598, upon an accompt then made of the particularities whereof I am possessed, the revenue of Portugall, Navarre, Aragon, Catalugna, and his other estates in Italy, viz. Naples, Sicylia, and Millan, and his townes in Africa, and other parts not accompted, in regard, that from none of them there comes any thing to the king's purse, the same being spent within those several estates, in maintenance of his viceroyes, governors, and garrisons, and in the multitude of pensions he giveth there, and in other partes of Italy. It appeareth that the king's yearly revenue, by all manner of wayes and meanes, amounted to above 9,743,624 duccatts; his assignations, outrents, and charges, ordinarie and extraordinarie, in that yeare, came to the somme of 11,352,834; so as his yearely charge exceeded his receipts the somme of 1,609,210 duccatts. But this was then helped by an ayde of six millions yearly, during the space of eight yeares, granted unto his majesty by the cortes, which are assembled in the nature of our parliament in England. Theise being now expired, and the kingdome of Spaine so exceedingly impoverished, and unable for so great a burthen, they have by a late parliament abated, and newly granted two millions and a halfe yearely, to be paid for the space of eight yeares; some also, which (the estate of things continuing as it doth,) it is verily thought, they will not in any sorte be able to performe. Moreover, it is to be considered, that sithence the former accompts made, the debts of the king are greatly increased, which are thought at this day to amounte to 160 millions at the least, for which he pays interest for some after the rate of one for fourteen, others one for twentie, and some at one for thirty; besides other great sommes due to pensioners, his garrison soldiers, and to those of whom he hath taken victual, munition, and other necessaries for his navies, and his fortresses in Barbary, and other places. Neither is it of small consequence to the king, that theise revenues and treasure are managed, for the most part, by people marked with the spots of untruth and unfaithfulness, as those that more respect their particular interest then the publique

good; and would the king purpose a generall correction of them all, such is the estate and people, as hardly he should find any to serve him in those places. And for particulars, if any such fall out, as lately that of the earle of Villa Longa, and Ramirez de Prada, it extendeth not to the taking away of their lives, but only to banishment, imprisonment, and confiscation of their goods, so as the same being not publique nor exemplary, gives unto the rest the more incouragement to continue their falsitie, to the prejudice of the crown.

Lastly, the rents and revenue royall, have annexed unto them two notable incommodities, which denies them certainty. The first, in regard that the most of them are founded upon impositions, and those so exorbitant, that they have already, and go on daylie wasting and consumeing their people, and especially those of Spaine, where it is not possible that they should long be able to bear the burthen of so great sommes of money, as for the passed and present are laid upon them. The other, which is of more importance, is, that the most of his majesties revenue in Castile, Portugall, and the Indies, resteth upon the safe navigation of his yearly fleets, which being both subject to stormes, and to disturbance by enemies, can never promise any assuredness. Neither are these two perils to be avoided, either by undertaking of these navigations in times more seasonable, for then their certaine times of returne being knowne, they should be in greater danger to fall into the hands of their enemies; or by encreasing their number of shippes of warr, such being their general want of masters and marriners, as they hardly find a number sufficient enough to sail those they yearly sett forth for the present; so as were there a convenient number of ships of warr continually attendant upon the coasts of Spaine, for the space of two years only, to keepe in the king's navy, (which is gathered and compounded out of divers distant places,) from issuing out, and assembling themselves, and by that meanes also stoppe the passage into the Indies, and prohibit all strangers that should endeavour to bring in corne, munition, cordage, and other necessaries into Spaine, this kingdome being in so great want in itselfe, and not aided by the purse of Genoa, and that of the Fulkers, which, in a case of such dispair, to be repaid, (by all probability would be denied,) must of necessity come to utter ruin, or be inforced to receive any condition, that would be required to be imposed upon them; for the strength of this great monarchie consists only in the riches drawne out of the Indies, in the soldiers of Spaine, and the captaines of Italy; the first failing, the second would want armes, and the third legs.

The Spaniard, although he be exceeding patient of heat, cold, hunger and thirst, yet where there is none, or little hope of reward, his disposition is not to be forward to adventure; the Italian lesse, who, having no love at all to the Spaniards person, will never put himselfe in peril, but in hope of his purse. And in their Indies, their people receiving not, for so long a time, the necessaries which yearly they are inforced to expect from Spaine, would be compelled to cast themselves into other armes, and receive such lawes, as those princes that shal be masters of the navigation, and of the seas, shal impose upon them.

The cavalrey of Spaine consisteth of five thousand in ordinary pay, armed lightly with launce and targett; who, as well in regard of their little experience and practise, as the quality of their horses, which are weak and of little worth, are of no great accompt. Besides these, there are some in continuall pay, that are bound upon occasions to attend the king's person for his guard; also there are 1600 armed with launce and targett, and accustomed to attend the sea coasts along the Mediterranean Sea, to withstand, upon occasions, the incursions of pirates and Moores, wherewith they are often infested.

The forces of the king by sea consist of eighty gallies, ordinarily held in readiness at his charges, whereof eight in Portugall, twenty in Spaine, twenty four in Naples, twelve in Sicylia, and sixteen in Genoa. But these, by reason of the avarice and atten-

tiveness to their owne gaine, in the king's ministers, so evil in order, as, were they put to a sudden service, there would be found of serviceable vessels, a much smaller number; neither can he give any present remedy to it, without abatement of some other charges, which do necessarily serve for the defence of his estates, and without putting much disorder, in his other occasions, that more import him. Upon these other seas, nearer home, and about Portugall, for defence against pirates and other enemies, the greatest number that this yeare of 1607 his majesty could put to sea, consisted of eighty ships, whereof thirty were gallions; and for the furnishing thereof, such was the want both of mariners and souldiers, as the king was enforced to proclaime, not only much pay before hand, but an hidalgement and other exemptions, to whatsoever would serve him in that navy. And all that notwithstanding, had they not been furnished by the opportunity of the returne of the Spanish soldiers at that instant out of Italie, and the taking out of others, out of divers garrisons, so as in the castle of Lisbon itselfe, they left not above forty soldiers, they had not had sufficient to saile and man their number. Of the gallies before-mentioned are for the instant commanders of those in Naples, the marquesse of Santa Cruz; of those in Cicylya, Don Pedro de Leyva; of those in Portugall, Conde de Elda; and of those in Spaine, Don Pedro de Toledo, marquess of Villa Franca; of the other navy of shipps and gallions, Don Luys Fojardo.

These forces, and all other of the king, both by sea and land, suffer two mortall oppositions, which makes them of lesse esteeme with their enemies, and so little or none effect to their friends or themselves, which are softness and slowness, growing out of a naturall tarditie in the nation, out of the irresolution of the king and his consaile, out of a difficulty to provide money, and the distance of the kingdome and partes from which they are to be assembled, which breedes a great delay in their conjunction, and by consequence much abatement to their power, and impediment to the successe of their enterprises.

Having thus, in a kind of generaltie, runne over the estate of this king, held throughout the world so potent, in regard that the countries of Spain and Italy are the sinews and foundations of his strength and forces, I hold it best to enter into a distinct consideration both of the one and the other countrey.

In Spaine, there are three sorts of people; the churchmen, the laitie, and the Moors.

The churchmen are there either exceeding rich, or extremely poor; the last are oftimes, to susteyne their lives, enforced to labours and iudustry, unproper for men of their vocation: the other are devided into archbishops, bishops, cannons, and other dignities. In Spaine, there are eight archbishopprickes, forty bishopprickes; in Portugall, three archbishopprickes, and nine bishopprickes; besides infinite monasteries, religious houses of great revenue, and very rich in plate. other chantries and benefices also of yearly value. To all the benefices in Spaine, the king hath the nomination and presentation, and liberty to impose upon them what pensions he thinks convenient, to be by him distributed to other churchmen, at his pleasure: he hath also power to translate and transfer from one bishopprick to another, and by that meanes holdeth the prelates of his realme in much obedience, as well in regard of the favour and benefit they receive from him, as in hope of others in the future. If any need they have of ayd or help, they resort not for it to Rome, but to the king; as also, in any grievance they receive from Rome, they repaire to him only for assistance; and he patronises and defends them from the injury of such as would oppress them; and in regard thereof, finds it not difficult to drawe from them, upon every his occasion, great sommes of money; which in outward shewe they willingly depart from, in hope by his majestie to be raised to higher dignities or better bishoppricks, or at least to be protected, and kept safe and without molestation, in those that already they are possessed of.

The layetie of Spaine are devided into nobility and commonaltie. Of the nobility,

those that are licensed to cover their heads before the king are called grandees; and of those there are for the present about forty dukes. These, in the time of the king deceased, were much held under, as those upon whom he seldom bestowed any charge or office in Spaine of any great importance; and if any they had out of Spaine, they were for short time, and often changed, so as they could not have leisure to acquire any great power or amitie. He was accustomed to sow distastes and dissensions amongst them, and to keep their vassals disarmed, who being by them, on the other side, much pilled and oppressed, conceived great hatred against them. And albeit they use all manner of exactions upon their tenants; yet were they then, and are now, in the time of the king that raigneth (notwithstanding the large number of ducatts that they putt into the reckoning of their revenues), in a manner all exceedingly indebted, and their lands engaged.

The third sort, which are the Moors, are infinite, and being dispersed through all the parts of the kingdom, do daily multiply; and the Spaniard continually diminish and decrease in their number, as those who are continually sent into the Indies, Flanders, Italy, and other parts, where the king employs soldiers. Those Moores never stiring out of Spaine, where, by their labours, their industrie, and their frugall manner of living (as well in victuals as apparell), they grow exceeding rich, and increase daily, as well in reputation and courage, as in number, to the great peril of the Spaniard, were that people assisted by the force of any foreign prince's power. Neither find they any remedy to this evil, in regard that so long they have suffered it to grow upon them; for albeit they have in their counsailes of state, divers times, consulted about the driving of that whole generation out of Spain, yet, upon mature deliberation, it hath been found to be impossible to be effected, without a plunging the whole kingdome into manifest danger, which should serve little to other end, than to hasten an evill, that with temper (although, perhaps, can never be wholly avoided), yea at least may be a long time deferred. This people, although, sithence their last rebellion, dispersed into all parts of Spain, and for avoiding the like, in time to come, mixed in all places with the Spanish nation, and inforced to leave their habitations and situations of any strength, wherein in former times they lived together, and to dwell now in places plain and open, and separate from their companions, yet is there great number abiding at this day in the kingdome of Granada, Valentia, and other parts nearest unto Africa: and for this reason only, the Biscayne reckon themselves the noblest and least corrupt people of all Spain, in regard they have neither had, nor have, any mixture with that base and infidelious generation.

The Spanish nation in generaltie is not valorous of their own nature, nor much adventrous, further furth than vain glory, and desire of getting putts them forward; for it is universally noted in them, that in the service of the night, or such other, where the same is not in view of their generall, and where their fear of peril is greater than their hope of booty, they for the most neglect the office of their hands, and put their greatest confidence in that of their feete; neither are they at home disciplined, or exercised in any such sort, as whereby to get either experience or dexterity in the use of martiall weapons; yet falls it out often, that the of Spaine, taken from the plough, and other labourers, prove better soldiers, and of more use, than those that are drawne out of their garrisons in Italy and other places; for those last apply all their studies rather how to robbe and spoile, and to serve themselves of the commodities of the people, amongst whom they are placed, than to any other industry of military exercise; and being disused and unaccustomed to travail and labour, and growne rich and able to live, do rather covet to enjoy with ease what they have formerly gotten, than with pain and perill to adventure that and their lives, in doubtfull chance of warr. The other, accustomed to laboure, and newly drawne from it, not much given to ease and pleasure, having nothing of their own whereto to trust, with

desire to gett and necessity to have p of more use and commoditie for that life and kind of service. The Spaniard universally are much inclined to religion and devotion, but that with such unmeasurable superstition, and r ptness to believe false miracles and feigned fables of the of any person whatsoever, as what with the inclination, and the extreme licentiousnesse of their lives, they have a great facility of disposition to fall into any heresie or opinion whatsoever, were they not restrained by that dreadfull office of the inquisition, which with great reason is held on foote, and maintained in supreame authority by the king and estate, who are not ignorant of the disposition of their people. The whole kingdome, but especially Castile, is exceedingly over-burthened with charges and impositions; whereof the people incessantlye complaine, but without releife: for the king, though he cannot but both hear it and feele it, yet hath no power nor meanes to redresse it: for albeit the taliages and charges laid upon them be excessive, yet are they not by many degrees equivalent to what the crowne have neede of.

Spaine, as also Italie, is invironed on three parts with the sea, on the fourth (which divideth it from France), with the sharp and steep Pirenean mountains. On this side it remains safe, in regard of the straightness of the countrie, of the great sterility, and of the strength of the fortresses built upon the confines, Perpignan and Salsee, townes towards the Mediteranean seas, and St Sebas ian, and townes towards the ocean; over and besides these, more within the country, there is Pampeluna, the principallest and antientest city of Navarre, of great strength, and in a manner inexpugnable. Neither are the French in those parts as yet so recovered of their weakness they were fallen into, in their late long warres, that they can give any great cause of fear of their invasions; and should they attempt any such matter, then are the *de Espagnia,* who otherwise are neither compellable to the warre, or the least charge thereof, either in person or purse, necessitated to arme themselves and their vassals, and with all their forces, to concurre in the defence of the crowne of their country. On the parts towards the sea, they are apt enough to receive notable damage, if at one instant they were assaulted with two armies, the one on the coasts of the sea Mediteranean, the other on those of the Ocean: and albeit, that towards the south, the situation makes them strong, having in all that coast but one haven, which is that of Cartagena, and that reasonable-well fortified. Notwithstanding, in regard that Affrique is so neare to them, they should not only be enforced with a care of defending themselves against their outward and forraigne enemies, but against the Moors their neighbours, whom they know to be continually attendant, both to take and use their advantage. And more perilous would such an invasion be unto them, if it were executed with speed and celerity: for Spain itself yielding no soldiers, either accustomed or exercised in armes, their ayd must be drawne from their kingdomes and estates, subject to that crowne, which, as well in regard of the slow provisions made in Spaine, as of the great distance of the places, would both give time to their enemies to hurt them within the country itselfe, and also to cut of such assistance and succour as should come unto them. Towards the north, Spain hath two partes of especiall importance, St Andrew and the Groyne: the last might have been entered and possessed by our countriemen in the year 1588, if their designe had not been for another place; and would have been of exceeding consequence to our nation, as from whence wee might continually have inquieted Spaine, and disturbed their navigations into their Indies, and other places under the king's obedience. These two places the Spaniard hath now well fortified, and better garnished; the like whereof he hath done in four of his havens towards the west; for, finding by experience that they were not able to shew their face to the English, who in time of warre accustomed continually to shoare those coasts; in the latter time, as soon as they discovered the English fleets, their custom was to drawe their ships into the havens, to disfurnish them of

all their necessaries left, and some time to drown them, lest they should come into their enemies hands, or be consumed by them with fire. To these doubts and difficulties the kingdom hath not any remedy to apply, except they were able to set forth yearly two several navies; the one of a sufficient number of gallies in the ocean, by Gibraltar and Mediteranean Sea; the other of ships and galleons in the great ocean. But there carryeth an impossibility to be accomplished, such being their want, both of all their necessaries for shipping, such of soldiers fit for sea service; whereunto the Spaniard in his own nature hath none aptness; and such especially, that of mariners, and expert masters and pilots, as with great difficulty (as formerly I have said) they find wherewith to serve and sail those they have at the present.

Spaine is at this day divided into three severall governments, of Arragon, Castile, and Portugall, not unconformable to that old division of that kingdome into three provinces, Tarraconensis, Betica, and Lusitania. The kingdome of Arragon, in times past, enjoyed a kind of immoderate and unbridled libertie; (having their parliaments, which absolutely governed all;) they possessed themselves of all the revenues, and gave unto the king, only by way of donative or benevolence, 200 crownes; neither were they in any sort tied to disburse that somme, but only at such times as the king came into their country to hold his parliament. They constituted magistrates that had supream authority, which commanded the procurators of the king himselfe, and oftentimes condemned the king in a pecuniary recompence, or to silence in cause of great importance. Such were the power and authority of the lords of that state, as they made whatsoever they had a will unto a law; which gave them liberty and means to committ infinite disorders, drawing women by violence out of their owne houses, depriving the mothers of their children, and pulling them from their very breasts, with many other monstrous and exorbitant actions. And if at any time the king attempted to temper any of those lawes, immediately all the grandees and people would put themselves in arms, under the feigned pretence of defending their liberties. In this estate stood this kingdome, in such time as Don Antonio de Perez, secretary to the king deceased, and his procurator in Arragon, being by the fury of the people delivered out of the prison of the inquisition, whether the king, fallen into some suspition of him, had committed him: so practised both with the nobility and commonalty of that estate, as he drew them to an open and great rebellion, and by that meanes wrought the ruin of his country. The king at first would have contented himself, if the Arrogoneses would have delivered into his hands the said Antonio de Perez, and some few of the principall heads and movers of the rebellion; but that being denied unto him, necessitated for the conservation of his royall authority and dignity, he resolved upon force; and gathering an army, whereof it was expected that he would have made Don Hernando de Toledo, duke of Alva, his generall, he preferred therein Don Alonso de Varges, doubting that the other, being a grandee of Spaine, and neere allied to many of the nobility of that kingdom, would not so absolutely execute his commandments as D. Al. de Verges, being neither of great lineage, nor having any alliance within that state. The Arrogoneses shewed as little courage in defending, as they had demonstrated temerity and inconsideration in rebelling; for although they were provided of an hoast, of number and power sufficient to have resisted, and (as very probable it is, considering that the Castilian armie was compounded of new and inexperimented people) might have prevailed against their enemies, or at least, by temporising, drawne the king to some good conditions. Yet came they no sooner in the sight of the king's forces, but they committed themselves to such safety as their heeles might procure them, abandoning their hoast, and presently after the city of and leaving the same in prey to the Castilians. By this means took the king occasion to diminish, or rather wholly to overthrow, the liberties of that kingdome; severely punishing the heads of that rebellion; some with depriving them of their lives, some with banishment, and others with

perpetuall imprisonment and total confiscation of their goods. Their justices and magistrates he deprived of their authority, and enforced them to accept of a Castilian viceroy; whereas, in former times, they elected and appointed such as pleased themselves. The administration of the revenues of the crowne he likewise took from them, and appointed them to the building and maintaining of a citadell in which is scituated in a place so imminent, as it commandeth the whole city. The king keeps there also continually a garrison, who, living licentiouslye, have spoiled the same of their greatest wealth and ornament; and which is most of note of all others, such was the king's prudence and policy, as he drew those that were to be the cheife observers and defenders of their former lawes and liberty, or to become in open parliament the confirmer and establisher in perpetuity of all such lawes and orders as he had made to overthrow them. All this notwithstanding, such is the memory of their ancient liberties and priviledges fixed in the hearts of the people; and so many are the discontents of former de and such that suffered death, banishment, and confiscation of their goods, for former de as if ever there came apt occasion, by any publick commotion within those kingdomes, it is to be doubted, that they will once againe, to the danger of the king's estates, make proofe of their fortunes.

Having thus briefly runne over the estates and parts of Spaine, I am now to say somewhat of the king's dominions in Italy, namely, of Naples, Sicily, and Milan, which may well be accompted the best and greatest part of Italy: Albeit, in regard of the continuall charges the king is inforced unto, to continue that people, (so desirous to shake off the yoke of their subjection in their due obedience,) yet gives it both strength and great reputation unto him; from thence he draws captains and soldiers in great abundance; and by means of the estate of Milan, confineing upon Germany, serves himself of apt conveyance of them into the Low Countries.

The kingdome of Naples is much more apt to receive hurt, by forces by sea, than by armies by land, as that which is almost wholly invironed with the sea, and situated upon the coasts of the Adriatique sea, and the dominions of the Turke; but the number of the havens there being very small, and those that are, either strongly fortified, landed up, or well blocked and defended, the peril on that side is not great; besides, they may, upon every occasion, gather people out of the states confines, sufficient to defend themselves against any suddain invasion. On the land side, that kingdome bordereth, from the one sea to the other, upon the state of the church, and is on that part made sure, with strong and well provided fortresses: for that kingdome being to the sea of the church, the Spaniard is not without feare, that some pope, not well affectioned to the crowne of Spaine, might make some attempt to repossess the church of that kingdome: for prevention whereof they seek, by all means possible, to affectionate the pope unto them, to have always a strong party in Rome, as well of cardinalls, as principall Romans, to hold strong and well provided their fortresses upon the confines; to alienate their minds from, that the popes should affect that kingdome; and whensoever any such humour should possess them, to remove it with putting them in doubt of danger in their own estates.

Sicily is a fruitfull countrie, well peopled, rich, and so abundant of corne, as oftentimes, upon occasions of dearth, it not only relieveth Spain, sustaineth Malta, but also divers parts of Italy: on the east part, it is fortified with many strong places and fortresses; on the north, with a continued circuit of mountains, that run along those coasts; on the side towards Africa, what they want of ports or place for shipping there; and were the island with any great forces, stands aptly to be aided and succoured by the kingdom of Naples, from whence, being so neare, may be drawne many gallies by sea, and as much force, both on horseback and on foot by land, as shall be needful, without the help of the king's gallies, that for such purposes remains in Genoa.

The state of Milan, heretofore much travailed and troubled by the French, (as well

in regard of their nearness thereunto, as of the titles and pretences they make unto it,) is now more sure than heretofore, as well in regard the king hath with the Catholick cantons of the Switzers and Grisons, obliged to the defence of his states in Italy; of his neare alliance with the duke of Savoy, and of the fortresses lately built, and other provisions made by the Conde of Fuentes, to stop the passage, by the way of the Grisons, (all which deny unto the French the easy entrance into that estate,) which in times past they were wont to find. Moreover, the king may, upon any such attempt, with great facility, drawe soldiers out of Germany, and by the way of Genoa (that city being so much at his devotion) receive upon any occasion supplies, as well out of Spaine, as from his kingdomes of Naples and Sicily.

The king, to keep his state in Italy quiet and in peace, bendeth not only his care to defend them from attempts of strangers, but to preserve them also from receiving any offence or motion by the princes of Italy; for this cause, finding those estates for the present so well ballanced, as one of them hath not much advantage of the other, by meanes whereof his forces there are bekemen, as it were the beame that rules the weight, and thereby gaineth both the reputation and authority (if any question doe arise among them) to become the arbiter, and to rule the right, as shall best agree with his owne utility or assurance. He endeavours to hold them all weak and disunite, to cut from them all hope of forraigne ayde, without which he knoweth, that of themselves they are not of power to do any thing of moment; and for that cause hath made many attempts, but of late more strongly than ever, to conclude a league with the Grisons, with purpose to cut off all possibility of the entry of strangers into Italy. He suffers not theise princes to increase their strength, with adding any other estate unto that, which already they possess. Much against his will became the pope possessed of Ferrara, and with great vigilancy he attendeth, that he do not the like with Urbin. He obligeth many of the best princes with yearly pensions; giving to the dukes of Urbin, and of Parma, and to him of Modena and Regio, and to divers others. He likewise draweth unto him out of every state, some principall personages, in whom is discerned most spirit and activity, depriving their owne princes of them, and by their means gathering unto him many of the best soldiers of every principality, and appropriating them to his own service in the Low Countries: By that meanes he spoiles, I take, of all military men, and makes it the more easy to endure his yoke, and of less force to attempt any thing against his estates. To hold them disunite, he hinders by all possible meanes their conjunctions by alliances, as not many years sithence he did that of the duke of Parma, with the neice of the duke of Florence, and of late that of the prince of Mantua, with a daughter of the duke of Savoy: He endeavours to devide their friendshipp and entercourses; forbears not to sow discords and dissentions, gives increase to all occasion of distasts; and removes all meanes of trust and confidence amongst them; well knowing, that, in their division and seperation, consists the security of his estates. To particularise the opinion held of every of these princes and estates, and the courses taken with them, may make me seem long and tedious: Yet hold I it not unnecessary to touch them briefly. Of the duke of Florence, the king of Spaine is very jealous, in regard of his preferring in her marriage, the daughter of the duke of Lorraine, before the daughter of the archduke Charles, married sithence to the king of Polonia; and of some encounters that have been between Spaine and him, about the election of the popes, wherein for the most part the duke's faction became opposite to that of the king of Spaine: But most especially for the covert ayd he was thought in time of warres to give unto Mr Esdignieres, and impedimenting by that means the duke of Savoy proceeding in Provence: For the designe he hath often made shew to have about Piombiu, and his late alliance with France, which makes him now to behold wholly French: Howbeit the king, knowing the greatness of that prince in Italy, the commodity and aptitude of his estates, which goeth almost overthwart the

whole of it. Of what importance his port of Leghorne is for all occasions of the kingdom of Naples, and for other respects of great moment, averreth in all that he may his conceipts and suspitions, and hold good termes with him. On the other side, the duke, considering how far his forces are inferior to those of the king, who hath divers townes of much importance in Toscane itself, that he is feuditarie unto him for the state of Sienna, that his estate bordering upon that of the king, might receive much trouble and prejudice, if he should enter into terms of enmity with him, endeavoureth by all means possible, so far as may agree with his reputation and friendship to France, to give him satisfaction, and hold him contented; notwithstanding that, now of late, there is by his means made a new alliance between Savoy and Mantua.

The duke of Mantua, although in time past, were inward with the king of Spaine, deceased; yet before his death stood not altogether in so good termes, neither do with the king that now is, as well in regard of his alliance with the duke of Florence, which moves the Spaniard to imagine, that he hath made a change of his former dependency; as also for having built the fort of Cassall, which, without the privity of the king or any of his ministers, he erected in the state of Montserrat; and neither have these sinister conceipts wanted their increase by some rumours spread, and suspitions conceived, that he gave secret aid unto Mr Esdignieres, the French king's lieutenant in Dauphine, with money. The duke also, who in former times (as well in regard of his alliance with the house of Austria, as his own particular interest, depended wholly upon the crowne of Spaine) hath by degrees withdrawne himselfe from it, and fearing least the duke of Savoy, persuaded by the king, and assisted by his forces, would attempt to dispossesse him of his fair and rich state of Montseratt, hath in doubt thereof, joined himselfe with the duke of Florence, and attends the fortification of those places, wherein (as the Spaniard say) he hath received from the duke much help both in advise and money.

The duke of Savoy, although so nearly joyned in alliance with this crowne; yet in his late warres with France, having received so leane assistance, as gave him occasion, rather to think that the king sought to hold him in warre to weaken him, than in any sort to advance his designes, or to add unto him any further greatness, joined with the little success he hath, at his personal being in Spaine, in any thing he either intended or required, and the now ample issue the king hath, (which hath cut off all hopes from the dukes of Savoy,) is in his inward thoughts not the least discontented; as also for some late discontentments his sonnes, at their last being in Spaine received, by the hands of the duke of Lerma, the king not therein manifesting his knowledge. Whereover insued (after the opinion of grave men in their estate) the death of his eldest sonne P. of Piedmont, D. Felippe, which discontentment he hath lately shewed apparently by the imprisonment of Roucas Sie. of estate; and the imprisonment of Mr d'Albiny, governor of Savoy, by reason of some advices they gave unto Spaine, tending the duke's alienated minde from the king's service; although for some other respects, and not to loose the reputation of so great and potent an ally, he covereth his thoughts, and dissembleth what he thinks, in the meane time strengthening himself with alliance of suspected princes, as of late with Mantua.

Some other princes there are, that (as formerly upon occasions hath been said) are obliged to the king by yearly pensions, and other respects, as the dukes of Urbin, Parma, and Modena, and Regio. To the duke of Urbin he giveth, not with any purpose to use the service of his person, having never employed him in any his services, but partly to the end, that other princes should not increase their strengthes, by entertaining him in theirs; and partly to serve themselves of the commodities of his estate, which yields victuals in great abundance, and is not void of soldiers and other things of much importance.

The duke of Parma rest obliged by the investiture of Parma and Placentia; neither

is there any likelyhood of his disunion; for theise two cities being members of the dutchy of Milan, might with no great difficulty be drawne from him by the king, if he should carry himself in any other sort than he doth; or should the king withdrawe his favour, it would minister fit occasion to the church to recall that investiture, that they gave into that house; moreover, their long and continued service holds them in great observancy and union with this crowne.

The duke of Modena and Regio is held in termes of observancy by the same means, and for the same reasons, that the duke of Urbin.

The state of Genoa in generalty, although much affected to the French, and abhorring the Spaniard, especially those of the meaner sort, hath been drawne, though not to an absolute subjection, yet to an observance of the strictest nature. The king of Spaine having for many years endeavoured to impoverish the publique, and inrich the particulars of that commonwealth, whom, having their money upon great and excessive interest, he hath possessed of principalities and baronies in the kingdome of Naples, and of his rent corne and liberall pensions in Sicily and Milan, and of many lands and rents in Spaine itselfe. The most of their treasure and substance resting in the hands and power of the Spaniards, and many of them in his service, they are become wholly obedient to his will; and whensoever the popular multitude should shew a contrary inclination, he hath a bridle ready to restraine them, having alwayes in their haven a good number of gallies, armed and provided for all events; as also the marquisat of Final, bordering upon their port and jurisdiction, wherewithall to curb their attempts, and cut of all former ayd, that by sea or land to them can be ministred.

The commonwealth of Luca, although the state they possesse be of small importance, yet the same desiring to live under the shadow of the king's protection, he receives, and from them, as a people recommending themselves unto him, as well for his own utility of having at his devotion that city, (which, in regard of the situation, is of great importance,) and for increasing his reputation, and to prevent that it fall not into the hands of any other enemy prince; as also by serving himselfe thereof, the better to restraine the duke of Florence, to whom that city is so near a neighbour.

To the seigniourie of Venice, albeit the king hath neither much affection, nor much confidence; the one in regard of having possessed themselves of some places, belonging as well to the estate of Milan, as to the emperour and archduke of Austria, the other of their confederation with the kings of Great Britain and France, and with the commonwealth of the Switzers and Grisons; and the same not a little increased by their late opposition against the pope Paul the Fifth, in the year 606 and 607; and especially by their joyning with France to unknit the league and confederacy made lately with the Grisons, by the C. of Fuentes; yet, knowing their forces both by sea and land to be great, their treasure much, and their strength and intelligence in Italy such, as without an union and conjunction with them, there can be no attempts of any importance atchieved in Italy, adding thereunto, that without their assistance, his own sea forces would not be of power to defend his estates from the Turke.

The Praise of King Richard the Third. By Sir William Cornwallis. 1617.

Sir William Cornwallis was elder brother of Sir Charles Cornwallis, whose name has so frequently occurred in the Tracts of this reign. Sir William, like his brother, was a man of distinguished talents, but employed them solely in retirement, and in study. His Essays frequently occur in catalogues; the best edition, according to Grainger, is that of 1632. They are written in imitation of Montaigne, but want the sprightliness of the French essayist. In the following prolusion, Sir William Cornwallis affects a paradoxical defence of Richard III. A more serious vindication of the last Yorkist monarch has been, in our days, attempted by Lord Orford and Mr Malcolm Laing. But the prejudice which we imbibe against Richard, in our poetical studies, is too deep to be erazed, even by proof of its injustice.

That princes are naturally ambitious, and that ambition makes them to effect their desires, rather than to affect the equitie of their designes, may more truly then safely be avowed. For all of them, I thinke, were the record of their actions indifferent, might be taxed of this vice. But this excuse cleares not the accused; yet it testifies, that princes erre against nature, if they aspire not. Wee hold (not without reason) that if the bill of the plaintiffe be stuffed with frivolous assertions, that the complaint savoureth more of malice then of wrong. Why should not the same axiome be a motive to cleare this wronged prince, whose accusers lay to his charge the anguish his mother felt, when he came into the world? then which accusation what can be more frivolous, it being a punishment hereditary to all women, from the first? His being toothed as soon as borne, seemes to me rather a blessing then any imputation, as being a presage of his future worthinesse, and, as all nurses will confesse, an ease of much paine and danger. But he was crook-backt, lame, il-shapen, il-favoured. I might impute that fault to nature, but that I rather think it her bounty; for she being wholly intentive to his minde, neglected his forme, so that she infused a straight mind in a crooked body, wherein shee shewed her carefull providence. For oftentimes, the care to keepe those parts well formed, with-drawes mens mindes from better actions, and drownes them in effeminate curiositie. His lamenesse turned to his glory; for with those imperfect limbes he performed actions most perfectly valiant.

How rightly his father[1] claimed, his brother[2] obtained the scepter, is sufficiently knowne, and therefore superfluous and impertinent; and also how his brother dusked his right (if right) by abrogating the oath, which hee sware at Yorke, that his comming in armes was onely for that dukedome.[3] But to dilate how variable and inconstant the people of those times were, shall be more necessary and effectuall, that knowing their inconstancy, their traditions (like themselves) may the lesse be beleeved; so light-headed, so foolish, so irreligious, as their opinion, (for what else are the thoughts of ignorance but opinion?) made them breake their oath to their prince,[4] and to such

[1] "Richard duke of Yorke, father of Edward the Fourth, George duke of Clarence, and Richard the Third."
[2] "Edward earle of March, eldest sonne of Richard duke of Yorke, after the king, by the name of Edward the Fourth."
[3] "For the dukedome of Yorke, as his right, from his father duke of Yorke."
[4] "King Henry the Sixt."

a prince as they did not shame to dislike, onely because hee was too good. Him they abandoned, deposed, after restored; not as desiring, (being guilty of their owne fault) but onely that it stood with the liking of Warwicke,[1] the childe of their love. If then they were such, (as indeede they were) and that those relations wee have must come from that people, it were better, (I thinke) to bury their traditions, then refute their objections, were not our age, apt to erre, infected with this folly.

For his brother K. Edward;[2] though his vices seem not to adde vertues to this condemned prince, yet questionlesse they do; making all his ill-estimated actions of another nature. He obtained the crowne, but rather fortunately then wisely, were not all wisdome thought folly, to which fortune lends not successe. For I thinke, lust, or if you will terme it love, could not more have prevailed with the most licentious creature, then at once to breake the bonds of amity, discretion, and policy; and all to enjoy a woman, in respect of his height, base: a widow[3] and of his enemy, without bringing him either alliance, or riches; props most pertinent to his new erected buildings. Wherein, besides his breach of regall discretion, with his chiefest friend the earle of Warwick, (whom he had sent into France, to treat of marriage betweene him and the lady Bona,[4] wherein being deluded, he became his mortallest enemie) his abuse to God was more abominable; being before betrothed (as his owne mother constantly affirmed) to the Lady Elizabeth Lucy: in testimonie whereof he had laid such earnest,[5] as should have bound any common man, much more a king, to performance. How soone the wrath of God followed this his irreligious inconstancie, his being driven from the seate-royall into exile; the birth of his sonne in a sanctuary; (having no place else of freedome in his fathers kingdome) the miserie of all his partakers, sufficiently testifie. In which generall miserie, who did more truly follow him, who more faithfully ayded him, then his now disgraced brother? whereas his other brother Clarence,[6] not only left him, but joyned in marriage[7] with the daughter of his principall enemie, and holpe to expulse him; with what love, what constancie, his indeavours, his adventuring his life to restore him, doth witnesse.

Never was he noted, all the life of K. Edward, to thirst after the kingdome; never denied he any commandement of his prince, but performed all his imployments discreetly, valiantly, successefully. The suspition of helping his brother Clarence to[8] his end, was but a suspition, since the kings old displeasure awaked by a new prophesie, was undoubtedly the cause; if otherwise (when he after repented him) hee would have misliked of Gloucester; it being naturall to sinne, but unnaturall to ease others of their crimes. For the killing of the heire of the house of Lancaster at Tewksburie,[9] (if so) seemes to me, rather the effect of love to his brother, then cruelty to the prince; for he was an enemie, yea, the chiefe and principall enemie of the contrary faction. Yet it cannot be proved the action of Richard, but that it was an act wished by the king to be done, and executed in both their presences, by the duke of Clarence, the marquesse Dorset, the Lord Hastings, and others.

The death of Henry[10] the Sixt in the tower, can no way belong to him, since the same reason that cleareth his brother, fitteth him; he being able, if desiring his death,

1 "Richard Nevile, earle of Warwick, sirnamed the king-maker."
2 "King Edward the Fourth."
3 "Lady Eliz. Gray, widdow of Sir John Gray, knight, afterward married to king Edward the Fourth."
4 "Lady Bona, neece to the French king Lewes the Eleventh, and daughter to Lewes duke of Savoy."
5 "For he had got her with childe."
6 "George duke of Clarence, second brother of king Edward the Fourth."
7 "He marryed Isabell, daughter of Richard Nevill, earle of Warwicke."
8 "Hee was drowned in a malmsey butt in the Tower."
9 "Edward prince of Wales, son of King Henry the Sixt, slaine after the battle of Tewksbury."
10 "The death of Henry the Sixt in the Tower."

to have effected it by a more unworthie hand. And indeed this accusation hath no other proofe, then a malicious affirmation. For many (more truly) did suppose that he died of meere melancholy and griefe, when hee had heard of the overthrow of his friends, and slaughter of his sonne. But if it were true, though it spots him with bloud, yet it confirmes his love to his prince; which love was so coldly requited, as might have moved a true lover of rewards more then of vertue, to have altered his endeavours; whether it were a jealousie of the nobilitie of his blood, or of the height of his spirit, whether the abundance of affection to be led by a woman, or that hee was defective in all brotherly affection, certaine it is, he rather imployed him, then rewarded his imployments. Contrary, the queenes kindred, dayly to rise meerely without desert, but that they were of her kindred; and their basenesse being thus sodainly exalted, not only to plucke from him promotions, due to his deserts, but to envie the duke, and contend with him; how insupportable it must be to so magnanimous a spirit, whose memory beare witnesse of their unworthinesse, his owne worth, any like spirit may imagine.

Thus continued this unequall contention, untill the king, sent for before the great [1] King of kings, to make an account of his greatnesse, left his body to testifie the worlds folly in contending for worlds, when one little part of the earth must containe them. His successour [2] at that time very young, was wholy possessed by the mothers bloud, whom the now [3] protector had great reason to feare, being ever his mortall enemie, and now most strong, by being most neerly allied to this prince: therefore jealous of his owne preservation, of the safetie of the common-weale, and of the ancient nobilitie, with great reason and justice he executed them, whom, if he had suffered to live, were likely enough to have beene the destruction of him, it, and them. But the deed accomplished, stirred up no little feare in the queene-mother, and her faction: for the queenes taking sanctuary with her younger sonne [4] Richard Duke of Yorke, without any cause that he knew, drave Gloucester to suppose that they doubted of their right, and put him in possibility of obtaining his owne: wherein by ambitious [5] Buckingham hee was assisted, who then related to him afresh the unlawfull marriage of his brother, that being unlawfull, consequently his children were bastards, and so undoubtedly the crown was lawfully his; to which discourse he annexed protestations of furtherance, though (perhaps) an earthly spirit would not have been moved with these motives, but rather have desired safety, then soveraigntie: yet in a true heroicke spirit, whose affect is aspiring, they could not but be imbraced, using the wings of time to bring him to that height. Be not obstinate (mortalitie) against this climing axiome, for hourely you commit worser errors, more grovelling, more base. Were it not common in every dayes issue, it were admirable to note the impudencie of man, who at this instant condemnes actions, which himselfe would instantly accomplish, were hee permitted by occasion. The queene-mothers feare, his own right, Buckinghams ayde, and his owne jealousie to erect a prince, too young to governe himselfe, much lesse others, but was likely to be governed by his mother, and her kindred, the protectors mortallest enemies, men of meane birth, not inured to government, such as were like to destroy the ancient peeres, to fortifie their new nobility, could not but draw a true discerning spirit to favour himselfe, to protect the ancient nobility, to defend the people from being wasted and oppressed by the ambition and tyrannie of new unexperienced statists, and

[1] "The death of Edward the Fourth."
[2] "King Edward prince of Wales, son to king Edward the Fourth."
[3] "Richard duke of Gloucester made protector."
[4] "Richard duke of Yorke, younger son of Edward the Fourth."
[5] "Henry Stafford, duke of Buckingham."

to respect his owne preservation, rather then others. For well he saw hee could not live, unlesse he were a king: that there was no safety, but in soveraignty. Should I put thee in choyse (condemning reader) whether thou wouldest not be, rather then be a king, thou wouldest perhaps answere no: but that answere should proceede, rather from the knowledge of thy want of power to royallize thee, then through the abundance of thy modestie. No, no, it is a desire befitting the most worthie desirer; and were all mens affections so high, their actions would not prove so unworthy.

The state being thus in labour with inovation, the peeres in counsaile about their infant kings coronation, all busie, yet dissenting in their businesse; in a councell holden at the Tower, Hastings lord chamberlaine [1] was apprehended, and no sooner apprehended, but executed. The not leisurely proceeding by forme of law, may seeme to plead Hastings innocencie, the protectors cruelty. But they that consider the nature of the people of that time, apt to sedition, greedy of innovation, and likely to be glad of so pittifull a colour (for Hastings was a man growne very popular) will hold the protector in that action very judiciall, and, if guilty of any thing, of discretion and policie: but could Hastings be innocent, whom [2] Commines reporteth to be a pensioner of the French king, Lewis the Eleventh, the only subtill prince of that time? Hee, of all others, that most affected tyrannie, and was naturally the mortall enemie of this kingdome? Or was he fit to be a statesman or counsailor, who, being corrupted by the bribes of an enemie, had disswaded his master, the late king Edward the Fourth, from assisting the oppressed lady, [3] the heire of Burgundie, against Lewis the French king, whereby that lady was driven to seeke ayde else-where, who, otherwise, was likely to have married with the duke of Clarence, or some other English prince, and so to have united that dukedome to this crowne, to the eternall benefit and security of both countries; who gloried in his private revenges, who not only enticed his master, but accompanied him in all sensuality: who, in the deflowring of mens wives, [4] and such other his unprincelike actions, was his perpetuall attendant, and sometimes (as it is thought) would begin to him? Doctor Shaws [5] sermons not a little illustrates the malice of his accusers: for, I thinke, no man that is discreet, will imagine this prince so indiscreet as to have witnesse that he commanded that sermon, and gave instructions what should be said: Then how do our chronicles report it for truth, were not their malice greater then either their truth or their judgement? But they are historians, and must be beleeved.

Alas, poore men! how would they be beleeved, whose greatest authorities (as a learned and honorable [6] knight writeth) are built upon the notable foundation of heare-say; men that have much ayd to accord differing writers, and to picke truth out of partiality. But it is not mentioned, that Shaw ever executed this action, with alleaging him to be the cause. It is likely indeed, that Shaw, being ambitious, gaping after preferment, supposing some such intent in the protector (as he had a reaching head) was bold to set his retorick to sale, to publish his fancies: but seeing his hopes vanish into smoke, and his expectation deluded, seeing the protector neither rewarded, nor regarded his rethorick, he soone after languished and died: a just example to teach theologians so boldly to intermeddle with princes affaires, before they bee commanded: for (doubtlesse) had the protector set him a worke, he would have payed him his hire. But if it were so, that he commanded the sermon (as that is yet unproved) was that an offence to make the people so publikely partakers of his right; yea, to prostitute his cause to their judgements? For charging his mother with adulterie was a matter of no such

[1] "William Lord Hastings, chamberlaine to Edward the Fourth."
[2] "Philip de Commines, Lord of Argenton, in his history."
[3] "Mary, sole daughter and heire of Charles Duke of Burgundy, after married to Maxmilian the emperour."
[4] "Shores wife."
[5] "D. Shaws sermon at Pauls crosse."
[6] "Sir Philip Sidney, in his defence of poetry."

great moment, since it is no wonder in that sexe: and surely hee had more reason to adventure her fame then his kingdome, because of two evils it is wisdome to chuse the least. If it were true, it was no injustice to publish it; what could be expected from him but true justice, who was so impartiall, that he would not spare his owne mother? if untrue, good faith, he was therein too blame, and her innocencie the more meritorious; but certaine it is, the people approved his right; for he was crowned with such consent, and so great applause both of peeres and people, that if wee will judge by the outward behaviour (the onely marke our judgements may or can levell at) we must determine them so contented, as no actions which might testifie the satisfaction of theire mindes, were omitted: surely, if ever the unjudiciall multitude did any thing judicially, it was in receiving this prince, whom his chiefe disgracers cannot but acknowledge for valiant; then who was more meet to restraine domesticke, to subdue forraine seditions? for these civill dissensions had almost wasted and made desolate this populous nation; discreet he was and temperate, (two so rare and excellent qualities, as he that truly possesseth them meriteth the possession of a diademe;) for in these vertues, joyned with that cardinall vertue fortitude, (whereof also he had a very large portion) consisteth the soule of soveraigntie, which whosoever wanteth (be hee awhile never so powerfull) his owne greatnesse so crusheth him, that hee forfeiteth all in a moment: most liberall he was, desiring rather to want, then to suffer worth unrewarded; and this liberalitie is the onely true nurse, and fosterer of virtue; vertue unrewarded being unsensible, our flesh being governed, advised, yea mastered, by our senses; this worthie, this princely ornament some calumniators have sought in him to deface, alleadging, that his liberality to some proceeded from his extortion from others; but even those cannot denie him to have beene politicke and wise; then is it likely that a prince of his wisedome and policie could not discerne betweene the worthy and unworthy? and to take from undeservers to bestow upon deservers, must be acknowledged a vertue.

He was neither luxurious, nor an epicure, not given to any ryot, nor to excesse, neither in apparell nor play; for, had he been touched with any of these vices, doubtlesse they which object lesser crimes, would not have omitted these; then (without question) he was largely interested in vertues, (their contraries) but those (through malice) are either not registered, or (if registered) so infamed, as if all his vertues had a vicious intent; yet, to acknowledge the vertues of the vicious, is such a right that what historian willingly omitteth them, therein becometh vicious himselfe. But in all that I have hitherto among the vulgar observed:

Culpatur factum, non ob aliud, quam exitum:

They approve, or disprove all things by the event; which, though sometimes it proveth like the cause, yet it is more often governed by the will of the divine Providence. And surely, but that the gracious goodnesse of God to manifest the weaknes of humane policie, overthrew his designes, tooke from him his kingdome; and, contrary eyther to mans hope, or our merit, united by a blessed and happy conjunction[2] the two dissenting factions, to the true establishing of sweet peace and prosperitie of this desolate kingdome; for, otherwise, had he lived to have left issue to have succeeded him, such might have beene his and their merits, that fame would have beene no more injurious to him then to his predecessors the fourth Henry and Edward, whose raignes were polluted with much more royall blood; for he omitted nothing, that in wisedome, or true policie, might secure himselfe, or establish peace or good lawes in this kingdome.

[2] "The two dissenting factions of Yorke and Lancaster united by the marriage of Henry the Seventh to Elizabeth, eldest daughter to Edward the Fourth."

His statutes are extant; what can be found in them not becomming a king? what, not befitting the service of God? the worship of religion? the good of his countrey? yea, I have heard of some, accounted both good lawyers and good statists, say, that in those three years of his government, there were more good statutes for the weale-publike enacted, then in 30 years before. He was no taxer of the people, no oppressor of the commons, though he came to manage an estate whose treasure was exceedingly exhausted; no suppressor of his subjects, to satisfie either licentious humours, or to inrich light-headed flatterers. But (alas) who robs vertue, but ingratitude, detraction and malice? What a curse is it to mortalitie, that no fashion of life, no merits, no regards, can free princes from discontentments in their life, and infamy after death? Who is it that heares of any one so endued, so loden with vertues, that judgeth him not happy? yet he is defamed; and by whom? even by those for whom he cared, laboured, and omitted nothing that might profit, committed nothing that might prejudice them.

This, the charge and commandement that he gave presently after his coronation, to the lords and gentlemen (whom hee sent home into their countries,) that they should in their countries see justice duely administred and impartially, (that no wrong nor extortion should be done to his subjects,) doth testifie; this, his lawes and all his actions approve: yet neyther the care of his countrey, his lawes, nor actions, are thought to be sufficient to plead his equitie and innocencie; for malicious credulitie rather embraceth the partiall writings of indiscreet chroniclers, and witty play-makers, then his lawes and actions, the most innocent and impartiall witnesses.

It is laid to his charge (as a maine objection) that he was ambitious. Let us examine the truth of this accusation. Was he ambitious, who was onely content with the limits of his owne country? who sought to be rather famous for instituting good lawes, then for atchieving great conquests? No, no, he wanted nothing to make him an accomplished prince, but that hee was not ambitious enough; for had hee imitated that worthy, King Henry the Fifth, who, in a like unsetled estate, led out the nobilitie and people to make wars upon forraine enemies, to make conquest of France, and to embrue their warlike swords (lately bloudied against one another) in the bloud and bowels of strangers, he might (perhaps) have had a fortunate successe; for he wanted not the like title, he was no lesse valiant, no lesse politicke. So might he have re-conquered that kingdome and those territories which, by the pusillanimity of some of his predecessors, were given away and lost; and (peradventure) so busied the stirring heads of the nobilitie and people, that they should have had no leasure to think upon any innovation or parttaking at home; so might he happily have secured himselfe, and inlarged the bounds of his conquests, beyond any of his ancestors. What lets or obstacles could hinder him from those glorious enterprises? His subjects were warlike, trained up in armes; somewhat too much exercised in bloud, because it was in their owne. His neighbors, the French, were governed by [1] a king who had some policie, but so little valour, that he would rather yeeld to any capitulation, then heare the sound of an adversaries drumme. So that his people, being unused to wars, were easily to be conquered by that nation which had so often beaten them in the height of their daring.

The Scots, their colleagues, hee had already been victorious over: his name among them was growne terrible. For in the time of his brother, he wan from them many castles and holds; but principall hee conquered [2] Barwick, the chiefe and principall towne upon their frontiers, a place of speciall importance, either to make easy our entrance into that kingdom, or to keep them from invading ours: so that I cannot justly accuse him of any crime so much, as that his ambition stretched not farre enough. To justifie his adversaries accusation, in this time chanced the death of his two young [3] ne-

[1] "Lewes the Eleventh." [2] "Barwicke, won from the Scots by Richard the Third."
[3] "The death of Prince Edward and Richard Duke of Yorke, in the Tower."

phews in the Tower, whose deaths promising quiet to him, and wholly imposed upon him, how truely I have reason to doubt; because his accusers are so violent, and impudent, that those vertues (which in other men are embraced, for which they are esteemed as gods) they impute to him rather to be enamellers of vices, then really virtues: his humilitie they terme secret pride; his liberalitie, prodigalitie; his valour, crueltie and blood thirstinesse: yet in these dayes their partial opinions are thought to be of validity sufficient to make proofe of any imputation: but if it were so, that their deaths were by him contrived and commanded, the offence was to God, not to the people: for the depriving them of their lives freed the people from dissension. And how could he demonstrate his love more amply, then to adventure his soule for their quiet? But who knoweth, whether it were not Gods secret judgement, to punish the fathers transgression in the children? and if it be so, complaine of their fate, not Richards crueltie: (for in these fatal things it fals out, that the high-working powers make second causes unwittingly accessarie to their determinations) yet, in policie, princes never account competitors (how young soever) innocent, since the least colour of right provokes innovating humours to stirre up sedition, which (once kindled) threatens the subversion both of princes and subjects.

And if some wise and politike princes have imprisoned and put to death such as have beene reputed their heirs and successors, because some factious heads (weary of good government, and hoping for authoritie by alteration) have sought to establish them before their times; (as commonly giddy-brained people doe more reverence the suns rising then his fall) had not King Richard great reason to deprive them of their lives, who were not to succeed him, but (in many mens judgments) had most right to be invested before him with the diadem? And (indeed) the removing such occasions of civill wars, in a well-ruled common-wealth, is most profitable, most commendable; being no crueltie, but pitty, a jealousie of their subjects, and a zealous regard of their own safeties. And (indeed) if we duly consider how much the duty we owe to a country exceeds all other duties, since in it selfe it containes them all, that for the respect thereof, not onely all tender respects of kindred, or whatsoever other respects of friendship, are to be laid aside; but that even long-held opinions (rather grounded upon a secret of government, then any ground of truth) are to be forsaken: since the end whereto any thing is directed, is ever to be of more noble reckoning, then the thing thereto directed, that therefore the weale-public is more to be regarded, then any person or magistrate that thereunto is ordained: The feeling consideration hereof moved K. Richard to set principally before his eyes the good estate of so many thousands, over whom he had raigned, rather then so to hood-winke himselfe with affection, as to suffer his realme to runne to manifest ruine.

If any man shall object that his course was strange and unlawfull, let him know that new necessities require new remedies, and for him there was no remedie but this one. Then, if for this action he ought to be condemned, it is for indiscretion in the managing; for as safely might he have had the realmes generall consent, in disposing of their lives as of their kingdome. Had he held a secret execution best, hee might have effected it more secretly; but he rather chose a middle way, content to let the people know it, holding their knowledge equal with their consents: and it should seem, the people (though they were at that time very factious) yet approved thereof; for wee find not that in any action, either inward or outward, they shewed any dislike. And (truely) such is the difference betweene the thoughts and actions, the disposition of princes and subjects, that I hold no subject sufficiently judiciall to censure them: their courses so unlike, that what is meet, expedient in a prince, in a lower fortune is utterly unmeete, unexpedient. Therefore let no servile condition adventure to condemne them, since all such eyes lose their faculty, if they but gaze against the sunne of majestie. It is sufficient for us to know how to obey; this nature commandeth and exacteth of us:

but to search into the actions of our commanders, dilates more curiositie than honesty: nay, though wee would, we cannot: for our knowledge extends to things equall, or inferiour; those above us, in divinitie, are comprehended onely by faith; in terrene matters (if superating our estates) they are only snatched at by supposition. And this our lawes approve, which appoint every man to be tryed by his peeres: shall, then, the head, the director of civill policie, the annoynted majestie of a king, be barred from the right allowed to subjects? No (surely), it is preposterous, most unlawfull, to condemne a king, if not found faulty by a [1] jury of kings. Were man in his innocencie, this advice were not lost; but being nousled in misusing of his malicious tongue, ever to condemne others, never to amend themselves, it is (as they will be for their abuse), perpetually lost; no more then for them.

Let us yet further cleare this wronged prince. It is constantly affirmed (say our chroniclers), that hee first noysed, after contrived, the death of his wife; [2] and that it was bruited before it was effected, thereby with her sorrowes to confirme the report. This evidence they adjudge pregnant and effectuall enough to condemne him. Did fame never lye? What are more generally received for untruths than flying reports, seeing no creature sensible will give credit to fame, or take her word, without a surety, whom they may assuredly know to be credible? But constantly (say our chroniclers). Could their words be so constant, whose actions were the very stage of inconstancie, who opposed, deposed kings at their pleasure, and (to make sure to be no worse than they were), swore allegiance to two [3] princes at once, and with both broke their oaths? But I will spend no more time in proving the vanitie of these chroniclers, since their owne penne contradicts itselfe; first, shewing the affections of this people to be mutinous, and after approving them: for certaine it is, (but uncertaine that the king caused it), that such a rumour there was, and that it made a great impression in the queene, deeming (as women are ever fearefull), this propheticall relation to be the forerunner of her end; which, bewayling to her husband, hee sought with all kindnesse to remove that melancholy fantasie. What more could hee do to testifie his love, to cure her passions? But how absurd is it to thinke or imagine, that the king contrived her death? where, if he had pleased to marry else-where (for that is made the cause), hee might and would have used a more safe meanes, by a divorce. Did not the French king, Lewes the Twelfth, (because [4] his wife was barren, and crooked-backt) sue a divorce, and obtained it, from Pope Alexander the Sixt, and afterward, by his dispensation, married with Anne, dutchesse of Britaine, the widdow of his predecessor, Charles the Eighth? Might not King Richard have done the like; for he had the like cause (his wife being barren), whereof he had often complained to Rotheram, then archbishop of Yorke? And the popes of those times were not so nice conscioned to deny princes such requests, but were easily wonne thereunto, either by favor or rewards: therefore, that he contrived her death, was a slanderous, false, and absurd accusation: but her [5] time was come, which mortalitie might sorrow, but sorrow might not prevent, death being deafe to all humane lamentations.

After her death, being desirous to reconcile himselfe to all such as held themselves offended, (as at his coronation he had done with one Fogg, a meane atturny, who had

[1] "A king not to be condemned but by a jury of kings"

[2] "Anne, wife of King Richard the Third, daughter of Richard Nevill, Earle of Warwicke, and widdow of Prince Edward, son to Henry the Sixt."

[3] "To Henry the Sixt and Edward the Fourth."

[4] "The wife from whom he was divorced was Joane, daughter of Lewes the Twelfth, sister of Charles the Eighth." *Gui. lib.* 4.

[5] "The death of Anne, wife of Richard the Third, and second daughter of Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwicke."

highly offended him),[1] hee laboured to winne the one sort with benefits and rewards, and freely pardoned the others misbehaviours and offences. He had no cause to fear Fogge; therefore feare was not the cause: no, it was a worthy, a kingly humilitie that would rather abate of his greatnesse, then to have it steyned with the blood of so meane a vassaile, for a crime committed against himselfe; yet was hee guiltie of counterfaiting his royall hand and signet, and of a most untrue and infamous lybell. Therefore how falsely doe our chroniclers seeke to cleare Collingborne, who was (as may appere by his inditement)[2] executed for treason against the state, not for that ryming, foolish, ridiculous libell? For neyther they, nor any other, can ever prove, that ever he revenged any injurie whatsoever, committed particularly against himselfe. For the good and safety of his kingdome and people, hee was zealous, he was fervent; for, only for their peace, for their quiet, hee was content to suffer his neerest kinsman, his dearest friends, to be executed; so now with the mother-queene he laboured reconciliation, he often solicited it, at the last hee effected it: this rare, this excellent worke of Christianitie, this true cognizance of a religious queene, our chroniclers defame, and impute it to her as an horrible crime: such is the obstinate errour of mankinde, that, when hatred is by God absolutely prohibited, they dare say and maintaine the contrary: but (were not they thus corrupt, partiall, governed wholly by affection, not truth), their histories would be the wisest guides, making men that are young in yeeres, olde in judgment, making experience most precious, most cheape; for knowledge, judgement, and experience, are dearly purchased, when wee must wander into infinite errours, ere we can be perfect in our way; nay, they were most deare, were they had with no other expence but growing old before we enjoy them, waxing rotten ere they grow ripe. The end and scope of this reconciliation was, to unite himselfe in marriage with his[3] niece; a contract (no doubt) inconvenient, and prohibited the vulgar; but amongst states men it is like to produce infinite good, both to prince and people. It is an inconvenience, most convenient, nothing strange, because usuall and accustomed amongst princes: tolerated, yea allowed, by their received oracle of divinity, the pope, who, considering the cause, ordinarily dispenseth with the consanguinity. It is granted, that this desire of marriage was mentioned by this king, in respect of the publicke peace; to make satisfaction to the mother, in exalting the daughter, for the dejecting of the sonnes, and to avoide the effusion of much of the peoples bloud, which was likely to be spilt, if his niece should marry else-where: as if (say our chroniclers) the first could not be established, the latter avoided, without this platforme of policie; no, had not Gods secret working beene beyond mans wisest apprehension, it could not: for well he knew the headstronge obstinacie of this people could hardly be kept in awe by a man, therefore impossible to be restrained by children: this made him dispossesse them of their kingdome, and (peradventure) of their lives; for had they beene suffered to live, they would ever have bin the fire-brands of new seditions; and therefore he thought it more convenient, they should be quenched with their own blouds, than with the blouds of infinite numbers of the people; yet, to make satisfaction for this wrong, (if it were a wrong to deprive the disturbers of the common good), he was contented and much laboured to marry their sister, his niece: but hee is therefore adjudged ill: Why? because his accusers would be reputed good, though (without doubt) hee was a good prince, and they all, or the most part of all,

[1] "He commanded one Fog, whom he had long deadly hated, should be brought there, before him; who, being brought out of his sanctuary, for thither he had fled for fear of him, in the sight of the people, he took him by the hand; which thing the common people rejoiced at, and praised, but wise men took it for a vanity." HOLLINGSHED. *Edit.* 1808. vol. iv. p. 397.

[2] "Collingborne, executed for treason, not libelling."

[3] "The Lady Elizabeth, eldest daughter to Edward the Fourth, after wife to Henry the Seventh."

eville, fantasticke, and seditious people. And even at this day, though the fortunate and successefull government of our later princes hath somewhat altered their natures, and bettered their conditions, yet it were a lesse difficult quest to find one good man then many. But it pleased not the divine ordainer of marriage to permit tha conjunction, but rather to set a period at once to his kingdome and life.

About the time of the plotting of this marriage, the judiciall Buckingham, (not thinking himselfe sufficiently regarded,) grew discontent, and got the prince's favour to retire himself into the country; where (no doubt) his fantastick melancholy would soone have vanished, (being a man more happy in the inheritance of his father, then in the legacie of nature, discretion, or judgment,) had not the prisoner corrupted the jaylour, namely [1] Moreton, bishop of Ely. (committed by king Richard to his custodie,) who, finding this duke discontented, more desirous to inflame his griefes, than to redresse them, with his fiery wit so wrought upon the duke's combustible matter, that sodainly he brought him to kindle a fire of rebellion, and to take up armes against his soveraigne. This king Richard soone hearing, he prosecuted him as an enemy, and so laboured, (what by his owne wisdome, what by his especials,) that within a while he tooke his head from his [2] body, for being no better able to advise him in his proceedings. Was it a fault to punish perjury in him, who had sworne true allegeance? Then the executing of law is a sin; if so, let transgressors be accounted innocent, and magistrates and judges guilty of transgression. And had this been the action of some other prince, it had beene good, just, necessary; but being his, it is censured as the contrary; so that sin is not sin, nor vertue accounted vertue, by their owne natures or effects; but are made vertues or vices, by the love or hate that is borne to the committer: such is our humane understanding, as they rather confound all things, than by distinguishing them to make choise of the worthiest; for let a noble-man be popular, if he have an ill face, it is termed warlike; his drunkennesse is termed good-fellowship; his slovenlinesse, humility; his prodigality, liberality. Thus is vertue suppressed, and forced with her own titles to adorne her mortallest adversaries. But, to returne to our defamed king; had not his mercy exceeded his cruelty, his safety had been better secured, and his name not so much subject to obloquy: for though he cut off the head of a mighty conspirator, yet hee suffered the conspiracie to take so deepe root, that (in the end) the branches thereof overtopped his glory, and overshadowed his greatnesse. For [3] the countesse of Richmond, labouring in her sonnes right, daily enticed and inveigled many to be of her faction; to strengthen which the more, it was plotted betweene the two mothers, to joyne [4] the two dissenting houses in unitie, by [5] a marriage. This practise the king wel knew; yet mercy, love, lenity, so prevailed with him, that hee onely sought to prevent that conjunction, by uniting his brother's daughter with himselfe, and inflicted no other punishment on the countesse, but onely the committing of her to the custody of her [6] husband. Would a cruell bloud-thirsty prince have done so? Could any thing have beene performed with more mildnesse and lenity? Could he doe lesse than let her understand, that hee knew her secretest practises? Surely if hee were an usurper, (as that he could not be now, standing after the death of his nephewes in the same ranke that Edward the Fourth, his brother, did,) yet his equity in justice,

[1] "This Moreton was after, in the raign of Henry the Seventh, archbishop of Canterbury, cardinall and lord chancellor of England."

[2] "The death of Henry Stafford, duke of Buckingham, beheaded at Shrewsbury."

[3] "Margaret countesse of Richmond, wife of Thomas lord Stanley, mother of king Henry the Seventh."

[4] "Q. Elizabeth, mother to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward the Fourth, and Margaret countesse of Richmond, mother to Henry the Seventh, after king."

[5] "Yorke and Lancaster."

[6] "Thomas, lord Stanley, after by Henry the Seventh, created earle of Darby."

his mercy in pardoning offenders, his care of religion, his providence for the safety of the people, should and ought to have tempered the bitternesse of his most malicious enemies: with no lesse mercifull gentlenesse he used her husband, (and that) at such a time as her sonne was already landed, and made claime to the kingdome; for he onely tooke his sonne, [1] the lord Strange, as an hostage, and then suffered him to go into the country to levie his forces: so farre was he from bloud and cruelty, as, though he knew his alliance to the contrarie faction, a motive sufficient to make him (as indeed he did) incline to their ayde, though he might justly suspect him, and could not have wanted colour to have beheaded him, (as being father-in-law to his competitor,) yet he onely detained his sonne in his campe; and when he had assured notice of his father's disloyall revolt, yet hee suffered the hostage of his loyalty to live: an evidence effectuall enough to testifie, that he desired rather to settle, than to overthrow the quiet of this land; that he laboured to winne the hearts of his subjects, rather with meekenesse than cruelty: What prince could have done lesse? Nay, what king would not have done more? Since both the effect, and the present feare, are both such inward tormentors, that it is hard to determine which is most grievous: so opposite, so contrary to the nature of a prince borne, (not to feare, but to be feared,) that it is most just, most naturall, to remove such a terror. But now, [2] the heire of Lancaster being come to challenge the crowne, what did the king? Did his spirits faile him? Was his magnanimous courage daunted? No, he then gathered new spirit, hee new-steeled his courage, hee withstood him with the height of fortitude; protesting rather to die valiantly, than to live lesse than a king. With what a Roman-like spirit did he resist fortune? Being overthrowne, how heroically did he encounter with death? This our detracting chroniclers cannot but acknowledge; for so high, so powerfull was his magnanimity, that (in spight of malice) it prevaileth, and (like the sunne) breaketh thorow the misty clouds of his adversaries slanders: Was it a fault to withstand the Lancastrian heires claime? Then those are faulty, who, being in possession of lands, to prove good their title, prosecute suits, and are overthrowne by the law; for the sentence of judgement makes them to perceive that to be an errour, which before they imagined none. Besides, he knew well, that his kingdome and life had both one period, to which life he was persuaded his competitor had no right; and therefore he would never be guilty of such a sin, (as wilfully to betray it,) till he who lent it him required payment.

Had his life, his actions beene most abominable; yet (like a slave) to have yeelded his throat to the execution, would have bene an imputation beyond all other imputations: but could hee as openly have manifested his other vertues, as he did his valour and policie, the world's opinion had beene otherwise; and I neither had taken such paines to defend his innocencie, nor in some weake judgements to endanger mine own. But surely he did couragiously and valiantly withstand his enemies; with great expedition rallying his forces, and performing all things with wonderful celerity, he went to encounter the disturbers of his quiet.

It is reported, that, the night before the day of battell, he dreamed a most [3] dreadfull and horrible dreame, which by our chroniclers is interpreted to be a testimonie of his wicked and tyrannous life. Did not Cæsar, [4] before he attained the empire, dreame that hee knew his owne mother carnally? Had not both Dion and Brutus the figures of terrible spirits represented unto them, the night before their end? and yet these were reputed good men, and lovers and protectors of their country; and because King

1 "George, lord Strange, sonne and heire to Thomas, lord Stanley."
2 "Henry the Seventh."
3 "King Richard's dreame the night before the battel of Bosworth."
4 "Plutarch, in the life of Cæsar, Dion, and Brutus."

Richard dreamed with some terrour, must his life of necessity be evill? O vaine! O frivolous objection! But they hold this dreame to be a compunction of his conscience. Happy prince, to have so indiscreete slanderers; for how could they more truly witnesse his integrity, since only they who reverence and feare God are indued with that inquiring conscience, which censureth their actions? for they who are given over to a reprobate sence, are insensible of that good angell, which seeketh, by telling us of our faults, to make us repent our sins past, and to be wary, lest we commit any more.

Surely, I thinke, his conscience (like a glasse) presented before him the figures of all his actions; which he faithfully examining, humbly craved pardon for his misdeeds: and so having made attonement with God, like a devout penitentiary setled his minde; hée went with alacrity to the bloudy court, where the cause of his life was to be tried, where his sword being his advocate, pleaded most valiantly. In all which tumult, he failed neither in discretion, nor in execution, but boldly encouraged his soldiers, both by word and example.

There is extant in our chronicles, an [1] oration, which at that time he made to his souldiers, wherein he confesseth his errours, and desireth pardon of all the world, as he hoped his repentant tears had obtained mercy of God.

What a saint-like thing was this, for a king to crave forgivenes of subjects? for a general to humble himselfe to his souldiers? What could it be but the effect of a more divine than terrene understanding? If (like the common fashion of men) he would have put his affiance in humane assistance, and neglected his God, he might (in common reason) have promised himselfe the victory, being double in forces, and nothing inferiour, either in valour or policy; but he acknowledged and confessed the power of the most powerfull; he knew that it was not the multitude of men, but God, that giveth the victory; and therefore, having first made peace with his owne soule, he humbled himselfe, and asked pardon of those over whom he had government; knowing no government to be so perfect, wherein some good men are not offended.

This was the effect of his compunction; to put him in remembrance, that princes are mortal, and that his being a king, bound him to a more strict reckoning, than one that enjoyeth a lesser fame. Now whether this mercifull remembrance of God disgraceth him, judge ye that have grace. But now (both battels being joyned) what did this valiant king? Did hee onely stand to give directions to others? No, he did rigorous execution with his sword upon his enemies.

Did he, when hee perceived some of his subjects disloyally to revolt, and that his forces were put to the worst, think upon yeelding or flight? though by some of his faithfullest servants he was counsailed to flie, and for that purpose presented with a horse of wonderfull speed, yet he would not; for having been inured to conquest, he scorned to yeeld: having been a king, he would not die a vassall; and therefore, because the garland was a crowne, the prize a kingdome; victory, majestie, and perpetuall renowne the reward, this lyon-hearted king couragiously charging his speare, ran into the battalion of his adversaries, where, with his owne hands, hee slew the stout [2] Sir William Brandon, standard-bearer of his enemie: he overthrew the strong and valiant Sir John Cheyny, and singled out his competitor: who, being the most heroick and valiant prince of those times, yet had doubtlesse been slaine, had not he beene rescued by Sir William Stanely, who came happily with three thousand men to his rescue, who on all sides encompassing K. Richard, so assailed him, that though he did more than a man, though his sword acted wonders, yet being oppressed by so great a

[1] "The oration of King Richard. Holinshed's chronicle, in the end of his reigne."

[2] "Sir William Brandon, standard-bearer to Henry the Seventh, slaine. He was father to Charles Brandon, after created Duke of Suffolke by Henry the Eighth."

multitude, hee was there manfully slaine, not overcome, for he conquered the betrayers of men, in danger, passion and feare.

Thus lost he both kingdome and life, but nothing diminished his interiour vertues: When the adjudged punishment is performed, our lawes doe account the offender as clear of the crime as if he never had committed it. Why should this common benefit be denied a king, since, if guilty, his blood made restitution, and being dead his royall body was despoiled of all kingly ornamntse, left naked, and not onely unroyally, but inhumanely and reprochfully dragged? yet neither can his blood redeem him from injurious tongues, nor the reproch offered his body be thought cruell enough, but that we must still make him more cruelly infamous in pamphlets and plays. Compare him now (judicious reader) impartially with other princes; judge truly of all their actions, their forme of government, and their statutes and ordinances, the upholders, the strength, the sinews of government; and thou shalt find him as innocent of cruelty, extortion and tyranny as the most; as wise, politike and valiant as any: if so, censure him, his actions, his ordinances, according to their deserts, and this treatise of mine as a charitable well-wishing to a scandalized and defamed king.

Yet for all this know, I hold this but a paradox.

An exact and curious Survey of the East Indies, even to Canton, the chiefe Citie of China; all duly performed by Land, by Monsieur de Monfart, the like whereof was never hetherto brought to an End. Wherein also are described the huge Dominions of the Great Mogor, to whom that honourable Knight, Sir Thomas Roe,[1] *was lately sent Ambassador from the King. Newly translated out of the Travailers Manuscript.*

London: Printed by Thomas Dawson, for William Arondell, 1615.

To the Right Honourable the Earle of Pembroke, one of the Lords of his Majesties most honourable Privie Counsell, and Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter.

Right Honorable.

This every way so meane a booke, and so unmeasurably disproportioned to your honors eminent rank and merite, I durst never have presumed to have cast, no not so high as your feete, for the first publike token of my wholly devoted service, and humble dutie; but that my selfe being totally, truely, and most deservedly yours, any thing that is in me, or shall ever come from me, little or much, and of what nature soever, must needs acknowledge that dependance. And when I remembred, the earnest is ever the least part, yea often no part, of the payment, (neyther do I here intend more) I had some hope your true noblenes would not altogether reject it. Vouchsafe then, my most noble lord, to suffer it to passe as a meere earnest, or rather an entayle to

[1] Sir Thomas Roe was ambassador at the court of the Great Mogol, from the year 1614 to 1618. He disgusted the monarch greatly, by a present of Mercator's chart, from which he learned, to his infinite astonishment, to how small a part of the habitable earth his own dominions amounted, and ordered the maps to be returned in great indignation.

your lordship, of whatsoever I shall, at any time hereafter, be able more happily to bring forth for your service and pleasure. Which (regardles as it is) if it may but escape the imputation of an offence, it is the highest ayme of him, that neyther desires, nor is worthy longer to live, then he shall give the world notice to his utmost, how much he is,

Your Lord-ships most humble, and bounden in all duties.

A Preface of the Translator.

Yet was I not so much the translator, as the fashioner of this worke. It was my good hap, in my last journey into Fraunce, to be acquainted with that brave spirit, the right author and performer thereof; who, a right French gentleman withall, howsoever indowed with courage and other martiall qualities, (yet, as though learning were a stain to a noble blood, with us) the truth is, he cannot very well write; strongly possessed with that active humour of ours, so much bent to doing, as can little curbe it selfe to musing; and with that prejudicat opinion, (the ship-wrack of all our young nobilitie,) that it is onely for a gentleman to ride, not to read, and rather handle a bad sword, then a good book, but a pen least of all. Which hath ever been the unluckie cause that our worthiest counsels, and most generous exployts in peace, or warr, would lye for ever buryed under the dust of forgetfulnesse, with the same bodyes that performed them; if even they who have felt most smart by us had not set them down to our own knowledge, and of all nations, to diminish their shame by the valor of their enemies. So then this gentleman having onely taken some notes of his journeyes, still as he went, not able to make a right treatise of them, for want of a fit writer in these barbarous countries, being, as he thought, at his travels end, and happilie landed in Christendome, he found it in this case farre more barbarous. For there he was taken himselfe, and in one of the most rich and famous sea-cities of the world, kept four yeeres in pryson, watching him carefully, with an intent, so to keep him all his life tyme, least by a full discourse, he should make other nations acquainted with these his observations, thereby to give them an entrance into that earthly paradise, which they so enviously barre from all notice, and entercourse of the whole world, by the flaming mouth of so manie cannons, and the sun-burnt garrisons of their black angels; the dearer to sell unto us those delightfull fruits of life, which we could fetch our selves at a better rate: In that plight, our traveller was faine to commend all his knowledge to his best memorie, (a qualitie wherewith God hath largely requitted his not being a great rethoritian,) and principally to his notes, which yet in the middest of all his troubles, and no small losses, he was more careful to keep then his treasure. So as soon as, by a very extraordinary and much unlooked-for favour from heaven, he had made meanes, in favour of two great marriages intended, to get out; and, finally, being arrived at Paris, I was chosen for the framing and setting together this disjoynted treatise; enlarging his notes from his own mouth, (as sometimes one doth after a sermon,) and was allowed my own coppie for my labour. The like whereof, I may safely avouch, is but in three hands besides, through all the world: the one in the closet of our most noble and hopefull young king; (whom God for ever blesse;) the other, with a great prince; the third, with the author himselfe. Now the truth is, that as soon as I had but the first sight thereof, I immediately, according to my former resolution and profession, whollie to applie my selfe, my studies, my life, and best endeavours to the service and benefit (as farre as I can) of this noble kingdome, my second and substitute country, after that which nature first binds me unto, purposed with my selfe to publish it here, as a witnesse of my true and auncient love. A love indeed not humorous, nor

new, but trulie bred, even with nature, in my childhood, and before my knowledge, under the tender care of an English mother; now of late, in my riper and best yeeres, upon good triall and just reasons, (or such at least as I doe flatter my selfe to be so,) growne by habitude to such a poynt of bewitching, as even I content my selfe to forbeare my right countrie and kindred, with all my hopes, perhaps not altogether unlikelie, (or but meere hopes unbegun,) of higher preferment in the multitude of so many friends, great and small, and of both religions, (as I dare say, and withall prayse God for it,) I have yonder. Neyther is that love of mine hid or unknown to the world. There are bookes extant in more then one language, to testifie it, which I might very well have kept back, if it had been otherwise: since even many of mine owne countrymen have taken some exceptions at it, as though (God forbid) I would in some sort dissolve the bands of nature, farre, farre, from my meaning; and which scarce can be effected at my very dissolution. Yet did not my love so much carry me away, as that I would witnesse it in superfluous things. Therefore, least I should runne amisse, I was carefull both to recover and peruse all such bookes and pamflets, as are to be found in English, concerning Asia-Travailes, which in all doe not amount to five or sixe. And, finding the most part speakes of nothing els then of Græcia, Arabia, Syria, with some stale tales of Jerusalem, so contrary one to another, and so much beaten, and beaten again, as it is both shame and losse, that such toyes should be uttered, (but that ever some prettie wit must get money by making others loose their tyme,) I thought this author could not but prove profitable and welcome: seeing that with no other end, but onely to see and learne, he did undertake his travell; without loade, or engagement of marchandise, or of any private end, or company, ranging still up and downe, and curiously prying and peircing, as far as he could, into every island or continent; yea, never by water, where he might by land, hath discovered in yonder world more nations, more people, more kingdomes, more townes, more fashions, more particularities, then ever any man before, or since, to our knowledge. Now for the style; this man doth not stand upon flowers, nor I myselfe, who do follow him as neer as I can. Neyther doth he fill the paper with idle talkes of a tempest, or a ship-wracke; a robberie here, a disgrace there; or shamefully recount how many kicks, how many knocks, and bastinadoes he had this way, or that way; a thing more then most common among Turkes and infidels. He sweares upon his credite he had none. Neyther doth he stand upon any other vayne particulars; but directly goeth to the maine; saying what he can, and what he knoweth goes to the heart and life of whom he intends to be revenged, not onely for his long imprisonment, but also for somewhat more then he dares write for this present. Whereof neverthelesse, he will give an inkling in his fit place, before he end, sufficient enough to enforme of the whole, such as are not altogether blind or deafe. But now it is high tyme to hear him speake.

The Travailes of Monsieur de Monfart to China by Land, the like whereof was never yet performed.

In the name of God, in the yeere of our Lord, 1608. I Henry Defeynes, commonly called by the name of the Mannor of Monfart, wayting then uppon the most illustrious, and most reverend cardinal of Joyeuse, upon some private discontent taken against such a person, of whom I could not well, nor yet trulie would revenge my selfe; knowing nothing doth so much aggravate and nourish up griefe as idlenes, yea, idlenes in the same place where the griefe hath been taken, and in continual sight of the cause and subject thereof; neither seeing at that time any worthy warre in Christendome, to applie my bodie and mind, away from my wonted thoughts; did fully resolve to under-

take some farre and hard travell, that by leaving behind old displeasures, and purposely going to seek and find me new, I should strive to banish the one by meanes of the other; or at least trie what change (the chiefest, I think, comfort in misery) would work in me: For sure it is not to have fellowes, otherwise a man might soon be contented.

First then, I went the common and neerer way from Paris directly to Venice, not yet well resolved which way I should bend afterwards; but determined there to take my course. At Venice I must needs indeed take ship. Therefore, having resolved upon Babilon, Persia, and the East Indies, I sayled to Alexandretta, otherwise called by the Turks, Scanderone, in Syria. This is a common way, a knowne town, which serves for a haven to Aleppo, though three days journey off. It is an ill-favoured, unluckie, and unwholesome citty, within eyght miles of Tharshis, the birth-citie of St. Paul. But many, going and returning daily from thence, have both sayd and written so much of it, as I need little to add. Onely thus much, that it is the first place of firme land, where first and formost, and for the first discommoditie, there are no innes to be found for travellers: so that they must eyther carry their own victuals, and provision themselves, or put it upon cammels. Secondly, almost all travellers, but trulie at least, and chiefely, all Christians, come to loose the right of themselves, and become as poore wretched slaves, subject to all injuries, disgraces, robberies, mis-usings in words and deeds, by theeves, drunkards, or the next base fellow, from which their very janizaries and gardes cannot alwayes defend them, though they be payd deerely for it, and sometimes indeed do their best for the same; and for some private offence, eyther punish the malefactors themselves, or cause them sharply to be punished. But against hundreds of theeves, as they flock ordinarily together, to assayle passengers, there is none, nor can be any justice, or helpe at all. So that a Christian, being now become the weaker, though twice stronger, must here begin whether he will or no, to observe his masters commandement, and turn the left cheek, when he hath been smitten on the right. For indeed the readie way to prevent more blowes, is even to take the hand that hath stricken you, very hartilie kissing it, and with a cheereful countenance, stroak the knave by the beard, which he will take verie kindly.

From Scanderone, therefore, I went to Aleppo; and your chiefe place in the way, is Antiochia, where Christians were first so called. This Aleppo is one of the fairest and greatest mart-cities in all the world. And from thence one cannot travell with a simple guard or convoy, but with whole caravans, (otherwise called caffes) that is, whole numbers and multitudes of men, with their cammels joining and cleaving all in a troope, like an armie; to march together in those hence forward most hard, desolate, and very dangerous wayes.

There having found the usuall embassador from the basha of Babilon, captaine of the caffe, caravane, which goeth twice a yeare from thence thether, I gave him 100 rials of eight for my dyet and safe conduct through the Arabian desart. The caravane consisted at that time of 10,000 men, or rather more. They travelled all by night, as well to avoide the vehement heat of the day, as to be guided by the starre; and therefore, such guides as are expert in that faculty, name themselves pilots. They carry all their victuals on cammels, till they come to a certain place beyond the desart, wherof Ile speake anon. This desart is all sandy, and destitute of paths, or high wayes; neither may there be any, by reason of the continual motion which the wind causeth in the sand. All that groweth there, as well trees as shrubbs, are caper-plants, or tamariskes, on which the cammels do feed. There shall you find no kind of fierce or savage beasts, but only asses, roes, and gazells, (which is a kind of wild goates) with an innumerable number of staggs; yea, in such quantity and so bolde, as often times they run through the caravane, not knowing whether men are to be feared or no. £20 sterling.

We were most commonly constrained, for meer necessity, to goe and bayte out of our way, to enjoy the use and commodity of some wells, which to this day are preserved

among the ruines of certain townes, that heretofore were builded in those places; and sometimes without finding any. They make their provision of water in great borachoes, made of whole goates-skins; and sometimes are much distressed through want of it.

There is no fowle in all the desart but pigions, which nestle in those ruines. The king of this hether part of the desart, is a Mahometan, tributarie to the Turke, and so superstitious or timorous, that, by reason of certaine vowes, customes, and auncient traditions, he never entereth under any roofe, the better to behold his forces about him. He is so strong, that at an hours warning he will bring 100,000 horsemen to the field without any difficulty, their horses being the goodliest in the world. Their attire is after the Turkish fashion, turbant onely excepted, in steed whereof they have a kind of capp, rowled about with a black turbant. They are of a swart complexion, and all, as well men as women, goe almost naked. It is very true, that such as intend to write back to Aleppo, take with them at their departure some sitting pigions from their young ones, which afterwards they let flie back again from what part soever they will, handsomely loaden with their letters; and the like do they in some other cases, for speedy warning, through all those parts.

Nane or Anna. After thirty dayes journey, more or lesse, we came to Nane, where the whole caravan takes water upon Euphrates; and there we reposed and refresht our selves some eight dayes together, expecting boates for our transportation. It is a good towne, full of bad people; but yet there begins to cease all penury, and discommodity for want of victuals, finding in that country all kinds of meates, and refreshings fit for mans life. So we embarked ourselves there; and after twelve dayes came within foure leagues of Babilon: having seen nothing else on either side the river but palme-trees and date-trees, which bear most excellent fruite when they be ripe, and returne a most comfortable odour on the water. Betweene Nane and Babilon, there is a great lake, which is vulgarly named the Pitchie Sea. I went expressly to see the head of it; which proceedeth out of a rock in five several clefts, about the bignes of a mans waste; which soon after, meeting all in one, run 18 leagues long, till it looseth it selfe under the ground. This blacke and thick lickour serves to build withal, instead of lime.

Mare Piceum, whereof Strabo, Pliny, and Curtius doe also speake.

Babilon. There the basha sent us all manner of necessarie assistance, to bring our men and merchandice to Babilon, paying a certaine custome, as one *per centum*, silver and precious stones excepted, which are tole-free. This citty, which now the Turkes call Bagdat, is at this present scituate upon the river Tigris, and not upon Euphrates, as aunciently it was; though it be still the selfe same stuff and rubbish, which the Babilonians carried foure leagues further, to rebuild their cittie, on one of the bankes of Tigris; wherein, finding yet a further inconvenience, they transported it on the other side; as to this day there are yet extant great tokens, togeather with some habitations which have still kept in the first place. There is also a great bridge of boates, though som-what incommodious by reason of the largenes and height of the river. The towne is twice as bigge as Paris, but therein are many great gardens, orchards, and arrable grounds: and that which seemes most admirable, is to see so great an enclosure compassed with so faire wals; for indeed 4 waggons may goe a front upon them; and are built all with bricke. The houses within the cittie are low enough, vaulted under, and tarassed on the top. The castle is exceeding strong, faire, great, and well stored with munition. There the basha makes his dwelling place. I sawe him walke abroade on a day, and 'twas reported he had very neere 50000 foot to waite upon him, and as many horse, the best arraied that can ever be, having their harnesses all deckt with gold, silver, and pretious stones, to the very stirrups: with a great noise of trumpets, drummes, cimbals, clarions, and hautbois. I was so curious likewise as to goe to the place, where it is said the great tower of Babel was built, being about half a dayes journey distant; where I saw nothing but a high mountaine of earth in the midst of a

plaine, where, in digging, you may find certaine bricks, whereof it is saide the tower was built. Tower of Babel.

From Babilon I went to Ezpan, now the cheife and most gallant cittie of Persia (I durst allmost say of all the world) where the Sophy is most resident. The way is troublesome and discomodious enough, being of fifteene long dayes travaile, through wast desarts, voyde of all townes and houses, or any other succour, partly by nature, partly so wasted of purpose to impeach the approches of the Turke. Onely from one dayes journey to another, the Sophie hath caused to be erected certaine kind of great harbours, or have lodgings (like hamlets) called *caravansara*, or *surroyes*, for the benefit of caravanes; out of which lodgings, travailers dare not issue without a convoy, which the governors of the said places give from one to another; and the captaine of the convoy must bring back a good certificat from the captaine of the caravan, how he hath faithfully brought them to the next lodging, and that they were pleased with his convoy. Otherwise, upon the least complaint the king should heare, he would cause the governors head to be cut off, and his house set a fire, under whom the spoyle were committed; restoring to the full out of his own treasure what goods soever of the marchants which were past recoverie. Yet is it true, thereof have been seen few examples, by reason of very few misdemeanures in that nature; but whensoever any hath happened, that justice hath been severely executed. Now these lodgings are exceeding comely, with faire shops belonging thereto; and are able to entertaine all caravans, never so great, the like being so set throughout all Persia. Ezpan, or Ispahan, in Persia. Severe justice.

Hispaan is halfe as bigge againe as Paris; very strong, very populous, and wonderfull frequented, aswell because of trafficke, as for the kings presence and all the courts of justice, checker, and religion. It is unpossible to relate the pleasures, recreations and delights which are there; either for stately buildings, great faire gardens, store and goodnes of fruits, continuall riding, and all other kinds of noble exercises, with an incredible pompe, triumph and magnificence, where once they undertake it. There is also great peace and plenty through all Persia, both of common things, which others have in some sorte as well as they, as of sundry other singularities which none have but they indeed, or at least with such abundance and excellencie. Among other, the finest, fairest, and best bezar-stones, which they find cleaving to the liver of certaine goates. There also is found the great mine of turquesses; and the greatest quantity of silke that can be imagined, which the men themselves doe spinne.

For their bodyes, they are reasonable handsome; for their minds, reasonable tractable and civill.

Being in the said cittie, I saw 70000 gallant harquebusiers go out to meet the king, at his returne from a victorious journey against the Turkes, upon whom he had conquered foure provinces; and because they were not come farre enough to his minde, he did condemne them to pay three zequins a peece, with threats, that, if they offended againe in the like, he would cut off their heads: and did compell them to remaine in guard in a large spatious place before his pallace; where every evening he caused them to play and exercise themselves as though they had been in warre: causing withall store of artillery to be shot in among them; and if any one through feare seemed to neglect his dutie, he caused his turbant to be taken off, and the man knockt downe to death with staves, himselfe giving the first stroake. At this his entrie they made him a great triumph, with a long magnificence. Among the rest, they erected in the said place, before his pallace, foure fortresses, all full of fire-workes, with lions, dragons, leopards, crocodils, and other beasts; whose motion was artificially made to run upon lines, from one fort to another, fighting as they had been alive. They made likewise foure forrests to be burnt, consisting of all sortes of fruitfull trees; whereon the fruits were so naturally represented, that nothing could be more perfect. Pleasant severitie. Then cruel. A true Asiatall magnificence.

The said place is all vaulted about with porches, like to the Place Royall in Paris; having faire shops of every side, as well within as without. There the king command- Like the royall Exchange in London, but exceeding farre greater.

ed each one, according to his severall trade, to deck their shops in the richest manner they could; which they also did: and having shut up all the passages for the sunne there was no other light but with lamps and torches, placed in the best order that can ever be devised, which, burning continually, did returne a brightnes cleerer then the day it selfe, and I might well have said there was all the riches in the world, for so they had dilligently sought after, and either bought or borrowed it of purpose from all parts, to appeare every one more gallant and well minded to their prince then his neighbour. Surely all that ever I have seen since, through all my travails, I think I saw it first there. About foure a clocke in the evening, the king used to come within that place, and remained there till morning, playing, walking, and passing the time: which triumphs continued so for the space of two moneths togeather. There I saw the greatest quantity of rich stuffes and tapistries that ever I saw before or since; silver, and coyned money of all countries; yea with a good quantity out of France and Spaine. Within that place there is a 1000 peeces of ordinance, as well great as small, which they say they had gotten from the Turke; and among the rest I perceived four French peeces, of which having told the king, he made me answer, that he had taken them from the great vizier, when he defeated him before Tauris, in his fathers time.

He is in a manner of the same religion the Turke is of, except some, I know not what differences, which I understand not, being hereticks, one to another. When the king dies, he that succedeth puts out the eyes of all his brethren, and keepeth them close prisoners in a great castle, but yet with as much ease as he can; a kind of curtesie which hath been but since this kings time that now is, for in times past they slew them as they doe in Turkie.

Casbin. From Ispaan I went to Casbin, 12 dayes journey distant, a very populous and rich citty, and of great traffick, about the bignes of Orleans; which, though it be great and strong enough, yet the chiefest strength thereof lieth in the great number of horsemen that are continually about it. But there are no further commodities then at

Tauris. Ispaan. From thence I travailed 15 daies journey through very fare and well manured countries, till I came to Tauris, a citty very populous too, and of great traffick, somewhat perhaps bigger then Toulouze, and was heretofore farre greater, yea of a huge bignes, as yet is to be seen by the ruines; but since, having bin sackt againe by the Turke, hath lost almost all its former beauty, having heretofore, both for the fairnes and plentifulnes of the soyle, and statelines of the place, bin the seate of the Persian kings.

Syras. Thence I prosecuted my travail to Syras, being 16 daies journey distant. It is still a brave place for trade, but chiefly for armour; the healthfullest seate and the fairest in all Persia; where the verdican, or lieutenant generall of the Sophie, resideth with all his janizaries, to the number of 50,000 horsmen, the best horses in the world next to those of the desert; for they dare not have any other, but such as the king giveth them, neither can they sell them; and when they die, he giveth them others, as also to all the rest of his horsemen.

The citty is some-what greater then Avignon, where there are the fairest remnants of greatnes and of stately buildings, the finest gardens, brookes, and fountaines, that can be seen. There are kindes of causeys in those parts, made for pleasure, 12 leagues in length, bordered on each side with faire trees, in forme of a vaulted palisado, so thick, that the sunne beams cannot pierce through. Of each side of them there are faire springs of cleere running water, and between every 15 foot of ground, are great vessells full of cleere water, made in form of a fountain, which throwes out water the bignes of a mans bodie.

Lar. From Syras I went 8 daies journey to the chiefe citty of the great realme of Lar, which gives his name to the whole kingdome, and from whence come the best bezarstones. There is the galantest, the strongest, and best stored castle under the Persian

king, being impossible to be battered or mined; underneath is the cittie wholly commanded by this castle.

There the king causeth such an order to be observed through his whole kingdome, that, before his subjects sell any thing, those commodities that are his own shall first be put to sale, then they must sell theirs at the same rate. He is verie affable to strangers.

From Lar I went to Bandier, a small fort, which the Portugals hold in Persia, to supply Ormus with water and victuall, which hath but verie litle or none at all. Bandier.

Thence I past to Ormus, an island and kingdome which the Portugals do hold, though the Moorish king hath not abandoned his possession, but live in some reasonable peace one with another. It is of a great force and consequence to them, drawing from thence very great commodities, for it lyeth just in the passage to Mecha, and of necessitie everie ship that passeth that way must make a stay there to pay the customs. Among the rest, I can affirme to have seene one that willingly taxed her selfe at 100,000 francs for her customs. There is but brimstone and salt in this island, without fresh water, or any other commodity; and they must carry from Persia all what they stand in need of. The island is but 3 leagues compasse, but there depends on it divers other countries; the goulph is but 4 leagues over, which is all the distance from Persia to Ormus. 10,000l. sterling.

There I embarked my self for Macati, which is a fortresse in Arabia Petrea, on the same side of Ormus, and some 8 daies journey distant, belonging to the Portugals. This place is betweene Ormus and Sourat; there are exceeding good horses, swifter then those of Persia, but lesser and yet more headstrong. There is also a great quantitie of dates, which is their best merchandice; for man and horse doe eat of them. They are Mahometans, of a duskie hue, and as well men as women weare long gownes, with long high hats, without brim, and nothing but the crowne. Macati, in Arabia Petrea.

There I embarked again for Sindio, which is another island and kingdom about 80 or a 100 leagues compasse, and there I saw nothing but store of faire feathers, and plumes of two kinds of herons, whereof they make great traffick, because they are found no where else. Likewise they have all sorts of skins, which are wrought very curiously with needle-worke, serving to sleepe on in the coole. There is also great quantitie of rice, which is all their marchandise, and is a great trafficke throughout all the Indies. They are Gentiles, and adore that creature, on which they first place their devotion. They wash themselves every morning before the sunne rising, and in the evening after sunne setting, they wash their haire also, which they weare very long, and combe them very carefully, like women. They burne their dead men; and their best beloved wives being trickt up in their best and sumptuosest apparell, are conducted by their neerest kinsfolkes, and goe nine turnes about the fire, and at the ninth round throw themselves very cheerefully in the midst of it. They are a very loyall and chaste people, and who would not be a lier for a world. Sindio.

Thence I returned the same way I came, to Bandier, and prosecuting my travaile by land, I entred the confines of the great Mogor, and made it two moneths and a half till I came to Cambaya, the metropolitan city of that kingdome, and whereof it beareth the name. There are found all kind of marchandises and jewels, to wit, diamonds, saphirs, pearles, rubies, cats-eyes, and greate quantitie of christall, cotton, linen, and silke stuffes. This city is very neere as bigge as Hispaan. The great Mogor oftentimes makes there his residence; he is a Gentile, and adoreth a bull and a cow, which they marry together, and keepe them in a kind of temple of an inestimable value; their cratch is all covered with diamonds, emeralds, and other more precious jewels; the arches and walls are full of them; and no sooner they can recover any rare things, but they carry them thither to the offring. Then the of-spring which is produced from this noble marriage succeedeth also to be their god. They have an hospitall for Returned to Bandier, to get againe into the continent, and thence to Cambaya, a great kingdome, the beginning that way of the huge territories of the great Magor.

all sorts of sicke beastes, wheron they bestow great costs, and they observe the before-mentioned custome in burning their dead bodies. This is a wonderfull mightie prince, able to bring, at any tyme, 400,000 gallant souldiers, and above, to field. In my conscience, I thinke he is very neere as mightie, as rich, and lord of as much ground, better peopled (at least, I am sure,) then the Turke himself; with as many great kingdomes, with their viceroyes, as many brave townes, as Bramport by name, Agra, Lahor, and others, not inferior in any thing to any the Turke hath. They altogether make use of elephants, as well to carrie burdens, as to launch forth ships; to guard their fortresses, or any other military actions, making them to carry a pretty big tower on their backes, with 24 or 25 bow-men, and 4 harquebus a crocke, by which meanes they mightily molest the Portugals, who have not yet found any invention to defend themselves from them, except with fired lances, which they throw in their eyes; but whatsoever comes within their reach, they breake into peeces with their trunkes. For to take them, (as it was related to me in the country,) they make use of a female, when shee goeth proud, in her heate, which they let goe up and downe in a great wood, well enclosed, and environed with great stakes and trees, leaving but onely one passage open, with a strong portcullis, on the top whereof stands a man as a centinell, keeping himself unseen, letting down the portcullis as soone as the elephants be entred; then very solemnly, some certaine men, which have thereof a particular skil, goe to them, and capitulate with them, as with prisoners of warre, what exercise they will be put unto, either to serve in the warres, or some other imployments, whereupon, according as they like the conditions, they make signes with their head to the interpretor; then they suffer them to come forth, and they faile not to follow him unto whom they have yeelded themselves. Then men must be sure to keep promise with them, or else finding themselves abused, they would wilfully pine themselves to death. But some there are, who, either through shame or courage, will not yeeld themselves, and had rather suffer themselves to be slaine on the place. The interpretor must give them to understand whether they goe, and how they shall be intreated; but if they come and find the contrary, they starve themselves to death; and if their lord doth sel them to a meaner man then himself, they will not goe to him. I have seen one my selfe, at Cochin, esteemed the valiantest of that countrey, finding himselfe unable to bring to passe an enterprise imposed upon him, which was to lanch a very great ship, made all the signes he could to avoide it, whereupon the trucheman told him, that they should be constrained to goe and find out another that should doe it, which would prove a vile affront unto him, having already purchased so great a reputation as he had, whereupon he went to worke, upon meere desperate vaine glory, and drew the shippe into the sea, then bursted; which I have also heard to be usuall, and have hapned to many others in some such cases. It is a creature that never lieth downe, the female only excepted, in her copulation with the male, which is very much alike to the man and woman, then with his trunk hee gently raiseth her up again.

Now for the people; they are of a swartie kind, like to those of Sindio, and weare a white turbant very little, with cotton garments. They bequeath their goods to their sisters children, before their brothers, being well assured, that, without doubt, they are sprung of their bloud. It is very profitable trading with this people; for if but a child went thither with his wares, he should gain as much as the subtilest merchant in the world. For as soone as you are arrived into this citty, the kings officers come and dis-burden you of what you desire to expose to sale, which they lock up, by account, within the publique store-house; you need but tell them the price, and make choyce of one of their brokers, who goeth to exhibite them to their merchants, and so make more of your wares by the one half, then you should have done your self; in the end, he comes and gives you a faithfull account of all. Likewise for such merchandise as you desire to have among them; in giving them a note thereof, they will by and by bring

you all kinds of patterns, and they themselves will fraught your shippe, you needing not to trouble your self any further, and most commonly will furnish you with better wares then they had before shewen you; yea, after having given you up their accounts, as well of the sale as of the goods bought, and restored you the overplus, if there be any, sometimes they will present you with some good gift, for having done them the credit, in making choyce of them above all their fellowes.

The fruits of this country are excellent, and farre differing from ours; among the rest there is one not much unlike a mellon, which groweth on the ground between two leaves, with a verie yellow rinde, being ripe, and this is called ananas, very hot of qualitie, but of taste, above all things so sweete, that after having eaten of it, water will seeme to you as bitter as gall. There is another very licquorish fruit, called amangues, growing on trees, and is as bigge as a great quince, with a very great stone in it. Moreover there is another that groweth on trees, resembling a great citrull, with a kind of hornie rinde, after the forme of a pointed diamond; they are green in colour, and called jugues, containing a licquor like honie, which licquor is found likewise in another fruit named chatagu, very good to eate, but dangerous to those that are not accustomed unto it, by reason of the heate of it: furthermore, there is another named jambes, which also groweth on trees, and is of the bignes of an apple, very good and wholsesome, containing five stones in it, the outside, half red and halfe yellow. They have yet another fruit, of colour green, coole, and wholesome, (which groweth on a tree, called carambole,) square, and of a fingers length; they make great use of it in phisicke. There is with-al great quantitie of anis-seed, white ginger, whereof they make great trafficke, which also they preserve and confect.

Thence I continued my journey 12 dayes together, all along the coast, till I came within foure leagues of Sourat, which is a most fair island, and a very populous kingdome, (much frequented by merchants,) subject to the great Mogor. There I embarked my selfe to passe that little gulfe. The citty is about the bignes of Roan, the castle impregnable, because inaccessible; for of the one side it is invironed with the sea, and the other side is built on so strong and steepe a rocke, that it is as much as a man can do with great difficultie to get up, and withall, the best garded and furnished with ordinance, and all kind of munition, as ever I saw; and indeed they have good reason, for on that place depends the saftie of the whole island. Sourat.

Thence I held my course for Diu, some foureteen dayes journey distant, which is a most important strong hold, which the Portugals possesse there, by them conquered from the great Mogor, very neere as bigge as Pontoise. They are Gentiles, and differ little or nothing from the others, in humours, religion, trafficke, soyle, or fruits. Diu.

Thence I travailed to the kingdome of Calicut, the king whereof is a Mahometan; and made it 17 dayes journey compleat, along the coast, no extraordinarie thing presenting it selfe to my view, beside the fore-mentioned commodities; the men being of a swartie hue. Calicut.

Departing from the aforesaid kingdome, I entred into that of Malebar, where they are exceeding black, but yet not curled, flat nosde, or great lipt, as the negroes be; neverthelesse, with as good faces as any in all Europe. They are Mahometans, and valiant, although they are somewhat of a savage inclination, and would never come to composition with the Portugals, but delight themselves to be at variance with all their neighbours. They lie in the field, and have very few houses of any importance. Meane while I was there, they tooke 160 caravels from the Portugals. And when they take any prisoner, who by chance hath his garments cut, or jag'd, they say he did teare them of purpose; knowing they should once be theirs, and knocke him in the head with staves. This kingdome containes in length some 14 dayes journey. Malebar.

Departing thence, I entred the kingdome of Cananor, where I travailed foure dayes, Cananor.

without the sight of any rarity of importance more than is abovesayd. It is a little Mahometan kingdom, they are swartie, and great traffickers.

Mangalor. Thence I entered the countrey of Mangalor, which is also a little Mahometan kingdome; the inhabitants of a swartie colour, where I travailed 8 daies along the coast, without any thing worth writing, besides that which is in their neighbour countries, onely that they have no formall townes, or scarce any good houses.

Sumatra. Thence I entred the island and realme of Sumatra, resembling altogether the former in all things, as well for religion and commodities, as for the stature and hue of men. Onely they have more then the rest, the great pepper in abundance, whereof they doe furnish the Portugals. But they are wise enough to keepe the best from them, which they call ganry, of a gray colour, bigger and smoother then that which they send us, which is but that which falleth from the tree before it be ripe, which makes them become so withered and bare, keeping the better sort for their owne use, whereof they preserve a great part, delighting much to eat hotte things, although their countrey be very hot. This pepper groweth on a tree, about the bignesse of a man's arme; there groweth also a great quantitie of good ginger.

Bombas. Thence I entred the kingdome of Bombas, in all things like the other, pepper onely excepted, being found in no one part of the East-Indies, but in Sumatra, and I travailed 12 dayes journey along the coast, without seeing one good towne.

Chaoul. Departing thence, I returned within the countryes of the great Mogor, and arrived at Chaoul, a small towne, about the bignes of S. Clou. There are made the fairest cabinets in the worle, being not to be matched by any of Germany, or of China. They are Gentiles, as in Cambaya, and great traffickers.

Damans. Thence I went to Damans, which is a place fortified by the Portugals, about the bignesse of Chaoul, being 11 dayes journey, one from another, and are likewise Gentiles.

Canarra. Thence to the kingdome of the Canarrins, which is but a little one, and 5 dayes journey from Damans. They are tall of stature, idle, for the most part, and therefore the greater theeves. They hold some points of Christianitie. They weare a cap, a long cloake, in forme of a gowne. They lie in the field, under vile cabbing of turfe.

Brameny. Thence I entred the kingdome of Brameny, which containeth but 2 dayes journey in length, and, in a manner, of the same qualitie and habit, with the Canarrins, only they have a kind of linnen cloth, which they make merchandice of.

Coulam. Thence to the kingdom of Coulam, (who are Gentiles, and of a swartie hue,) which having traversed from one end to the other in a 11 dayes journey, I beheld no place of importance. There is nothing there, but all open.

Conchin. Thence I tooke my way to Conchin, possessed by the Portugals; though the king keepes, (neverthelesse) still there his title and court. The cittieis about the bigness of Mante, and is as well frequented with marchants, as any other place in all the Indies, being the thorowfair to China. And there is a citadell of exceeding great strength.

S. Thomas. Thence I went to the mountaine of S. Thomas, where they are all Christians, and have alwayes so borne themselves, (notwithstanding their king is a Gentile,) their number being so great, that very hardly may they be rooted out; besides that, the passages to it are most difficult. They goe for the most part almost naked, as commonly they doe in all those countries. And there is a certaine place where there is a miraculous crosse, whither they goe to procession, in the holy weeke. And then, during their service time, while they repeate the passion, this crosse begins to change colour, and to sweat, I know not what kind of blacke liquor like inke, but the passion being ended, it returnes to its former nature. They hold it to be a grace which saint Thomas obtained from God, for their perseverance in the faith. The cittie is about the bignes of Poissy. There are found certaine stuffs by them much esteemed, although they be made but of hearbs, wherewith they cloath themselves, and make a great trade thereof.

Thence I returned to Conchin, and from Conchin to the kingdome of Bengala, wherein the Portugals also hold the capitall citty, and best fortresse, of which the whole kingdome takes their name, which, notwithstanding, is very small and of little strength. It is a countrey full of all sorts of commodities. Among the rest, they have prettie coverlets of yellow linen-cloth, all pinkte and wrought with needle-worke, whereof some are to be seene in these parts. This citie lies all open, being of the bignes of saint Denis, and is some 5 weekes journey from Conchin. To Conchin againe, and thence to Bengala.

Thence to the kingdome and iland of Seilan, which the Portugals holde, being a place of importance. In that countrey are whole forests of cinamon, all other countries being destitûte of it. There be also whole mountaines of christall; and out of their rivers they draw perles, rubies, saphirs, and cats eyes, which are of great value, and whereof they make a great trade in China. It is a good country, and exceeding plentifull in corn, rice, fruits, and all other things which are frequent throughout the Indies; and is held to bee 300 leagues compasse, being all Gentiles. True it is, that the beasts which they adore varie from the others, for they will worship the first creature they meete withal. They eate nothing that hath bloud, and of their very bread they will make no more then will be eaten at a meale; for if it be kept but 2 houres, they are forbiden by their religion to eate it. Moreover, there is a river of salt water, which issueth out of the sea, and runneth neere the fort, where there is a certaine fish, or rather a kind of sea dragon, a monster, or I know not what, comes often howling even under the windowes, and will not depart before they have given him his prey, because, (as they say,) the governour hath used him to it, causing all such as he beareth grudge unto, or he any way distrusteth, to be throwne to him, so that none but he and his men can tell what is become of them. Seilan.

Thence I bent my course, (for the kingdome of Jor,) as much as I could by land, for this climate is all full of waters and ilands, and is very temperate, being about a monthes travill betweene Seilan and Jor, which is a very pretty little towne, about the bignes of Avignon. They are Gentiles, and of a yellowish hew; they worship I know not what shape with three heads; they observe the like abstinence as is above mentioned, and have very neere the selfe same commodities. Jor.

Thence I past to Malaca, an exceeding strong fortres, belonging to the Portugals, 10 dayes travaill beyond Jor. There you have on aire most unholesome, and those whose constitution is able to beare it, and live, at least their complexion is all changed to a yellow; there groweth a certaine fruit prickled like a ches-nut, and as big as ones fist, the best in the world to eate; these are somewhat costly, all other fruits being at an easie rate. It must be broken with force, and therein is contained a white liquor like unto creame, neverthelesse it yields a very unsavory sent, like to a rotten oynian, and it is called esturion. There groweth likewise, and no where els, nutmegs and cloves upon their trees, or stalkes; as also the bezar-stone, which is found joyned to the breast of monkies, but not so good as those of the Persian goates. Likewise there be diamonds, but farre inferior to those whereof I am to speake anon; yet are there porcupine-stones of the couller of white soape, which are had in great estimation, having seene one about the bignes of a nutmeg, sold for 300 crownes, which indeed was a faire one. They make use of it almost against all diseases, leaving it an howre to steepe in water, which afterwards they drinke of, though it be as bitter as gall. Malaca. 90l. sterling.

This kingdome is of the Molucos, and the Hollanders possesse there a strong fortresse called Sonde, whence they bring us the birds of Paradice, for they are found no where else; the countrey folkes take them up dead, and sell them for 8 rialls a peece. All along this coast is found great quantitie of gray amber and black muske and civet: But the men of those countreys are very liquorish of the amber, and eate the most part of it as fast as they find it. They are well furnished with all manner of commodities

wine only excepted; but they have insteed of it, a certaine drink called caahiete, as black as inke, which they make with the barke of a tree, and drinke it as hot as they can endure it. Their houses are low, vaulted, and tarrased on the top, the better to sleepe in the coole aire.

Macao. From Malaca I went to Macao, (neere a months travaile) which is a cittie, scituate on the sea coaste, at the foote of a great mountaine, where in times past the Portugals had a great fort; and to this day there be yet many that dwell there. This is the entrance into China, but the place is of no great importance; they are Gentiles, and there the inhabitants begin to be faire complextioned.

Thence I travailled 2 months to the Cochinchines, finding nothing by the way worthie of note; no not so much as necessaries, so that we were faine to carrie our victuals with us the greatest part of the way. They are subjects to the king of China, but sometimes they rebell and make warre against him: and there is a great number of Christians among them. Their king's treasure consisteth in a certaine kind of wood called calamba; for which the Portugals pay 100 crownes a pound, to make paternosters with. It is of a mixte colour, with blacke and yellow vaines; the better sort of it is moiste, so that, being cut, it expelleth a kind of fat oylie liquor. It groweth out of a certain tree, which they fell and let it lye a while putrifying; then they bruse it, and within the same they finde this kinde of wood, like many hard knots. They are a very white people, because there it begins to be cold; lowe of stature, flat nosde, and little eyed, with a very few haires on their chins, and mustachoes, none at all on their cheekes; the hair of their head they weare long like women, and tied up with a black silke haire-lace, and weare a flat cap upon them. They weare cloth breeches made very levell, and a short robe above them, like a master of the chamber of accounts. There are found a kind of serpents that will swallow up a whole stag: two friers assured me, that, travailling in that countrey, together with 16 other men, through a fenni-marsh, about the dawning of the day, they met, to their seeming, a great tree lying along the ground, the boughes being lopped off, upon which they all began to sit down and rest themselves; but no sooner were they sate, but that which they tooke for a tree, fiercely rowsd it selfe under them, and left them all to picke strawes on the ground, for indeed this was one of those serpents.

Their custome is (as they say) to put themselves in ambush among the boughs of a tree, and when they espie their pray, to draw neere; be it man or beast, they fall upon him with open mouth and devour it. There are also store of lions, leopards, and tigers: and there the fruits begin to resemble those of these partes; but the fruit, which above all others aboundeth there, is the mirabolan.

Canton in China. Thence I set forwards to Canton, the principall cittie of all China, (some 3 months travaill distant) beyond which there is no passage, say any body what he will to the contrary; for never any man proceeded further, except (as they say) 6 Jesuits, who dwelled 20 yeares at Canton, as well to learne the language perfectly as to let their haire to growe long, after the countrey manner, of whom there was never since heard any newes, nor is there hope ever to see their returne. That people is very white, and apparelled as is above said; they are likewise Gentiles, and worship the same image with three heads. Their women of the better sort and quality, which are able to live of their owne without working, never goe out of their houses, but as they are carried in a chaire. And to that effect, from their infancie, they put their feete into certain wooden slippers, to make them stump-footed and impotent, insomuch as they are not able to goe; the reason they alleadge for it is, that women were made to no other ende, then to keep at home.

The Christians are not permitted to lie within the cittie; but as soon as night approaches, they must retire themselves to their ships, being lawfull for them to traffick whersoever they please by day-light. And for their traffick, what rarities soever there be throughout all China, are to be had in this citty, which are diligently brought

thither, to wit, great store of cloth of gold and silke, cabinets, wrought vessels, Venus-shells, massive-gold, and many other things. They will exchaunge or barter gold for twise as much waight in silver; for they have no coyned money, for when they would buy any thing, they carry with them a peece of gold, and will cut off as much as they intend to bestowe on what they take. They make carved images of silver, which they erect heere and there through the streets, and no bodie dares touch them. The city is governed by 4 rulers, and each one hath his government, or circuit, a part, secluded from each other. Those of one quarter dare not goe and labour in another, and those which cause them selves to be carried from one part to another, must change their bearers when they come to the gate of the next circuit: those gates are opened every morning, and shut every night, unlesse there be any complaint made of some misdemeanure committed within the circuit; for then they shut them suddenly, or if they be shut, they open them not till the offender be found. The king bestowes these commands on those who are the best learned. This is a most faire cittie, and well built, very neere as big as Paris; but there the houses are arched, and nothing neere so high. Their Venus-shells consist of certaine kind of earth or clay, which hath remained a 100 yeares in one place, and removed every eight dayes. There is so much sugar in that country, that it is by them very little set by; yet is silke in farre more great abundance, but withall more course then ours, by reason of their store being so great as they are constrained to make it abroad in the fields, on the very trees in this wise; when the wormes are hatched, (whereof the eggs are farre greater then ours) they observe what quantitie of wormes each tree will be able to feed, then they lay so many on it, leaving them there without any more adoe, except it be to gather the quods, when they are ready to be spunne, which is done as they gather apricocks; for indeed, a farre off, they appeare to be so, and is a very fine sight to behould; they use a strange kind of fishing with cormorants; and surely from thence must needes have derived at first the like invention, which (as I heare) was of late brought into England, and thence hither. They tie their necks a little above their stommacks, least they should devour the fish they take: then comming to their maister, he pulleth it a live out of their throates: likewise for water-foule, they make use of great bottles with two holes, which they leave floating up and downe the water a good while, to acquaint the foules therewith; then some fellowes will wade up to the necke in the water, thrusting their heads into those bottles, and having a bag underneath, come as neere the foule as they will, taking them with their hands, without the rest being afraid of it.

Againe to Macao, Pegu.

From Canton I returned to Macao, and took my way through the kingdome of Pegu, which is much transformed from what it was heretofore, by reason of a certain king, who forbad his people the exercise of husbandry and tillage, or any other thing necessary for the use of man; and having gathered together all the victualls of the country, caused it strongly to be immured where he kept his residence, suffering the most part of his subjects to perish, through famine or sicknes, so that at this instant the whole countrey remaines waste and desolate. Where, in times past, there was wont to be found many rare commodities; namely, most faire rubies, and is now altogeather frequented with savage beastes; yea in so great quantity, that they have almost driven out the inhabitants. Yet, for such as remaine there to this day, they be Gentiles, and of a swartie hue.

Cambogo.

Thence I made it 18 dayes journeyes to the realme of Camboge, which is very spatious, but voyd of any rarities of note, onely that the king is able to bring 400,000 men to the field, and makes warre upon the king of Sian.

Sian.

Thence I came to Sian, the king whereof is able to bring 600,000 men to the field. These two kings have neyther horses, or any fiery instruments; but make use only of bowes, and a certaine kind of pike, made of a knottie wood like canes, called baubuc, which is exceeding strong, though pliant and supple for use.

Both these kings are Gentiles, but yet differ enough in manners; for the king of Sian worshippeth a white elephant, and that of Camboge doth, as the most of the above-mentioned. I saw nothing remarkable in both these kingdomes, (having but coasted them) but onely much benzion in Sian; which is an aramaticall gumme, distilling out of a certaine tree, when they have first cut an incision into it, whereof they make a great trade; as being the onely place where it is found. I spent three moneths in traversing these two kingdomes.

Thence I embarqued myself in one of the Portugall ships, which usually trafficke thither for benzoin, and arrived at Conchin, a most fertile kingdome, as likewise all the others be in those clime; Pegu onely, accidentally excepted.

Bisnagat. From Conchin, I travailed by land 2 monthes and a halfe, to Bisnagat, otherwise called Ballagat, by the Portugals; which is a most faire cittie, and the metropolitan of the kingdome, unto which it gives his name. It stands within two leagues of the rock of diamonds, belonging to the king, who makes his ordinarie abode in the said citty, and retaineth 15,000 men, continually labouring in the said mine, with straight commandment, that all the great ones be layed up in his treasurie, suffering none to be sold, but little ones, such as we see in these parts. So that there is not any great ones sold or transported, unlesse it be by stealth, or some device; as I have seen one with the great Mogor as bigge as a hens egge, and of that very form, which he caused expresly to be peirced like a pearle, to wear it on his arme; which stone had been so purloined from this king, and cost the other 500,000 parots, which is little lesse then a million. It waigheth 198 mangelins, and each mangelin weigheth five graines. I myselfe found meanes by mony, privily to have another great one conveyed into my handes, whereof I will speake more by and by.

This king is a gentile, and of a hard, swartie complexion. He worshippeth the tooth of a monkey, and some in his kingdome worship a certain kind of serpent.

Dialcan. Thence I travailed 11 dayes, till I came to the realme of Decan, Dialcan, or Idalcan; their king dwelleth within a dayes journey of Goa, which is a strong citty the Portugals hold; and the viz-roy of the Portugall-Indies keeps there his residence, against whom this king, (who is a Mahometan, and very mightie,) makes warre now and then.

Thence I came to Goa itselfe, an iland but five leagues in compasse, neverthelesse the greatest mart towne in all the Indies; for there all the above-mentioned kingdomes, and the Portugals, mutually come to discharge and recharge themselves. It is a verie faire cittie, about the bignes of Poictiers. At the mouth of the port, on each side, is erected a great fortresse, very strongly manned by the Portugals. In this iland is the hard waxe made, (which we call Spanish waxe,) and is made in manner following. They inclose a large plotte of ground, with a little trench filled with water, then they stick up a great number of small staves upon the sayd plot; that being done, they bring thither a sort of pismires, farre bigger then ours, which, being debar'd by the water to issue out, are constrained to retire themselves upon the sayd staves, where they are kil'd with the heate of the sunne, and thereof it is that the lacka is made. This is a climate where it raines, without intermission, the three moneths of winter, and so outragiously, that it is unpossible to keep the sea upon that coast, without shipwrack. After the rayne is fallen, comes there a land wind, which dryeth up the ayre, and two houres after, is very safe sayling.

Thence I embarqued myselfe, (with the permission and pasport of the viz-roy) for Lisbone, but we had such a terrible tempest, that we were eyght whole dayes in the bottomes and iles of Las Chagues, despairing ever to come out again: in the end, God miraculously delivered us, and brought us to Mozambique, which is a fort belonging to the Portugals. Then to Solfale, where they are Mahometans, and all black; and thence onely commeth the ebony. Then we arryved at Lisbone, where I was imprison-

Mozambique.
Solfale.
Lisbone.

ed, and continued so foure yeeres long, without ever telling me the cause why. Finally, after much adoe, I was set at libertie, through the great meanes my lord the duke of Mayenne made for me, when he came into Spaine about the marriages; and as it seemeth in favour and hope of them; or els I fully believe I had never been released. For as I heard there, by the meanes of some prisoners, the Viz-roy of Goa had given straight warning, that I was an undertaking man, who had exactly viewed all those countries, and could doe much hurt unto the king their master, by the acquaintances, and intelligences I had of them, if ever I could come among the French, English, or Hollanders. There was I in my chamber of the prison, by an unlucky adventure, miserably robd of a little hollow pipe of white latten, long and slender, which I had ever kept so close, that no body in the world knew of it, and therein were 35 rough diamonds, which was all that I ever had gotten in my long and painefull travels, among which (the others being but common) there was a mighty great one, waighing no lesse then 79 carrats, and therefore of an unestimable valew. The first theefe was presently, yea within a quarter of an howre robd of them by another, and so being passed, from hand to hand, when after many daies and troubles, I almost had given over all enquiry, at last the second theefe was found out, by meanes of the first, and being found seased with my diamonds, he was both taken by the justice, and they with him, which afterward were restored back unto me, I meane all the small ones, but not the great, which came never since in sight, and did vanish away, through so many honest hands. So that all the reason I could ever have for it, yea after much importunity to the king himself and the officers, was to have (though not at my request, nay, most against my will) that poor fellow hang'd, who in my conscience I think, was not the least nor the last theefe, having bin (as I am sure) robd also by a third; howsoever, the stone is not of so small valew, but a great prince may be gorgious and proud with it. God grant pardon to all sinners.

Certaine generall Observations touching the Indies.

It is to be understood, that all the kings and kingdomes betweene Cochin and the great Mogor, were in times past his subjects, but in the end many have withdrawne themselves from him, and are become soveraignes: yet there are still whole numbers that acknowledge him.

The Portugals possesse no in-land forte, through all the above named countries, but altogeather on the borders and sea-coasts.

From Cambaya to Macao, they make use of elephants altogeather in battels, garrisons, and for carriage.

All these Gentiles keep living serpents in their ships, instead (as it were) of an alminacke, or rather some demy-god, for their good luck; so that if they see them not frollick and blithe, they dare not set sayle; but if they be jolly and merry, they will sette out, whatsoever comes of it.

The above-named drink caahiete, is drunk from Turky to China, and is exceeding wholesome and good.

Throughout all these Indies, instead of glasse-windowes, they use mother of pearle.

They have the fruit of a tree, like unto a peach-stone, called Arque, which they continually keep in their mouth, and can no more forbeare it, then those who have used themselves to tobacco; in like manner, they use an hearbe, which they call Betre, somewhat like Juie, which both men and women chaw night and day in their mouths: and to abstaine from that, would make their harts faint: Sometimes they eate it with lime; which makes it the ardentest thing in the world. Once I would needs taste of it, but I thought verily to have burnt all my intrails: thus they forbeare 5 or 6 dayes from meate.

They have also certaine fig-trees, which beare leaves, about 3 ells long, in so much that they cover themselves with it, from the raine, and use them instead of table-cloths and the onely halfe of one sufficeth 10 or 12 men. They are exceeding faire and green, and a farre off, seem a peece of water-chamlet; their fruit is of 2 sorts, the one, of the bignesse of a meane cucumber, the other, somewhat lesse; both yellow, being ripe, and wonderfull good, but the lesser is the best. Out of this fig-tree groweth a stemme, as big as a mans arme, within the which lie a great number of figs, clustring together, like a bunch of grapes, every stem, together with the figs, waighing 50 or 60 li. They gather the said stems, while the figs be green, for they rippen as well in the house, as upon the tree, therefore they make great use of them in long voyages. The custome they use in planting these trees, is to take a long lyne, and to draw it stiffly through the figs, (as a shoomaker waxeth his thred) to the end, that the small seed within the fruit, may stick to the corde, then they stretch it in the ground, half a foote deep, whereof proceedeth an infinite number of figge-trees.

Moreover, you have there, as farre as Macao, a kind of palme-trees, like those which beare dates, but this beares another fruit, which, together with the shell, is as big as a man's head. It is exceeding wholesome, and yeelds both wine, vineger, oyle to eate and to burne, sugar, and a kind of liquor which they drink: the fruit itselfe tasteth like a hasle-nut; of its rinde, they make cordage, and of the wood they build houses and ships. Many other things could I add, but thus much will suffice, for a taste to such as will be pleased to heare me further speak.

Certain Matters concerning the Realme of Scotland composed together.

The Genealogie of all the Kings of Scotland, their Lives, the Yeres of their Coronation, the Time of their Raigne, the Yere of their Death, and Maner thereof, with the Place of their Buriall.

The whole Nobility of Scotland, their Surnames, their Titles of Honour, the Names of their chiefe Houses, and their Mariages.

The Arch-bishopricks, Bishopricks, Abbacies, Priories, and Nunries of Scotland.

The Knights of Scotland.

The Forme of the Othe of a Duke, Earle, Lord of Parliament, and of a Knight.

The Names of the Barons, Lairds, and chiefe Gentlemen in every Sherifdome.

The Names of the principall Clannes, and Surnames of the Borderers not landed.

The Stewartries and Bayleries of Scotland.

The Order of the Calling of the Table of the Session.

The Description of whole Scotland, with all the Iles, and Names thereof.

The most rare and wonderfull Things in Scotland.

As they were Anno Domini, 1597.

Imprinted at London for John Flasket, dwelling at the Signe of the Blacke Beare, in Paules Church-yard, 1603.

This compilation is called, from the name of the author, Monipenny's Chronicle. It was first published at Edinburgh, 1597, from which the London edition of 1603, was literally reprinted. The more modern editions of London, 1612, and Edinburgh, 1621, assume the title of Scots Chronicles. They are much fuller in the historical part of the tract, which is the least valuable, being a meagre abridgement of the fables of Hector Boece. But the omission of the various lists of Nobility, Barons, Clans, &c. &c., make these later editions greatly inferior, in point of interest and curiosity, to that now re-published. They will be found of considerable advantage to the Scottish historian and genealogist.

A Chronology of all the Kings of Scotland, declaring what Year of the World, and of Christ, they began to reigne, how long they reigned, and what Qualities they were of, according as they be set forth and imprinted with the great Booke of the Statutes of the Realme of Scotland.

1. Fergus, the first king of Scotland, the sonne of Ferquhard, a prince of Ireland, began to reign in the yere of the world 3641, before the coming of our Saviour Jesus Christ 330 yeres, in the first yere of the 112th Olympiade, and in the 421st yere of the building of Rome, about the beginning of the third monarchy of the Grecians, when Alexander the Great overthrew Darius Codomannus, the last monarch of Persia. He was a valiant prince, and dyed by shipwracke, upon the sea-coast of Ireland, neer unto Craig-fergus, in the 25th yere of his raigne.

2. Feritharis, brother to Fergus, began to raigne in the yere of the world 3666, in the yere before the coming of Christ 305. Hee was a good justiciar. In his time there was a lawe made, that if the sonnes of the king departed were so young that they could not rule, that then in that case the neerest in bloud should raigne, being in age sufficient for government; and then, after his death, the king's children should succeede; which law continued unto Kenneth the Third his dayes, 1025 years almost. He was slayne by the meanes of Ferlegus, Fergus his brother's sonne, in the fifteenth yere of his raigne.

3. Mainus, king Fergus sonne, succeeded to his father's brother, in the year of the world 3680, and in the year before the coming of Christ 290. He was a wise and good king, and married the king of Picts daughter, that did bear him two sonnes. He died peaceably in the 29th year of his raigne.

4. Dornadilla succeeded to his father Mainus, in the yere of the world 3709, in the yere before the coming of Christ 262. A good king. He made the first lawes concerning hunting. He had two sonnes, and died peaceably in the eight and twentyeth yere of his raigne.

5. Nothatus succeeded to his brother Dornadilla in the yere of the world 3738, and the yere before the coming of Christ 233. He was a greedy and a cruell tyrant. He was slain by Donalus, one of his nobles, in the twentyeth yeere of his raigne.

6. Reutherus, Dornadilla his son, began to raigne in the yere of the world 3758, in the yeere before the comming of Christ 213. He was a good king, and dyed peaceably in the sixe and twentyeth yere of his raigne.

7. Reutha succeeded to his brother Reutherus, in the yere of the world 3784, in the yere before the comming of Christ 187. A good king. Hee, of his own accord, left the kingdom, and lived a private life, when he had ruled fourteene yeeres.

8. Thereus, Reutherus sonne, began to raigne in the yere of the world 3798, in the yere before Christ 173. He was an unwise and cruell tyrant. He was expelled and

banished the realme, in the twelfth yere of his raigne, by his nobles; and Conanus, a wise and grave man, was made governor of the land. He died in exile in the city of Yorke.

9. Josina succeeded his brother Thereus, in the yere of the world 3810, in the yere before Christ 161. He was a quiet and good prince, a good medicinar and herbister, or skilful in phisicke and the nature of herbs. He died in peace, in the foure and twentieth yere of his raigne.

10. Finnanus, Josina his sonne, began to raigne in the yere of the world 3834, in the yere before Christ 137. A good king. He was much given to the superstitious religion of the Druydes. He died in peace, in the 30th yere of his raigne

11. Durstus, Finnanus sonne, succeeded to his father in the yeere of the world 3864, in the yeere before Christ 107. A cruell and trayterous tyrant, slayne by his nobles in battell, in the ninth yere of his raigne.

12. Evenus the First succeeded to his brother Durstus, in the yere of the world 3873, in the yere before the comming of Christ 98. A wise, just, and vertuous prince. He died peaceably, in the nineteenth year of his raigne.

13. Gillus, Evenus bastard sonne, succeeded to his father, in the yere of the world 3892, in the yere before Christ 79. A crafty tyrant, slayne in battell by Cadallus, in the second yere of his raigne.

14. Evenus the Second, Dovallus sonne, king Finnanus brother, began to raigne in the yere of the world 3894, in the yere before the comming of Christ 77. A good and civill king Hee dyed in peace, in the 1, th yere of his raigne.

15. Ederus, son to Dochamus, that was sonne to Durstus the eleventh king, began to raigne in the yere of the world 3911, in the yere before the comming of Christ 60. A wise, valiant, and good prince. He died in the eight and fortieth yeie of his raigne.

16. Evenus the Third succeeded to his father Ederus, in the yeere of the world 3959, in the yere before the comming of Christ 12. A luxurious and covetous wicked king. Hee was taken by his nobles, and imprisoned, and dyed in prison in the seventh yere of his raigne.

17. Metellanus, Ederus brothers sonne, began to raigne in the yere of the world 3966, four yeeres before Christs incarnation. A very modest and good king. He died in the 39th yere of his raigne. In his time there was peace at home and abroad; and our Saviour Jesus Christ was borne, and suffered death in his raigne.

18. Caractacus, the son of Cadallanus and of Eropeia, which was daughter to Metellanus, began to raigne in the yere of the world 4005, in the yere after the birth of Christ 35. He was a wise and valiant king, and raigned twenty yeres.

19. Corbredus I. succeeded to his brother Caractacus, in the yere of the world 4025, in the yeere of Christ 55. A wise king, and a good justiciar, or executor of justice. He dyed in peace, in the 18th yere of his raigne.

20. Dardannus, nephew to Metellanus, began to raigne in the yere of the world 4042, in the yere of Christ 72. A cruell tyrant. He was taken in battell, and beheaded by his owne subjects in the fourth yere of his raigne.

21. Corbredus II. surnamed Galdus, sonne to the former Corbredus, began to raigne in the yere of the world 4046, in the yere of Christ 76. A valiant and worthy king; for hee had many warres with the Romanes, and was oft victorious over them. He died in peace, in the 35th yeere of his raigne.

22. Lugthacus succeeded to his father Corbredus the Second, in the yeere of the world 4080, in the yere of Christ 110. A lecherous bloudy tyrant. He was slain by his nobles in the third yere of his raigne.

23. Mogallus, son to the sister of Corbredus the second. He began to raigne in the yere of the world 4083, in the yere of Christ 113. A good king, and victorious in the beginning of his raigne: but in the end of his life, became inclined to tyranny,

lechery, and covetousness; and was slayne by his nobles in the 36th yere of his raigne.

24. Conarus succeeded to his father Mogallus, in the yere of the world 4119, in the yeere of Christ 149. A lecherous tyrant. He was imprisoned by his nobles, and died in prison in the 14th yere of his raigne; and Argadus, a nobleman, was made governour.

25. Ethodius the First, sonne to the sister of Mogallus, began to raigne in the yere of the world 4133, in the yeere of Christ 163. He was a good prince. He was slayne by an Irish harper, whom he admitted to lye in his chamber, in the 33d yeere of his raigne.

26. Satraell succeeded to his brother Ethodius the First, in the yere of the world 4165, in the yere of Christ 195. A cruel tyrant. He was slayne by his owne courtiers, in the fourth yeere of his raigne.

27. Donald I. the first Christian king of Scotland, succeeded to his brother Satraell, in the yeere of the world 4169, in the yeere of Christ 199. A good and religious king. He was the first of the kings of Scotland that coyned money of gold and silver. He died in the eighteenth yere of his raigne.

28. Ethodius the Second, sonne to Ethodius the First, began to raigne in the yere of the world 4186, in the yere of Christ 216. An unwise and base-minded king, governed by his nobles. He was slayne by his owne gard in the sixteenth yeere of his raigne.

29. Athrico succeeded to his father Ethodius the Second, in the yere of the world 4201, in the yere of Christ 231. A valiant prince in the beginning; but he degenerated and became vicious: and being hardly pursued by his nobles for his wicked life, slew himselfe in the twelfth yere of his raigne.

30. Nathalocus, as some write, sonne to the brother of Athrico, began to raigne in the yere of the world 4212, in the yere of Christ 242. A cruell tyrant, slayne by his nobles, and cast away into a privy, in the eleventh yere of his raigne.

31. Findocus, sonne of Athrico, began to raigne in the yere of the world 4223, in the yere of Christ 253. A good king and valiant, slayne by fayned hunters, at the instigation of Donald, Lord of the Isles, his brother, in the eleventh yere of his raigne.

32. Donald the Second, succeeded to his brother Findocus, in the yere of the world 4234, in the yere of Christ 264. A good prince. He was wounded in battel, and being overcome, died for griefe and sorrow, in the first yere of his raigne.

33. Donald the Third, Lord of the Isles, brother to Findocus, began to raigne in the yere of the world 4235, in the yere of Christ 265. A cruell tyrant, slayne by Crathilinthus his successor, in the twelfth yere of his raigne.

34. Crathilinthus, Findocus sonne, began to raigne in the yere of the world 4247, in the yere of Christ 277. A valiant and a godly king. He purged the land from the idolatrous superstition of the Druydes, and planted the sincere Christian religion. He died in peace in the foure and twentieth yere of his raigne. In his time was Constantine the Great, emperour of Christendome, borne in England.

35. Fincormachus, sonne to the brother of the father of Crathilinthus, began his raigne in the yere of the world 4271, in the yere of Christ 301. A godly king and valiant. He was a worthy furtherer of the kingdome of Christ in Scotland. He died in peace in the seven and fourtieth yere of his raigne.

36. Romachus, brothers sonne to Crathilinthus, began to raigne in the yere of the world 4318, in the yere of Christ 348. A cruell tyrant, slayne by his nobles, and his head striken off, in the third yere of his raigne.

37. Angusianus, Crathilinthus brothers sonne, succeeded to Romachus in the yere of the world 4321, in the yere of Christ 341. A good king, slayne in battel by the Picts, in the third yere of his raigne.

38. Fethelmachus, another brothers sonne of Crathilinthus, he began to raigne in

the yere of the world 4324, in the yere of Christ 354. He was a valiant king: for he overcame the Picts, and slew their king. He was betrayed to the Picts by an harper, and slayne by them in his owne chamber, in the third yere of his raigne.

39. Eugenius the First, Fincormachus sonne, began to raigne in the yere of the world 4327, in the yere of Christ 357. A valiant, just, and good king. He was slayne in battell by the Picts and Romanes, in the third yere of his raigne: and the whole Scottish nation was utterly expelled the isle, by the Picts and Romanes, and remayned in exile about the space of foure and fourty yeres.

40. Fergus the Second, Erthus sonnes sonne to Ethodius, Eugenius the First his brother, returning into Scotland, with the helpe of the Danes and Gothes, and his own countreymen, who were gathered to him out of al countries where they were dispersed, conquered his kingdome of Scotland agayne out of the Romanes and Picts hands. He began his raigne in the yere of the world 4374, in the yere of Christ 404. He was a wise, valiant, and good king. He was slayne by the Romanes in the sixteenth yere of his raigne.

41. Eugenius the Second, sonne of Fergus the Second, succeeded to his father in the yere of the world 4390, in the yere of Christ 420. He was a valiant and a good prince. He subdued the Britons, and dyed in the two and thirtieth yere of his raigne.

42. Dongardus succeeded to his brother Eugenius the Second, in the yere of the world 4421, in the yere of Christ 451. A godly, wise, and valiant prince. He died in the fifth yere of his raigne.

43. Constantine the First, succeeded to his brother Dongardus, in the yere of the world 4427, in the yere of Christ 457. A wicked prince. He was slain by a nobleman in the iles, whose daughter he had defiled, in the two and twentieth yere of his raigne.

44. Congallus the First, sonne of Dongardus, began to raigne in the yere of the world 4449, in the yere of Christ 479. A good and quiet prince. He dyed in peace in the two and twentieth yere of his raigne.

45. Goranus, or Conranus, succeeded to his brother Congallus the First, in the yere of the world 4471, in the yere of Christ 501. A good and wise prince. He died in the foure and thirtieth yere of his reigne.

46. Eugenius the Third, Congallus sonne, succeeded to his father and uncle, in the yere of the world 4505, in the yere of Christ 535. A wise king and a good justiciar. He died in the three and twentieth yere of his raigne.

47. Congallus the Second, or Convallus, succeeded to his brother Eugenius the Third, in the yere of the world 4528, in the yere of Christ 558. A very good prince. He died in peace in the eleventh yere of his raigne.

48. Kinnatillus succeeded to his brother Congallus the Second, in the yere of the world 4539, in the yere of Christ 569. A good prince. He dyed in the first yere of his raigne.

49. Aidanus, sonne of Goranus, the fourty fifth king, began to raigne in the yere of the world 4540, in the yere of Christ 570. A godly and good prince. He died in the five and thirtieth yere of his raigne.

50. Kenethus the First, surnamed Keir, Congallus the Second his sonne, began to raigne in the yere of the world 4575, in the yere of Christ 605. A peaceable prince. He died in the first yere of his raigne.

51. Eugenius the Fourth, sonne of Aidanus, began to raigne in the yere of the world 4576, in the yere of Christ 606. A valiant and a good king. He dyed in the sixteenth yere of his raigne.

52. Ferquhard, or Ferchard I. succeeded to his father Eugenius the IV., in the yere of the world 4591, in the yere of Christ 621. A bloudy tyrant. He slew himselfe

in the prison, whereinto he was put by the nobles of his realme, in the twelfth year of his raigne.

53. Donald the Fourth, succeeded to his brother Ferquhard the First, in the yere of the world 4602, in the yere of Christ 632. He was a good and religious king. He was drowned in the water of Tay, while he was fishing, in the foureteenth yere of his raigne.

54. Ferquhard, or Ferchard II. succeeded to his brother Donald the IV. in the yere of the world, 4616 in the yere of Christ 646. A very wicked man. He was bitten by a woolfe in hunting: of the which eusued a fever, whereof he dyed in the eighteenth yere of his raigne.

55. Malduine, sonne to Donald the Fourth, began to raigne in the yere of the world 4634, in the yere of Christ 664. A good prince, strangled by his wife, who suspected him of adultery, in the twentieth yere of his raigne. She was therefore burned.

56. Eugenius the Fift, Maldaine his brothers sonne, began to raigne in the yere of the world 4654, in the yere of Christ 684. A false prince, slayne by the Picts in battel, in the fourth yere of his raigne.

57. Eugenius the Sixt, sonne to Ferquhard the Second, began to raigne in the yere of the world 4658, in the yere of Christ 688. A good prince. He dyed in peace in the tenth yere of his raigne.

58. Ambirkelethus, sonne of Findanus, sonne of Eugenius the Fift, began to raigne in the yere of the world 4667, in the yere of Christ 697. He was a vicious prince, and was slayne by the shot of an arrow, in the second yere of his raigne. The shooter thereof is unknowne, or set out in history.

59. Eugenius the Seventh succeeded to his brother Ambirkelethus, in the yere of the world 4669, in the yere of Christ 699. He dyed in peace in the seventeenth yere of his raigne. A good prince.

60. Mordacus, Ambirkelethus sonne, began to raigne in the yere of the world 4685, in the yere of Christ 715. A good prince. He died in the sixteenth yere of his raigne.

61. Etfinus, Eugenius the Seventh his sonne, began to raigne in the yere of the world 4700, in the yere of Christ 730. He dyed in peace in the one and thirtieth yere of his raigne.

62. Eugenius the Eight, Mordacus sonne, began to raigne in the yere of the world 4771, in the yere of Christ 761. A good prince in the beginning of his raigne: and then after, degenerating from his good life, he was slayne by his nobles in the third yere of his raigne.

63. Fergus the Third, Etfinus sonne, began to raigne in the yere of the world 4734, in the yere of Christ 764. A lecherous prince, poysoned by his wife, in the third yere of his raigne.

64. Soluathius, Eugenius the Eight his sonne, began to raigne in the yere of the world 4737, in the yere of Christ 767. A good prince. He dyed in peace in the twentyeth yeere of his raigne.

65. Achaius, Etfinus sonne, began to raigne in the yere of the world 4757, in the yere of Christ 787. A peaceable, good, and godly prince. He made a league with Charles the Great, emperour and king of Fraunce, which remayneth inviolably kept to this day. He died in the two and thirtyeth yere of his raigne.

66. Congallus, or Convallus, Achaius fathers brothers sonne, began to raigne in the yere of the world 4789, in the yere of Christ 819. A good prince. He dyed in the fifth yere of his raigne.

67. Dongallus, Soluathius sonne, succeeded in the yere of the world 4794, in the yere of Christ 825. A valiant and good prince. He was drowned, comming over the river of Spey, to warre against the Picts, in the seventh yere of his raigne.

68. Alpinus, Achaius sonne, began to raigne in the yere of the world 4801, in the yere of Christ 831. A good prince. He was taken in battell, and beheaded by the Picts, in the third yere of his raigne.

69. Kenneth the Second, surnamed the Great, succeeded to his father Alpinus, in the yere of the world 4804, in the yere of Christ 834. A good and a valiant prince. He utterly overthrew the Picts in divers battles, expelled them out of the land, and joyned the kingdome of the Picts to the crowne of Scotland. He dyed in peace, in the twentyeth yere of his raigne.

70. Donald the Fifth, succeeded to his brother Kenneth the Second, in the yere of the world 4824, in the yere of Christ 854. A wicked prince. He slew himselfe in the fifth yere of his raigne.

71. Constantine the Second, sonne of Kenneth the Second, began to raigne in the yere of the world 4829, in the yere of Christ 859. A valiant prince. He was slayne by the Danes in a cruell battell, stricken at Carraill in Fife, in the sixteenth yere of his raigne.

72. Ethus, surnamed Alipes, the sonne of Constantine the Second, succeeded to his father, in the yere of the world 4844, in the yere of Christ 874. A vicious prince. He was imprisoned by his nobles, where he dyed in the second yere of his raigne.

73. Gregory, surnamed the Great, sonne of Dongallus the Second, began to raigne in the yere of the world 4846, in the yere of Christ 876. A prince valiant, victorious, and renowned through the world in his time: he dyed in peace in the eighteenth yere of his raigne.

74. Donald the Sixt, sonne of Constantine the Second, began to raigne in the yere of the world 4863, in the yere of Christ 803. A valiant prince. He dyed in peace, being loved of his subjects, in the eleventh yere of his raigne.

75. Constantine the Third, sonne of Ethus, surnamed Alipes, began to raigne in the yere of the world 4874, in the yere of Christ 904. He was a valiant king, yet he prospered not in his warres against England, and therefore being wearie of his life, he became a monke, and died, after he had raigned fourty yeres as king.

76. Malcolme the First, sonne of Donald the Sixt, began to raigne in the yere of the world 4913, in the yere of Christ 943. A valiant prince, and a good justiciar, or executor of justice. He was slayne in Murray, by a conspiracy of his owne subjects, in the nynth yere of his raigne.

77. Indulfus, sonne of Constantine the Third, began to raigne in the yere of the world 4922, in the yere of Christ 952. A valiant and a good prince. He had many battells with the Danes, whom he overcame, but in the end, he was slayne by them, in a stratageme of warre, in the nynth yere of his raigne.

78. Duffus, the sonne of Malcolme the First, began to raigne in the yere of the world 4931, in the yere of Christ 961. A good prince, and a severe justiciar, or executor of justice. He was slayne by one Donald, at Forres, in Murray, and was buried secretly under the bridge of a river beside Kinlosse; but the matter was revealed, and the murtherer, and his wife that consented thereto, severely punished. He raigned five yeres.

79. Culenus, Indulfus sonne, began to raigne in the yere of the world 4936, in the yere of Christ 966. A vicious and effeminate prince. He was slayne at Methven, by Radardus, a nobleman, whose daughter he had defiled, in the fourth yere of his raigne.

80. Kenneth the Third, Duffus brother, began to raigne in the yere of the world 4940, in the yere of Christ 970. A valiant and a wise prince: but in the end he became cruell, and slew Malcolme, his brother's sonne; and in God's judgement, who suffereth not innocent bloud to be unpunished, he was slayne, as some say, by a shaft or arrow, shot by a device or sleight, out of an image fixed in a wall, at Fetticarne, by the means of a noblewoman there, called Fenella, in the foure and twentieth yere of his raigne.

81. Constantine the Fourth, surnamed Calvus, Culenus sonne, began to raigne in the yere of the world 4964, in the yere of Christ 994. An usurper of the crowne. He was slayne in battel, at the towne of Crawmond in Louthian, in the second yere of his raigne.

82. Grimus, Duffus sonne, began to raigne in the yere of the world 4966, in the yere of Christ 996. A vicious prince. He was slayne in battell by Malcolme the Second, his successor, in the eighth yere of his raigne.

83. Malcolme the Second, sonne of Kenneth the Third, began to raigne in the yere of the world 4974, in the yere of Christ 1004. A valiant and a wise prince, who made many good lawes, of the which a few are yet extant. He was slayne by a conspiracie of his nobles, at the castell of Glammes, who after the slaughter, thinking to escape, were drowned in the water of Forfar: for it being winter, and the water frozen and covered with snow, the ice brake, and they fell in, in the righteous judgement of God. He raigned thirty yeres. Some write, that, after a great victory in battell, he did give much of his lands to his nobles, and they agreed that he should therefore have the wardship and custody of their heires, as long as they were under the age of one and twenty yeres; and the profits of all their lands, over and above their charges for education; and the disposing of them in marriage; and the money that should be given for their marriage; and that he first did give unto his nobles sundry severall titles of honour: Which wardships, marriages, times of full age, and reliefes, and maner of liveries of their lands out of the kings hands, be in Scotland very much agreeing to the lawes of England, as many other parts of the lawes doe.

84. Duncane the First, sonne of Beatrix, daughter of Malcolme the Second, began to raigne in the yere of the world 5004, in the yere of Christ 1034. A good and a modest prince. He was slayne by Macbeth trayterously, in the sixth yere of his raigne.

85. Macbeth, sonne of Donada, daughter of Malcolme the Second, began to raigne in the yere of the world 5010, in the yere of Christ 1040. In the beginning of his raigne he behaved himselfe as a good and just prince, but after, he degenerated into a cruell tyrant. He was slayne in battell by his successor Malcolme the Third, in the seventeenth yere of his raigne.

86. Malcolme the Third, surnamed Cammoir, sonne of Duncane the First, began to raigne in the yere of the world 5027, in the yere of Christ 1057. A very religious and valiant prince: he married Margaret, daughter to Edward, surnamed the outlaw, sonne to Edward, surnamed Iron-side, king of England, a very good and religious woman, according to those times, who bare unto him six sonnes and two daughters. The sonnes were Edward the prince, Edmond, Etheldred, Edgar, Alexander, David: the daughters were Mathildis or Maude, surnamed Bona, wife to Henry the First, surnamed Beauclearke, king of England, the sonne of William the Conquerour of England. Of her vertues there is extant this old epigram:—

Prospera non lætam fecêre, nec aspera tristem,
Prospera terror ei, aspera risus erant,
Non decor effecit fragilem, non sceptra superbam,
Sola potens humilis, sola pudica decens.

That is:

Prosperity rejoyced her not, to her griefe was no payne,
Prosperity affrayed her als, affliction was her gayne:
Her beauty was no cause of fall; in royall state not proud,
Humble alone in dignity, in beauty onely good.

She founded the church of Carleill. The other daughter was Mary, wife to Eustathius, earle of Boloigne. King Malcolme builded the churches of Durehame and Dumfermeline. He was slayne with his sonne, the prince Edward, in the sixe and thirtieth yere of his raigne, at the besieging of Anwicke, by Robert Mowbray, surnamed Pearce-eie, and was buried at Tinmouth; but after, he was removed to Dumfermeline.

87. Donald the VII. surnamed Bane, usurped the crowne, after the death of his brother, in the yere of the world 5063, in the yere of Christ 1093; and was expelled in the first yere of his raigne, by Duncane the Second, the bastard sonne of king Malcolme the Third.

88. Duncane the Second usurped the crowne, in the yere of the world 5064, in the yere of Christ 1094. A rash and foolish prince. He was slayne by Makpendir, the thane or earle of the Meirnes, when he had raigned little over a yere, by the procurement of Donald the Seventh.

Donald the Seventh, made king againe in the yere of the world 5065, in the yere of Christ 1095, and raigned three yeres. He gave the west and north iles to the king of Norway, for to assist him to attayne to the crowne of Scotland. He was taken captive by Edgar, his eyes put out, and dyed miserably in prison.

89. Edgar, the sonne of Malcolme the Third, began to raigne in the yere of the world 5068, in the yere of Christ 1098. He builded the priory of Coldingham. He was a good prince. He dyed at Dundie, without succession, and was buried at Dumfermeline, in the nynth yere of his raigne.

90. Alexander the First, surnamed Fearce, succeeded to his brother, in the yere of the world 5077, in the yere of Christ 1107. A very good and valiant prince. He builded the abbacies of Scone, and of Saint Colmes-Inche. He maried Sybilla, daughter to William duke of Normandy, &c. He died in peace, without succession, at Striviling, in the seventeenth yere of his raigne, and was buried at Dumfermeline.

91. David the First, commonly called St. David, the yongest sonne of King Malcolme the Third, succeeded to his brother in the yere of the world 5094, in the yere of Christ 1124. A good, valiant, and religious prince, according to those times. He builded many abbacies, as Haly-rude house, Kelso, Jedburgh, Dun-dranan, Cambuskenneth, Kin-losse, Mel-rosse, New-bottle, Dumfermeline, Holme, in Cumberland, and two religious places at Newcastle, in Northumberland. He erected foure bishopricks, Rosse, Brechin, Dumblane, and Dunkeld. He maried Maude, daughter of Woldeofus, earle of Northumberland and Huntingdon, and of Juditha, daughters daughter to William the Conquerour, king of England, by whome he had one sonne, named Henry, a worthy and good youth, who maried Adama, daughter to William, earle Warren, who bare unto him three sonnes, Malcolme the Mayden, William the Lyon, and Daniel earle of Huntingdon; and two daughters, Adama, wife to Florentius, earle of Holland, and Margaret, wife to Conanus, duke of Britayne. He died before his father. St. David died in peace at Carleill, in the twenty ninth yere of his raigne, and was buried at Dumfermeline.

92. Malcolme the Fourth, surnamed the Mayden, (because he would never marry,) succeeded to his grandfather Daniel I. in the yere of the world 5123, in the yere of Christ 1153. A good and meeke prince. He builded the abbey of Cowper in Angus, and dyed at Jedburgh, and was buried at Dumfermeline in the twelfth yere of his raigne.

93. William, surnamed the Lyon, succeeded to his brother Malcolme the Fourth, in the yere of the world 5135, in the yere of Christ 1165. A good and a valiant king. He maried Emergarda, daughter to the earle of Beaumount. He builded the abbacy of Aberbrothok, and she builded the abbacy of Balmerinoch. He died at Striviling, in the forty ninth yeere of his raigne, and was buried at Aber-brothok.

94. Alexander the Second succeeded to his father William, in the yere of the world

5184, in the yere of Christ 1214. A good prince. He maried Jeane, daughter to John, king of England, by whom he had no succession. After her death he maried Marie, daughter to Ingelrame, earle of Coucey, in Fraunce, by whom he had Alexander the Third. He died at Kernery, in the west iles, and was buried at Mel-rosse, in the thirty-fifth yere of his raigne.

95. Alexander the Third succeeded to his father, in the yere of the world 5219, in the yere of Christ 1249. A good prince. He maried first Margaret, daughter to Henry the Third, king of England, by whom he had Alexander the prince, who maried the earle of Flanders daughter; David and Margaret, who maried Hangonanus, or, as some cal him, Ericus, sonne to Magnus IV. king of Norway, who bare to him a daughter named Margaret, commonly called the Mayden of Norway; in whom king William his whole posterity fayled, and the crowne of Scotland returned to the posterity of David earle of Huntingdon, king Malcolme IV., and king William his brother. After his sonnes death, (for they dyed before himselfe, without succession,) in hope of posterity, he married Joleta, daughter to the earle of Dreux, in Fraunce, by whom he had no succession. He builded the crosse church of Peibles. He died of a fall from his horse, upon the sands, betwixt Easter and Wester King-horne, in the thirty-seventh yere of his raigne, and was buried at Dumfermeline.

After the death of Alexander the Third, which was in the yere of the world 5255, in the yere of Christ 1285, there were sixe regents appoynted to rule Scotland: for the south side of Forth, were appoynted Robert, the arch-bishop of Glasgowe, John Cummin, and John, the great steward of Scotland. For the north side of Forth, Makduffe, earle of Fife, John Cummin, earle of Buchan, and William Fraser, arch-bishop of Saint Andrewes, who ruled the land about the space of seven yeres, untill the controversie was decided betwixt John Ballioll and Robert Bruyse, graundfather to Robert Bruyse the king of Scotland, who did come of the two eldest daughters of David earle of Huntingdon: for Henry Hastings, who maried the yongest daughter, put not in his sute or clayme with the rest, and therefore there is little spoken of him.

96. John Ballioll was preferred before Robert Bruyse, to be king of Scotland, by Edward I. surnamed Longshanks, king of England, who was chosen to bee the judge of the controversy; which preferment was upon a condition, that John Ballioll should acknowledge king Edward the First as superiour: which condition he receyved. He began his raigne in the yere of the world 5263, in the yere of Christ 1293. He was a vayne-glorious man, little respecting the weale or common wealth of his countrey. He had not raigned fully foure yeres, when he was expelled by the said Edward the First, king of England; and leaving Scotland, he departed into the parts of Fraunce, where he died long after in exile. And so Scotland was without a king and government the space of nyne yeres; during which space, the sayd Edward the First, surnamed Longshankes, cruelly oppressed the land, destroyed the whole auncient monuments of the kingdome, and shed much innocent bloud.

97. Robert Bruyse began to raigne in the yere of the world 5276, in the yere of Christ 1306. A valiant, good, and wise king. In the beginning of his raigne, he was subject to great misery and affliction, being oppressed by England: but at length, having overcome and vanquished Edward the Second, king of England, commonly called Edward of Carnarvan, at the field of Bannock-burne, he delivered Scotland from the warres of England, and set it at full liberty, all Englishmen by force being expelled out of the land. He maried first Isabel, daughter to the earle of Mar, who bare unto him Mariory, the wife of Walter, the great steward of Scotland; from whom, and the ofspring of the Stewards, the king now ruling is descended. After her death, he maried Isabel, daughter to Haymerus de Burc, earle of Hultonia or Hulster, in Ireland, who bare unto him David the Second, Margaret the countesse of Sutherland, and

Maude that died young. He died at Cardros, and was buried at Dumfermeline, in the foure and twentieth yere of his raigne.

98. David the Second succeeded to his father, Robert Bruise, in the yere of the world 5300, in the yere of Christ 1330. A good prince, subject to much affliction in his youth, being first after the death of Thomas Canulph his regent, forced to fly into Fraunce, for his own safegard; and then returning home, was taken at the battell of Durhame, and was holden twelve yeres almost captive in England: but after, he was restored to his liberty. He maried first Jeane, daughter to Edward the Second, king of England: and after her death, he maried Margaret Logie, daughter to Sir John Logie, knight, and dyed without succession, at Edinburgh, in the fourtyth yere of his raigne, and was buried at Haly-rude-house.

99. Edward Ballioll, sonne to John Ballioll, usurped the crown of Scotland, being assisted by Edward the Third, king of England, in the yere of the world 5302, in the yere of Christ 1332. But hee was expelled at length by David the Second his regents, and David the Second established king.

100. Robert the Second, surnamed Bleare-eye, the first of the Stewards, sonne to Walter Steward and Margery Bruyse, daughter to king Robert Bruyse, succeeded to his mothers brother, in the yere of the world 5341, in the yere of Christ 1371. A good and a peaceable prince. He married first Eufeme, daughter to Hugh, earle of Rosse, who bare unto him David, earle of Strathern, Walter, earle of Athol, and Alexander, earle of Buchan, lord Badzenoth. After her death, for the affection he bare to his children begotten before his first marriage, he married Elizabeth Mure, daughter to Sir Adam Mure, knight, who had borne unto him John, after called Robert the Third, earle of Carrict, Robert, earle of Fife and Menteith, and Eufeme wife to James, earle of Dowglas. He died at Dun-donald the nineteenth yere of his raigne, and was buried at Scone.

101. Robert the Third, surnamed John Farne-zeir, succeeded to his father, in the yeere of the world 5360, in the yeere of Christ 1390. A quiet and a peaceable prince. He married Anabel Drummond, daughter to the laird of Stobhall, who bare unto him David the prince, D. of Rothesay, that died in prison of very extreame famine at Falkland; and James I. taken captive in his voyage to Fraunce, and detayned a captive almost the space of eighteene yeres in England. He died of griefe and sorrow at Rothesay, when hee heard of the death of the one sonne, and captivity of the other, and was buried at Paisly, in the sixteenth yere of his raigne.

Robert, earle of Fife and Menteith, governed Scotland, in the yere of the world 5276, in the yere of Christ 1406. He died in the fourteenth yere of his government, James the First being a captive in England.

Murdo Steward succeeded to his father Robert, earle of Fife, in the government of Scotland, in the yere of the world 5390, in the yere of Christ 1420; and ruled foure yeres, James the First being yet a captive in England. Both the father and the sonne, Walter, were executed after, for oppression of the subjects, by king James the First.

102. James the First began to raigne in the yere of the world 5394, in the yeere of Christ 1424. He was a good, learned, vertuous and just prince. He married Jeane, daughter to John, duke of Somerset, and Marques Dorset, sonne to John of Gaunt, the fourth sonne to Edward the Third, the victorious king of England, who bare unto him James the Second, and sixe daughters; Margaret, wife to Lewes the Eleventh; the Daulphine, after king of Fraunce; Elizabeth, dutches of Britayne; Jeane, countesse of Huntley; Eleanor, dutches of Austria; Marie, wife to the L. of Campveere, and Anabella. He was slayne at Perth trayterously, by Walter, earle of Athole, and Robert Grahame, and their confederates, in the thirty-first yere of his raigne, if we count from the death of hs father; and in the thirteenth yere, if we count from his deliverance out of England, and was buried at the Charter-house of Perth, which he builded.

103. James the Second succeeded to his father, in the yere of the world 5407, in the yere of Christ 1437. A prince subject to great troubles in his youth. He married Mary, daughter to Arnold, duke of Geldre, daughter to the sister of Charles, surnamed Audax, the last duke of Burgundy, &c. who bare unto him three sonnes, James the Third, John Earle of Mar, Alexander, Duke of Albany, and Mary, wife first to Thomas Boyde, Earl of Arrane, and after his beheading, to James Hammilton of Cadzou. He was slayne at the siege of Roxburgh, in the 24th yere of his raigne.

104. James the Third succeeded to his father, in the yere of the world 5430, in the yere of Christ 1460. A prince corrupted by wicked courtiers. He married Margaret, daughter to Christianus I. surnamed Dives, king of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. He was slayne at the field of Bannockburn, in the 29th yere of his raigne, and was buried at Cambus-kenneth.

105. James the Fourth succeeded to his father, in the yere of the world 5459, in the yere of Christ 1489. A noble and courageous prince. He married Margaret, eldest daughter to Henry Earl of Richmond, King of England, and of Elizabeth, daughter to Edward IV. King of England, in whose two persons, the two houses of Lancaster and Yorke were united, and the bloudy civill wars of England pacified. He was slayne at Flowdon by England, in the 25th yere of his raigne.

106. James the Fift succeeded to his father, in the yere of the world 5484, in the yere of Christ 1514. A just prince, and severe. He married first Magdalene, daughter to Francis I. King of France, who died shortly thereafter, without succession. After, he married Marie of Lorayne, Dutchess of Longevile, daughter to Claude, Duke of Guise, who bare to him two sonnes, that died in his lifetime, and one daughter, named Mary, mother to our soveraigne lord the King James that now is. He died at Falkland, in the 29th yere of his raigne. He was buried at Halyrude-house.

107. Mary succeeded to her father James V. *anno mundi* 5513, *anno Christi* 1543. A virtuous princesse. She married first Frances II. Dolphin, after King of France: then, after his death, returning home into Scotland, she married H. Stewart, Duke of Albany, &c. Lord Darley, sonne to Mathew, Earle of Lennox, (a comely prince, *Pronepnoy* sonne, the daughter's daughter of Henry the Seventh, King of England) to whom she did beare James the Sixt. She was put to death in England, the 8th of February, after 18 years captivity.

108. James the Sixt, a good, godly, and learned prince, succeeded to his mother in the yere of the world 5537, in the yere of Christ 1567. He married Anna, daughter to Frederick the Second, king of Denmark, &c. and Sophia, the daughter of Ulricus the duke of Meckelburgh, who hath born unto him already, Henry Frederick the prince, the 19th of February 1593; and Elizabeth, the 19th of August 1596; Margaret, 1598, the 24th of December; Charles, duke of Rothesay, the 19th of February. He is now, in this yere of our Lord Jesus Christ 1603, not only king of Scotland, where he hath raigned 36 yeres, but also king of England, France, and Ireland, after the decease of our late most gracious souveraigne lady, Elizabeth our queen, who died the 24th of March now last past.

Mira cano, Sol occubuit, nox nulla secuta est.

The Earles of Scotland, their Surnames, Titles of Honour, their Marriages, and Names of their chief Houses.

Lodouicke Steward, duke of Lennox, married the second sister of John Ruth-vene, earl of Gowry, that now is. His chiefe house Cruikstone.

Earles.

1. James Hamilton, earle of Arran, unmarried. His chief house, Hamilton Castell.
2. William Douglasse, earl of Angusse, maried the eldest daughter of Lawrence, now Lord Olephant. His chiefe house, the castell of Dowglasse.
3. George Gordon, earl of Huntly, maried the eldest sister of Lodovicke, now duke of Lennox. His chief house, Strath-bogy.
4. Colone Campbell, earle of Argyle, lord justice general of Scotland, married a daughter of William Douglasse, now earle of Morton. His chief house, Inverary.
5. David Lindesay, earl of Crawfurd, maried the sister of Patricke, now Lord Drummond. His chief house, Fyn-heavin.
6. Francis Hay, earle of Arroll, constable of Scotland, maried the daughter of William, earle of Morton. His chiefe house, Slaynes.
7. John Stewart, earle of Atholl, maried the sister of John, earle of Gowry. His chiefe house, Blayre-Athole.
8. George Keyth, earle of Marshell, maried the sister of Alexander, Lord Home. His chiefe house, Dunnotter Castell.
9. Francis Stewart, earle Bothwell, maried the sister of Archbald, earle of Angus. His chiefe house, Crichton.
10. Andrew Leisly, earl of Rothes, maried the daughter of Sir James Hamilton. His chiefe house, Bambreich.
11. James Stewart, earle of Murrey, unmarried. His chiefe house, Tarneway.
12. Alexander Cunningham, earle of Glencairne, maried the eldest sister of Campbell of Glonorchy, knight. His chief house, Kilmawres.
13. Hugh Montgomery, earl of Eglinton, yong, unmaried. His chiefe house, Ardrossan.
14. John Kennedy, earl of Cassils, unmarried. His chief house, Dun-ure.
15. John Grahame, earle of Montrose, married the sister of Patricke, Lord Drummond that now is. His chiefe house, Kincardin.
16. Patrick Stewart, earle of Orknay, yong, unmaried. His chiefe house, Kirk-wall.
17. John Erskin, earle of Mar, maried the second sister of Lodovicke, now duke of Lennox. His chiefe house, Erskin.
18. William Douglasse, earle of Morton, maried the sister of the earle of Rothes that now is. His chiefe house, the castle of Dalkeith.
19. James Douglasse, earle of Buquhan, yong, unmaried. His chief house, Auchterhouse.
20. George Sincler, earle of Caithnes, maried the sister of the earle of Huntly that now is. His chiefe house, Girnego.
21. Alexander Gordon, earle of Sutherland, maried the fathers sister of the earle of Huntly that now is. His chiefe house, Dunrobene.
22. John Grayme, earle of Monteith, maried the sister of Campbel of Glenorchy, knight. His chiefe house, Kirk-bryde.
23. John Ruthvene, earl of Gowry, young, unmaried. His chiefe house, Ruthven.
24. The earle of March. The rents thereof are annexed to the crowne.

The Lords of Scotland.

1. Alexander, Lord Home, maried the eldest daughter of William, earl of Morton that now is. His chiefe house, Home Castle.
2. John Fleming, Lord Fleming, maried the daughter of the earle of Montrose. His chiefe house, Cummernauld.
3. John Stewart, Lord Innermaith, yong. His chiefe house, Red Castell.
4. James Hay, Lord Zester, maried the daughter of Marke, now lord of Newbottle. His chief house, Neydpeth.
5. John Maxwell, Lord Maxwell, maried the sister of Archebald, earle of Angusse. His chief house, Loch-maben.
6. William Maxwell, now Lord Harreis, maried the sister of Mark, now lord of Newbottle. His chiefe house, Terreglis.
7. Thomas Boyd, Lord Boyd, maried the sister of the sherife of Aere that now is, called Campbell, knight of Lothiane. His chiefe house, Kilmarnock.
8. Allane Cathcart, L. Cathcart, maried the sister of the knight of Bargany a Kennedy. His chiefe house, Cathcart.
9. Robert Semple, Lord Semple, maried the daughter of Hugh, earle of Eglinton. His chiefe house, Castle-Semple.
10. Alexander Levingston, Lord Levingston, maried the sister of Francis, now earle of Arrol. His chiefe house, Callender.
11. James Lyndesay, Lord Lyndesay, maried the daughter of the erle of Rothes. His chiefe house, Byris in Lothien.
12. Robert Seyton, Lord Seyton, maried the daughter of Hugh, earle of Eglinton. His chiefe house, Seyton by the Sea.
13. John Abernethie, Lord Salton, young, unmaried. His chiefe house, Rothe-may.
14. Robert Elpheston, Lord Elpheston, maried the daughter of the knight of Stobhall, called Drummond. His chiefe house, Kil-drymmy.
15. John Lyon, Lord Glammis, unmaried. His chiefe house, Glammis.
16. Patrik Gray, Lord Gray, maried the sister of the earle of Orknay that now is. His chiefe house, Fowlis.
17. James Ogilbie, Lord Ogilbie, maried the sister of the knight of Bonitoun. His chiefe house, Boshayne.
18. Andrew Stewart, Lord Ochiltrie, maried the daughter of the knight of Blarwhan, called Kennedy. His chiefe house, Ochiltry.
19. Henry Sincler, Lord Sincler, maried the sister of the Lord Forbesse. His chiefe house, Ravins-heugh.
20. Hugh Somervel, Lord Somervel, unmaried. His chiefe house, Carne-wath.
21. John Fraser, Lord Lovat, maried the knight of Mackenzies daughter. His chiefe house, Bewly.
22. Robert Rosse, Lord Rosse, maried the daughter of Hammilton of Roploch. His chiefe house, Hakket.
23. Robert Creichton, Lord Sanquhar, unmarried. His chiefe house, the castle of Sanquhar.
24. Lawrence Olephant, Lord Olephant, maried the fathers sister of Frances, now earle of Arrol. His chief house, Duplene.
25. Patrike, Lord Drummond, maried the knight of Edgels sister, called Lyndsay. His chiefe house, Drymmen.
26. John Forbes, Lord Forbes, maried the sister of Seyton of Towch. His chief house, Drumener.
27. James Borthuike, Lord Borthuike, maried the sister of the Lord Zester that now is. His chiefe house, Borthuike Castell.

Lordships newly erected since the Yere 1587.

28. John Maitland, Lord Thirlestane, chancellour of Scotland, maried the fathers sister of the Lord Fleming that now is. His chiefe house, the castle of Lawder.
29. Alexander Lyndesay, Lord Spyny, maried the daughter of John, Lord Glamisse, chancellor for the time of Scotland. His chiefe house, the castle of Spyny.
30. Claud Hamilton, Lord Paisley, maried the sister of Robert, Lord Seyton that now is. His chiefe house, Halsyde.
31. Robert Keyth, Lord Altry, married the heretrix of Benholme. His chiefe house, Benholme.
32. Alexander Seyton, Lord Urquhart, president of the college of justice, maried the daughter of Patrike, Lord Drummond. His chiefe house, Urquhart.
33. Marke, Lorde of Newbottle, maried the sister of the Lord Harreis. His chiefe house, Prestons-graynge.

The Bishopricks of Scotland.

Arch-bishops. { Saint Andrewes. / Glasgow.

Bishopricks. { Orknay. / Caithnes. / Rosse. / Murray. / Abirdene. / Brechin. / Ilis. / Dunkell. / Dumblane. / Galloway. / Argyle.

The Abbacies, Priories, and Nunries of Scotland.[1]

Abbacies.	Deir.[4]	Lundores.[8]
	Abirbrothok.[5]	Balmerynnoch.[9]
Ferne.[2]	Cowper.[6]	S. Colmes Inche.[10]
Kinlosse.[3]	Scoone.[7]	Dunfermeling.

[1] The list here given is very imperfect, as will appear from consulting that in the appendix to Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops, and a similar list subjoined to Spottiswood's History of the Church of Scotland.

[2] In Ross, Præmonstratenses, founded by Ferquhard earl of Ross, *regnante Alex.* II.

[3] In Murray, Cistertians, founded by David I. A. D. 1150.

[4] In Buchan, founded by E. of Buchan, 1218. Cistertians.

[5] In Angus, founded by King William the Lyon, 1178. Tyronenses.

[6] In Angus, Cistertians, founded by Malcolm IV. about 1164; and in Coupar in Fife, Dominicans, founded by the Macduffs, earls of Fife.

[7] In Perthshire, Canon-regulars, founded by K. Alexander, 1114.

[8] In Fife, Tyronenses, founded by David earl of Huntingdon, brother to King William, about 1178.

[9] In the same shire, Cistertians, founded by King Alexander II., and his mother Emergarda, in 1229.

[10] Anisland, in the river Forth, near Aberdour, in Fife, Canons-regulars, founded by King Alexander I. about 1123.

[11] In Fife, Benedictines, begun by King Malcolm III. and finished by King Alexander I.

Culrosse.[1]
Inche-chaffray.[2]
Straphillane.[3]
Cambuskinneth.[4]
Manwell.[5]
Hallyrud-house.[6]
Newbottle.[7]
Kelso.[8]
Melrosse.[9]
Dryburg.[10]
Jedburgh.[11]
Paisley.[12]
Kilwinning[13]
Corsragwel.
Salsett.[15]
Sweet-heart, or New Abbay.[16]
Dundranane.[17]
Glenluce.[18]

Priories.

Bewly.[19]
Monimuske.[20]
S. Andrewes.[21]
Pettenweeme.[22]
Portmooke.[23]
Inche-mahomo.[24]
Coldinghame.[25]
S Mary Ile.[26]
Haly-wood.[27]
Blantyre.[28]
Pluscarden.[29]

Nunries.

Hadington.[30]

[1] In Perthshire, founded for Cistertians, by Malcolm earl of Fife, in 1217.
[2] In the same county, Canon-regulars, founded in 1200, by Gilbert earl of Stratherne.
[3] In the same shire, and the same order, founded by K. Robert the Bruce, in 1314, after the battle of Bannockburn.
[4] In Clackmannanshire, of the same order, founded by K. David I. in 1147.
[5] This, according to Keith, was a Cistertian nunnery, situated near Linlithgow, and founded in 1156, by K. Malcolm IV.
[6] At the east end of Edinburgh, Canon-regulars, founded by King David I. in 1128.
[7] In Mid-lothian, Cluniacenses, founded by the same king, in 1140.
[8] In Teviotdale, as well as the three following, Tyronenses, founded by the same, when he was earl of Northumberland, at Selkirk; thence transferred to Roxburgh by him, and finally to Kelso, in the year 1228.
[9] An old monastery in the time of the Saxons, mentioned by Bede in the year 664. The new building was erected by St David, in 1136, and given to the Cistertians.
[10] Præmonstratenses, founded by Hugh Moreville, constable of Scotland, in the reign of David I.
[11] Canon-regulars, founded by K. David I.
[12] In Renfrewshire, at first a priory, and afterwards changed into an abbey of Cluniacenses, founded by Walter, son of Allan, lord high steward of Scotland, in 1164.
[13] In Ayrshire, Tyronenses, founded by Hugh Moreville, constable of Scotland, in 1140.
[14] In the same county, Cluniacenses, founded by Duncan, son of Gilbert earl of Carrick, in 1244.
[15] Soul's-seat, in Galloway, as well as the three next, Præmonstratenses, founded by Fergus lord of Galloway, in 1160.
[16] Cistertians, founded by Dervorgilla, daughter to Allan lord of Galloway, in the beginning of the thirteenth century.
[17] Cistertians, founded by Fergus lord of Galloway, in 1142.
[18] The same order, founded by Rolland earl of Galloway, in 1190.
[19] In Ross, founded by James Bisset, in 1230, for monks of Vallis-caulium.
[20] In Aberdeenshire, formerly possessed by the Culdees, in the reign of William the Lyon, refounded by Gilchrist earl of Mar, for Canon-regulars.
[21] In Fife, Canon-regulars, founded by Alexander I. in 1140. There were also in the same city, a monastery of Dominicans, founded by William Wishart, bishop of that see, in 1274; another of Observantines, founded by James Kennedy, also a bishop there; and a third, according to Dempster, of Carmelites, which Spottiswood (apud Keith) does not believe to have existed.
[22] In Fife, Canon-regulars.
[23] In Kinross-shire, founded by Eogasch, king of the Picts, and formerly inhabited by the Culdees, subsequently by Canon-regulars.
[24] In Perthshire, founded of old for Canon-regulars of Cambuskenneth. Spottiswood supposes it to have been the same with the monastery of Inch-colme, mentioned above.
[25] In Berwickshire, Benedictines, founded by King Edgar, in 1098, formerly was a nunnery, the oldest in Scotland, and burnt by the Danes, in the year 870.
[26] In Galloway, founded by Fergus lord of Galloway, for Canon-regulars.
[27] In the same shire, Præmonstratenses.
[28] In Clydesdale, Canon-regulars, founded before 1296.
[29] In Murray, founded by K. Alexander II. in 1230, for monks of Vallis-caulium.
[30] Cistertians, founded by Ada, mother to K. Malcolm IV. and K. William, in 1178.

North Berwick.[1] Ekkillis.[3] The sisters of
S. Bothanis.[2] Cauldstreame.[4] Seynis.[5]

The Names of the Knights of Scotland.

Sir Robert Stewart of Straichtdone, knight.
Sir Robert Stewart of Largis, knight.
Sir Alexander Stewart of Delswintone, knight.
Sir James Stewart of Done, knight.
Sir William Murray of Tillibarne, knight.
Sir William Dowglasse of Hawyk, knight.
Sir Patrik Houstone of that ilk, knight.
Sir John Maxwell of Neather Povok, knight.
Sir William Levingstone of Kylsith, knight.
Sir John Muir of Cauldwoll, knight.
Sir Robert Drummond of Carnoch, knight.
Sir James Home of Sunlawis, knight.
Sir James Streveling of Keir, knight.
Sir William Ruthvene of Bandane, knight.
Sir Hugh Somervell of Lynton, knight.
Sir Alexander Stewart of Garleis, knight.
Sir John Gordoun of Lochinvar, knight.
Sir James Wemis of that ilk, knight.
Sir Walter Scot of Branxholme, knight.
Sir Patrik Hepbrowne of Luf-nes, knight.
Sir Symon Prestoun of that ilk.
Sir David Holme of Wedderburne, knight.
Sir Robert Lawder of Popell, knight.
Sir James Schaw of Sawquhy, knight.
Sir John Edmestoun of that ilk, knight.
Sir William Sinclair of Roslyne, knight.
Sir John Colhowne of the Lusse, knight.
Sir James Cokburne of Skirlyne, knight.
Sir Archebald Neper of Edinbelly, knight.
Sir James Forrest of Corstarfin, knight.
Sir James Dunbar of Mochrom, knight.
Sir James Stewart of Cragihall, knight.
Sir John Ormestoun of that ilk, knight.
Sir Thomas Young of old bar, knight.
Sir John Carmichell of that ilk, knight.
Sir John Campbell of Lavers, knight.
Sir James Johnstone of Dunividdie, knight.
Sir James Melvill of Auld-hill, knight.
Sir Alexander Stewart of Garleis, knight.
Sir Robert Ker of Sesforde, knight.
Sir Walter Scot of Brank-sholme, knight.
Sir Thomas Kennedy of Cullaine, knight.
Sir James Scrymgeor of Duddop, knight.
Sir Duncane Campbell of Glenorquhy, knight.
Sir James Scot of Ballwery, knight.
Sir Robert Gordoun of Glen, knight.
Sir Patrik Gordoun of Auchindoun, knight.
Sir George Ogilby of Dunbog, knight.
Sir James Chesholme of Dundorne, knight.
Sir Mathew Stewart of Minto, knight.
Sir George Balquhannan of that ilk, knight.
Sir James Edmestoun of Duntreth, knight.
Sir Alexander Home of Symbie, knight.
Sir George Stewart of Innerketoun, knight.
Sir David Lyndesay of Edgell, knight.
Sir Thomas Stewart of Garntully, knight.
Sir Alexander Bruce of Arthe, knight.
Sir Walter Ogilby of Finlater, knight.
Sir Patrik Bannantine of Kna, knight.
Sir John Melvill of Grantoun, knight.
Sir Andrew Murray of Arngosk, knight.
Sir Robert Melvill of Murdocarny, knight.
Sir Robert Maxwell of Spottis, knight.
Sir John Maxwell of Nether-Pooke, knight.
Sir Robert Maxwell of Dunwiddie, knight.
Sir Richard Cokburne of Clerkingtoun, knight.
Sir James Lyndesay of Pitroddy, knight.
Sir Michael Balfoure of Balgaruy, knight.
Sir Robert Melvill of Bruntyland, knight.
Sir John Hammilton of Lethrisk, knight.
Sir David Lyndesay of the Mont, knight.
Sir George Home of Prymroknow, knight.

[1] In East-Lothian, also Cistertians, founded by Malcolm, son of Duncan earl of Fife, in 1216.

[2] In Berwickshire, as well as the two next, founded for Cistertians, by one of the countesses of March, in the reign of King William the Lyon.

[3] Cistertians, founded by Cospatrick, earl of March, about 1154.

[4] Cistertians, founded by the same, and Derder his lady.

[5] Dominicans of a stricter life, reformed by St. Katherine of Sienna. From the latter word is corrupted the Shiens, a place near Edinburgh, where their monastery was situated, founded by lady Rosline, countess of Caithness.

Sir John Anstruther of that ilk, knight.
Sir Hugh Carmichell of Westone, knight.
Sir John Lyndesay of Wodheid, knight.
Sir James Saundelands of Slammanno Mure, knight.
Sir William Cokburne of Skeirling, knight.
Sir John Kar of Hersell, knight.
Sir Thomas Gourdoun of Cluny, knight.
Sir John Gourdoun of Pitlurg, knight.
Sir William Lawder of Haltoun, knight.
Sir George Dowglasse, knight.
Sir Andrew Stirling of Keir, knight.
Sir Willian Stewart of Kaberstoun, knight.

The Othe of a Duke.

Yee shall fortifie and defend the true and christian religion, and Christs holy euangell, presently preached in this realme, and shalbe leill and true to our soveraigne lord the kings majesty; and shall defend his highnes realme and lieges, from all allieners, and strangers, at the uttermost of your power; so helpe you God, and by the othe that ye have else made.

The Othe of an Earle.

Yee shall fortifie and defend the true and christian religion, and Christs holy Euangel presently preached in this realm, and shalbe leill and true to our soveraigne lord the kings majestie: and shall defend his highnes realmes and lieges from all allieners and strangers, at the uttermost of your power; so helpe you God, and by the othe that ye have else made.

The Othe of a Lord of Parliament.

Yee shall give due and faithfull counsell to our soveraigne lord, the kings majesties weale, publikely in parliament, as in all other places needfull, and secretly according to your knowledge, for the preservation of his realme, and common weale thereof; and shall never hide nor conceale any poynt of treason or crime of Leismaieste, that shall appeare to be conspired against his sayd royall person, but shall incontinent with al possible diligence reveale the same; so helpe you God, and the othe ye have else made.

The Othe of a Knight.

1. I shall fortifie and defend the Christian religion, and Christs holy evangel presently preached in this realme, to the uttermost of my power.
2. I shal be loyall and true to my soveraigne lord, the kings majesty, to all orders of chievalry, and to the noble office of armes.
3. I shall fortifie and defend justice at my power, and that without favour or feed.
4. I shall never flye from my soveraigne lord, the kings majesty, nor from his highnesse lieutenants in time of mellay and battell.
5. I shall defend my native realme from all allieners and strangers.
6. I shall defend the just action and quarrell of all ladies of honour, or all true and friendlesse widdowes, of orphelings, and of maydens of good fame.
7. I shall doe diligence wheresoever I heare there are any murthers, traytors, or masterfull reavers, that oppresse the kings lieges, and pure people, to bring them to the law at my power.

8. I shall maintayne and uphold the noble estates of chevalry, with horse, harnesse, and other knightly habiliments; and shall helpe and succour them of the same order at my power, if they have need.

9. I shall enquire and seeke to have the knowledge and understanding of all the articles and poynts contayned in the booke of chevalrie.

All these premises to observe, keepe, and fulfill, I oblesse mee, so helpe mee, God, by mine owne hand, so helpe mee God, &c.

The Names of the Barons, Lairds, and chiefe Gentlemen in every Sherifdome.

Invernes.

Macloyd of the Lewis.
Macloyd of Harrich.
Donald Gormesoun.
Mackneill of Barray.
Mulcalloun of Rosay.
John Mudzart captayne of the Clanrannalts.[1]
The Laird of Glengary.[2]
The L. of Kneydart.[3]
Mackenzie.
L. of Garloche.[4]
L. of Balnagowne.[5]
L. of Fowles.[6]
Sherife of Cromartie.
Dumbeith.
Forsse.
Otansceale.
Mackye.
Neill Huchesoun in assent.
Macken-tosche.
Captayne of the Clanchaniroun.
L. of Glenewes.
Reynold Mack-raynald of Keppache.

Narne.

Laird of Caddell.[7]
Baron of Kilrawake.[8]
L. of Parke.
Dolesse of Cantrey.
Dolesse of Budzert.

Elgin and Fores.

The sherife of Murray.
James Dumbar of Tarbert.
Robert Dumbar of Grangehill.
Alexander Dumbar of Kilboyake.
The L. of Innes.[9]
The L. of Innermerkie.[10]
The L. of Duffus.[11]
Alexander Innes of Crumby.
The L. of Brodie.[12]
The L. of Altrie.[13]
The L. of Densyde.
The L. of Cowbin.
L. of Pettendreigh, Dowglasse.
The L. of Mayne.
The baron Urtane.
The L. of Grant.
Patrik Grant of Ballindalloche.

Bamff.

The Laird of Findlator.[14]
The L. of Boyne.[15]
George Ogilvie of Dunlugus.
The L. of Durn.
The L. of Ley, Abircromney.
The L. of Ratie.
The L. of Pettendreight, of that ilk.
John Ogilvie of Glashanthe.
Walter Ogilvie of Baldanie.
Walter Ogil. of Carncowsies.
John Ogil. of Auchannany.
The L. of Auchannaquhy.[16]

[1] Mac Donald.
[2] Mac Donald.
[3] Mac Donald.
[4] Mac Kenzie.
[5] Ross.
[6] Munroe.
[7] Campbell.
[8] Rose.
[9] Innes.
[10] Innes.
[11] Duffus.
[12] Brodie.
[13] Cuming.
[14] Ogilvie.
[15] Ogilvie.
[16] Achynduchy.

Adame Gordon of Auchindowne.
Alaster Gordon of Beldorny.

Abirdene.

The Laird of Fyvie.[1]
Thomas Meldrum of Eden.
The L. of Delgatie.[2]
The L. of Urie.[3]
The L. of Petslego.[4]
The L. of Fillorth.
Troupe.
The L. of Pettindrum.[5]
New forrest.
Mueske.
The L. of Boquhollie.[6]
The L. of Towie.[7]
The L. of Udache.[8]
The L. of Garnestoun.[9]
The L. of Geych.[10]
The L. of Petlurge.[11]
The L. of Lesmoir.[12]
Craig of Achindoir.
The L. of Abirgeldie.
The L. of Clunie, Gordon.
John Gordon of Carnborrowe.
John Gordon of Anachie.
Robert Gordon of Halhead.
John Gordon of Kennartie.
Alexander Gordon of Knoke-spak.
George Gordon of Auchmenzie.
Master William Gordon of Dulpersie.
George Gordon of Creichie.
The L. of Corfinda.
The L. of Bruix.
John Forbes of Towy.
The L. of Corse.
The L. of Asslowane.[13]
The L. of Cragivar.[14]
Master Duncane Forbes of Monimusk.
John Forbes of Poffling.
The L. of Mekle Frasyre.
The L. of Carndavie.
The L. of Petfechie.
The L. of Achinhoofe.[15]
The L. of Auchlossin.[16]
The L. of Cushnie.
The L. of Skene.[17]
The L. of Thamestoun.
The L. of Tulligownie.
Patrik Gordon of Bracanch.
The L. of Portestoun.
The L. of Caskyben.
Patrik Keyth of Harthill.[18]
William Keyth of Lyklyheid.
The L. of Balquhane, Leslie.
The L. of Warderis.[19]
The L. of Petcapill.[20]
The L. of Leslie.
Andrew Leslie of New Leslie.
Patrik Leslie of Kincragy.
Alexander Leslie of Dyce.
The L. of Glake.[21]
The L. of Meldrum, Seyton.
The L. of Straloth.[22]
The L. of Toquhone.[23]
The L. of Ondney.[24]
The L. of Essilmont, Cheyne.
The L. of Arnaige.
The L. of Petmeddun.[25]
The L. of Dumbrek.
The L. of Haddo.[26]
The L. of Tibbertie.
The L. of Lesk.
The L. of Feverne.[27]
The L. of Colestoun.
The L. of Auchinhampers.
The L. of Tullet.[28]
L. of Fendraucht, Creichton.
The L. of Kelty.
The L. of Culter.
The L. of Sanquhin.
The L. of Echt.[29]
The L. of Glenkindy.[30]

[1] Gordon.
[2] Delgatie.
[3] Barclay.
[4] Forbes.
[5] Irving.
[6] Mowat.
[7] Forbes.
[8] Forbes.
[9] Garden.
[10] Gordon.
[11] Gordon.
[12] Gordon.
[13] Caddell.
[14] Forbes.
[15] Dugit.
[16] Ross.
[17] Skene.
[18] Should be *Leith*.
[19] Gordon.
[20] Leslie.
[21] Elphinstoun.
[22] Gordon.
[23] Leslie.
[24] Udney.
[25] Pitmidden.
[26] Gordon.
[27] Wood.
[28] Tulloch.
[29] Gordon.
[30] Luth.

The L. of Wattertoun.
The L. of Tillemorgund.
James, king of Barrauch.
William Blakehall of Barrauch.
The L. of Randeistoun.
The L. of Gartly.
The L. of Achmacoy.

Kincardin, or the Mernes.

The L. of Glenbervie,
Dowglasse.
The L. of Petarro, Wishert.
The L. of Lawrestoun.
The L. of Arbuthnot.[1]
The L. of Thornetoun,[2]
Belbegenot Wood.
The L. of Hakerton, Falconer,
Kelhyll.
Archibald Wood of Witston.
Robert Keith of Canterland.
L. of Matheris.[3]
L. of Morphie.
Allerdes.[4]
Balmayne.[5]
Bry.
Halgreene.
The L. of Mochales.
Dulyward.
Monbodo.[6]
Cair.
The L. of Benholme.[7]
John Moncurre of Slaines.

Forfaire.

The L. of Dun.[8]
The L. of Balnamone, Colloss.
The L. of Balzordy.
The L. of Edzell, Lyndesay.
The L. of Kinnaber.
The L. of Craig, Keyth.
The L. of Ullishaven.
The L. of Dysert.
Robert Guthre of Lownane.
Andrew Gray of Donynad.
Robert Guthre of Emblathmont.
The L. of Bonnytoun.[9]
The L. of Kinnarde.[10]
Arrot.
Auld-bar.[11]
L. of Guthrie.[12]
Hilton.
The L. of Kilcadrum.
Halkerton Guthre.
L. of Gardin.
The L. of Lyes.[13]
The L. of Kelly.[14]
The L. of Innerquharratie.[15]
Clovay.[16]
The L. of Balfour, Ogilvie.
The L. of Powrie, Ogilvie.
Duntrune.
The L. of Balumbree.
The L. of Grainge, Durham.
Lawes.
Westhall.
Strikmartine.
L. of Teling.
The L. of Lundie, Campbel.
The L. of Auchinlecke.[17]
The L. of Carmylie.
Strathauchin of Claypots.
Constable of Dundie, Skrimgore.
The L. of Powrie, Fothringhame.
The L. of Fintrie, Grayme.
The L. of Claverhous, Grayme.
L. of Innernitie, Creichton.
Andrew Gray of Lowrie.
Brigtoun.[18]
Cossumes.
Thorneton of that ilk.
Lyon of Wester Ogyll.
Fenton of Easter Ogyll.
The L. of Casse, Reynd.
Melgund.
Logywischert.
L. of Drumkilbo, Tyrie.
Duncany.
Logie Mekle.

[1] Arbuthnot.
[2] Wood.
[3] Barclay.
[4] Allardyce.
[5] Balmain.
[6] Burnet.
[7] Keith.
[8] Erskine.
[9] Fotheringham.
[10] Carnegy.
[11] Young.
[12] Guthrie.
[13] Burnet.
[14] Maule.
[15] Ogilvy.
[16] Ogilvy.
[17] Auchinleck.
[18] Lyon.

Cowtie.
Alexander Lyndsay of Vain.
David Lindesay of Barnyard.
Kygnany.
Unnaquhy.
Gagy.
Thomas Ogilvie of Westcragie.
John Ogilvie of Innerkeillour.
Archibald Ogilvie of Lawton.
Balmly.
The L. of Rossie of that ilke.

Perth, and Stewartries of Stratherne and Monteith.

The Laird of Petcur.[1]
The L. of Ruthvene.[2]
The L. of Banff, Ogilvie.
George Creichton of Camny.
The L. of Balgilbo.
Gormotre.
Ardblair.[3]
The L. of Drumlochie.
George Drummond of Blair.
The L. of Lethintre, Herring.
Mekillour.
Rettray of Craighall.
L. of Murthlie, Abircrombie.
The L. of Moncur.
Inchesture.
The L. of Inchemartyne.[4]
The L. of Kynnard.[5]
William Bruce of Fingask.
Patrik Gray of Belligarno.
Patrik Drummond of Abirnethie,
Evillilke.[6]
The L. of Kilspindie.[7]
Peter Hay of Mæginche.
L. of Leyis.
L. of Hill.
Murey.[8]
Petfour.
Segyden.[9]
The L. of Kilfawnes, Lyndesay.
The L. of Bathyoke, Blayre.
The L. of Balhousie.[10]
The L. of Ballindayne.
The L. of Cultmalondie.
Moncreif of that ilk.
Easter Moncreif.
Baron of Fingask, Dundas.
The L. of Cragie.
Patrik Murray of Tibbermure.
Tibbermallauch.[11]
Kinvaid.
L. of Innernytie, Creichton.
The L. of Strathurde.
Loncardie
L. of Glennurquhy, Campbel.
The L. of Weym.
The L. of Garntullie.[12]
The L. of Glenlyoun.[13]
Baron of Fandowy.
L. Strowane, Robertson.
Arntillie.
Fastcalze.
Baron Read.
Baron Ferguson.
Baron Cunyson.
Baron of Monnesse.
Innermytie, Petcarne.
Balmamo, Aflek.
L. of Duncrub, Rolloo.
L. of Keltie.
L. of Tullibarden.[14]
L. of Abircarnie.[15]
Strowane.
Patrik Murray of Auchtertyre.
George Drummond of Ballot.
L. of Innerpeffre.
John Drummond Coquholze.
Baron of Bordland, Drummond.
L. of Petkellony, Drummond.
Cultiuragane.
L. of Comrie.
Cromlix.[16]
L. of Laweris, Campbell.
Monyware.
Monze.
Cultoquhay.
Gorthie, Lundy.
L. of Inchbrachy.

[1] Haliburton.
[2] Ruthven.
[3] Blair.
[4] Ogilvy.
[5] Kinnaird.
[6] Lindsay.
[7] Douglas.
[8] Hay.
[9] Hay.
[10] Hay.
[11] Moncrief.
[12] Stewart.
[13] Menzies.
[14] Murray.
[15] Murray.
[16] Drummond.

L. of Keir.
L. of Kippanrosse.
L. of Knokhill.
L. of Læny.
L. of Glennegeis, Haddan.
Blair of Bagray.
Alexander Ruthven of Frelands.
George Norrie of Boquhoppill.

Fyfe.

L. of Mukdrum.
L. of Balvaird, Murray.[1]
L. of Casche.
L. of Rossie.
L. of Halhill, Melvill.
John Arnot of Woodmill.
L. of Perbroth, Seyton.
L. of Culermie, Barclay.
John Aiton of Drummure.
L. of Creich, Betone.
L. of Fairnaie.
Sir Alexander Lindsay of the Mont, Lyon King of Armes.
Sir Robert Melvill of Murdocarnie.
Francis Tullos of Hilcarnie.
L. of Monquhany, Balfoure.
L. of Nauchtane, Creichton.
L. of Kenneir.
L. of Forret.[2]
John Leslie of Parkhill.
L. of Carselogie, Claypen.
L. of Wilmerstoun.
L. of Dersy, Learmont.
Kembake.
Brachmont.
Nydie.
L. of Sanfurde, Haye.
L. of Sanfurde, Narne.
David Balfoure of Kirktoun.
Cullochie.
L. of Erlishall, Bruce.
L. of Reres, Forbesse.
Alexander Inglis of Stratyrum.
L. of Inglis Tarbet.
Craighall.
Patrik Kinninmont of Callinche.
Blæbo.
Lathoccar.
Balfoure of Lambilæthame.
Kinkell.
L. of Petmyllie.[2]
L. of Ardrie, Lummisdayne.
L. of Balcomye, Learmont.
L. of Barnys.[3]
L. of Sægy.
L. of Camno.[4]
Randerstoun.[5]
L. Saint Monanes, Sandelands.
L. of Anstruther.[6]
L. of Carruber.
L. of Ardros.
Sanfurd, Dudingstoun.
Gordonishall.
L. of Balkaskie, Strang.
L. of Largo, Wode.
Kincraig.
Giblestoun.[7]
Innerdevat.
L. of Lundie, Lundie.
L. of Durie, Durie.
L. of Balfoure, Beton.
L. of Balgonie.
L. of Torrie, Wardlaw.
Further, Petcarne.
Kirkfurther.[8]
Peter Balfoure of Bandone.
L. of Cletty, Ramsay.
Gondlane.
L. of Ramornie.
Lathriske.
Orky.
William Skringeour of the Myres.
Arnot.
Stratherney.
Auchmowtie.
L. of Easter Wemes, Colvill.
L. of Wester Wemes, Waymes.
L. of Abats Hall, Scot.
L. of Raith, Melvill.
L. of Balwerie, Scot.
L. of Bamowtow, Boswell.

[1] Balfour.
[2] Monypenny.
[3] Cunnigham.
[4] Erskine.
[5] Balfour.
[6] Anstruther.
[7] Smith.
[8] Lindsay.

L. of Seyfeild.
Orroke.
John Beton of Capildra.
Balram.
Walter Lesly of Otterstoun.
Aytoun.[1]
Martyme.
L. of Pettincreif.
L. of Petfirrane[2]
L. of Rossythe, Stewart.
L. of Dowhill.
L. of Cleische, Colvill.

Kinrosse.

L. of Lochleven, Dowglasse.
L. of Burlie, Balfoure.

Clackmanan.

L. of Clackmanan, Bruce.
L. of Tulliallane, Blacater.
L. of Sawchy.
Bruce of Kennet.
L. of Maner.

Striviling.

L. of Garden.
L. of Arthe, Bruce.
L. of Carnoke, Drummond.
L. of Carnoke, Bruce.
L. of Plean.
Goodman of Kersie.
Goodman of Throske.
Archibald Bruce of Powfowles.
David Bruce of Kinnaird.
Thomas Bruce of Barbarschels.
M. David Rollok of Powes.
L. of Skemure.
L. of Dennevay.
L. of Donipace, Levingston.
L. of Haning.
L. of Pentasken.
L. of Castelcarie.
L. of Kerss, Menteith.
L. of Polmaiss.[3]
L. of Towch, Seyton.
L. of Leckie.
L. of Gargunnoke, Seyton.
L. of Randifurde.
John Buchannan of Arnpriour.
John Shaw of Broiche.

Linlithgow.

Sheriffe of Linlithgow, Hammilton.
L. of Dundas, Dundas.
L. of Cragiehall, Stewart.
L. of Barnebowgal, Mowbray.
James Dundas of Newliston.
Alexander Drummond of Medope.
Robert Hamilton of Inchmachane.
Mungo Hammilton of Pardoven.
John Hammilton of the Grainge.
L. of Ballinhard, Cornwell.
L. of Ricarton, Hepburne.
Durhame of Duntervie.
Bathcart, Hammilton.

Edinburgh principall.

L. of Cawder, Sandelands.
L. of Halton, Lawder.
L. of Pumphraston, Douglass.
Hirdmanschelis.
L. Barbachlaw, Cochran.
Lennox.
L. of Stanypeth.
L. of Dalmohoy.
L. of Ricarton, Drummond.
L. of Currihill, Wardlaw.
L. of Colingtoun, Fowlis,
L. of Reidhall, Otterburne.
L. of Cowmistoun, Fairlie.
L. of Costorphin, Foster.
L. of Brade, Fairlie.
L. of Marchistoun, Neper.
L. of Innerleith, Towris.
L. of Lauriestoun of that ilk.
L. of Pilrig, Monipenie.
L. of Restalrig, Logane.
L. of Cragmiller, Preston.
L. of Edmiston of that ilk.
L. of Nuderie, Wauchop.
Hill of that ilk.
L. Brunstoun, Creichton.
Edmeston of Wowmet.
Hay of Monktoun.
L. Shiref-hall, Gyffert.
L. of Langton.

[1] Aytoun. [2] Halkel. [3] Murray.

Bellendyne of Leswade.
L. of Dalhousie, Ramsay.
L. Kokpen, Ramsay.
Whytehill, Preston.
Poltoun.
L. of Rosling, Sincler.
L. of Pennicuke of that ilk.
L. Newhall, Creichton.
L. Southhouse.
Elphingston of Schank.

Constabularie of Haddington.

L. Fasyde of that ilk.
L. Elphinston, Johnstone.
L. Prestoun, Hammilton.
L. of Langnederie, Dowglasse.
L. of Ormestoun, Cokburne.
L. of Hirmedstoun.[1]
L. of Blansse.
L. of Samelstoun, Hammilton.
L. of Newtoun.[2]
L. Newhall, Cockburne.
L. of Clerkintoun, Cockburne.
L. of Colstoun.[3]
L. of Tallo, Hay.
L. of Benestoun.
L. of Stanypeth.
L. of Whittinghame, Dowglasse.
L. of Cosfurde, Acheson.
L. of Wauchton, Hepburne.
Hepburne of Gylmerton.
Hepburne of Smeton.
Hepburne of Kirklandhill.
L. of Sydserff.[4]
L. of Congilton.
L. of Knowes.
L. of Scowgall.
Sincler of Whytekirk.
L. of Bas, Lawder.
L. of Spot, Dowglasse.
L. of Innerwike, Hammilton.
L. of Broxmouth, Home.
Alexander Home of North-berwike.
Robert Home of the Hewch.
L. of Waddalie.
Hartrem Wood.

Berwike and Lawderdaill.

L. of Wedderburne, Home.
L. of Blacatour, Home.
L. of Aytoun, Home.
L. of Coldenknowes, Home.
L. of Polwart, Home.
Home of Manderstoun.
L. of Hutonhall, Home.
L. of Langton.[5]
L. of Cockburne.[6]
L. of Billie, Renton.
L. of Blanerne, Lumis-dane.
L of Cumleche, Aflek.
L. of Edingtoun.[7]
Slychthous.
Butterdayne.
Hoprig.
Easter Nisbet.
West Nisbet.[8]
Wedderlie.[9]
Thorniedykes.[10]
L. of Spottiswood.[11]
Cranston of Thirlstane-maines.
Corsbie.
Bemersyde.[12]
Mertoun.[13]
L. Swyntoun.[14]
L. Redpeth.[15]
Greenlaw.[16]
Lochurmachus.[17]
L. Glammilscheilis, Home.
Wyliclewcht.

Roxburgh.

L. of Cesfurde, Ker.
L. of Litledane, Ker.
L. of Greynheid, Ker.
L. of Corbet, Ker.
Gradon, Ker.
Ker of Gaitshaw.
Mow.[18]
Haddane.[19]
Sheriffe of Teviotdail, Dowglasse.
Tympenden.[20]
Hundeley.[21]

[1] Sinclair.
[2] Hay.
[3] Brown.
[4] Sydserf.
[5] Cockburne.
[6] Cockburne.
[7] Ramsay.
[8] Ker.
[9] Edgar.
[10] Brown.
[11] Spottiswood.
[12] Haig.
[13] Haliburton.
[14] Swinton.
[15] Redpath.
[16] Home.
[17] Sinclair.
[18] Mow or Molle.
[19] Murray.
[20] Douglas.
[21] Rutherford.

Hunthill.[1]
Edzarstoun.[2]
Bedreull, Turne-bull.
Mynto.[3]
Wawchop.[4]
William Turnebull of Barnhils.
George Turnebull of Halreull.
Hector Lorane of Harwood.
Grinyslaw of little Newton.
Mader of Langton.
Mungo Bennet of Chestis.
Overtoun, Frasier.
Riddale of that ilk.
L. Makkayrstoun, Makdowgal.
Andrew Ker of Fadownsyde.
L. of Bakcleuch, Scot.
Raph Haliburton of Mourhouslaw.
Thomas Ker of Cavers.
Howpasloth, Scot.
Baron Gledstanes.[5]
Langlands.[6]
William Ellot of Torslyhill.
Scot of Sintoun.
Scot of Eydschaw.
Walter Vaich of Northsintoun.
Scot of Glæke.
L. of Chesholme of that ilk.
L. of Cranstoun.
Kirktoun of Stewartfield.
L. of Linton, Ker.
Ker of Ancrum.
Carncors of Colmislie.

Selkirk.

Murray of Fawlahill, Sheriffe.
Scot of Tuschelaw.
Scot of Thirlstane.
Scot of Aikwood.
Turnebull of Phillophauch.
Ker of the Shaw or Dalceiff.
Hoppringle of Galloscheilis.
Hoppringle of Whytebank.
Hoppringle of Torwodley.
Hoppringill of Blindley.
Hoppringill of Buckholme.
Hoppringill of Newhall.

Peibles.

The knight of Traquair, Stewart.
L. of Pyrn, Cranston.
L. of Horsburgh.[7]
L. of Greistoun.
L. of Cardrono.[8]
L. of Henderstoun.
L. of Smeythfield, Haye.
Winkistoun, Twedie.
L. of Blackbarrony, Murray.
Bernys.[9]
Caverhill.
Fowllœche, Stewart.
L. of Drummelzear, Twedie.
Dawik.[10]
Pobinde.[11]
Frude.
Halkshaw.
Glengirk.
Geddes of Rachane.
Inglis of Langlandhill.
L. of Straling.
Hartire.
Romannos.[12]
Prettishoill.
Meluingsland.
Ormestoun.
Bonytoun.
Posso, Nasmyth.
John Hammilton of Coltcote.

Lanerk.

Captayne of Crawfurde Castle, Carmichel.
L. of Carmichael.[13]
L. of Lamington, Baillie.
L. of Bakebie.
L. of Symontoun.
L. of Cultermaines.
Flemming of Carwood.
Dowglasse of Todholes.
West-hall, Grahame.
Baillie of the Hilles.

[1] Rutherford.
[2] Rutherford.
[3] Stewart.
[4] Turnbul.
[5] Gledstanes.
[6] Langlands.
[7] Horsburgh.
[8] Williamson.
[9] Burnet.
[10] Veitch.
[11] Hunter.
[12] Pennycuik.
[13] Carmichael.

Menzies of Culterrawes.
L. of Westraw, Johnstone.
L. of Annestoun.
L. of Cobingtoun, Lyndesay.
Crimpcramp.
Hammilton of Crawfurde-Johne.
L. of Ley.[1]
L. of Cleghorne, Barclay.
L. of Corhouse, Bannatyne.
Jerverswod, Levinstoun.
Bonytoun, Cuninghame.
Blackwood.
Staniebyres.[2]
Auchtyfardill.
Weir of Kirktowne.
L. Cambasnethan, Somervel.
L. of Carphin, Bailie.
L. Cleland.
Murdeistoun.
Jervestoun.
Ernoke.[3]
Lawchope.[4]
Stevingstoun.[5]
Hammilton of Roploch.
Hammilton *of Hagges.*
Hammilton of *Lethame.*
Hammilton of Orbestoun.
Hammilton of Nelisland.
Hammilton of Stanehouse.
L. of Silvertonhill, Hammilton.
L. of Dunrod.
L. of Calderwood, Maxwell.
L. of Castelmylk.
L. of Mynto, Steward.
L. of Gilbertfield.[6]

Renfrew.

Cathcart.
Over-Pollok.
Nether Pollok, Maxwell.
L. of Stanelie.
L. of Johnestoun, Wallace.
L. of Ellerslie, Wallace.
L. Houstoun.
Newerk.
L. Caldwell.
Shaw of Grenoke.
Crawfurd of Cartisburne.
Cunninghame of Waterston.
L. Craganis.
Walkinschaw.
Barrochane.
L. Biltries, Semple.
Barscube.
L. Boghall, Stewart.
Bishoptoun.
Cardonald, Stewart.
Foulwood.
Thirdpart.
Wheitfurde.
Scottistoun.
Ardgowane.
Balgarrane.
Ramfurley.
Porterfielde of that ilke.
Raalstoun.

Dumbretoun.

L. of Lusse.
L. *of Cowgrane.*
L. of Ardardane.
L. of Arnecapill.
L. of Kilmahow.
Bullull.
Manis.
Balney.
Noblestoun.
Camstrodane.
Darleith.
Hammilton of Cochno.
Craigernalt.
Gloret.
Striveling of Letrer.
Lucas Striveling of Baldorane.
Edmistoun of Balewin.
L. of Bardowie.
L. of Kincaid.
L. of Woodhead.
L. of Blairshogill.
L. of Ballykinrane.
L. of Auchinloche.
L. of Kilsythe, Levinston.
L. of Baddinheth, Boyd.
Bord.

[1] Lochart.
[2] Vere.
[3] Robertson.
[4] Muirhead.
[5] Muirhead.
[6] Cunningham.

Drumry, Hamilton.
L. of Cilkcrewch.
Gartskeddane.
Gartschoir.
L. of Macferland.
L. of Buquhannane.
L. of Drummakeill.

Tarbere.

L. of Auchinbrek.
L. of Archinlais, Campbell.
L. of Lawmont.
L. of Macklawchlane.
Macknachtan.
Skippinche.
Ottir.
Duntrune.
Straquhir.
Mackowle of Lorne.
John Stewart of Appin.
Mackondoquhy of Inneraw.
Mackoniel of Dunniveg and Glennes.
Macklane of Dowart.
Macklane of Cowle.
Macklane of Lochbwy.
Macklane of Arndnamurchy.

Bute.

The Sheriffs of Bute, Stewart.
The L. of Camis.

Aere and Bailleries of Kyle, Karrik, and Cunninghame.

L. of Kilburnie.
L. of Crawfurdland.
L. of Ladyland, Barclay.
Auchnamys.
L. of Kerisland.
L. of Kelsoland.
Trierne.
L. of Glengarnoke.
L. of Cunninghame heid.
L. of Auchinharvie.
L. of Aiket.
Cunninghame.
L. of Clonbaith.
Montgomerie.
L. of Langshaw.
L. of Heslet.
Giffin.
Stane.
Braidstane, Montgomerie
L. of Blair.
L. of Portincorsse.
L. of Huncarstoun.
L. of Fairlie.
L. of Dreghorne.
L. of Perstoun, Barclay.
L. of Rowallane, Mure.
L. of Montgrenane.
L. of Robertland, Cunninghame.
Cunninghame of Towrlands.
Cunninghame of the Hill.
Sheriffe of Air.
Cesnockle.
Skeldoun.
Campbell of Glenoske.
Campbell of Kinzeclewcht.
Gastoun, Stewart.
Halrig.
Hammilton of Sanquhair.
Sornebeg.
L. of Bar.
L. of Craiggie-wallace.
Carneli, Wallace.
Sewalton, Wallace.
Dundonald.
Adamtoun.
Gairggirth, Chalmers.
Lefnoreis, Crawfurde.
Kerss, Crawfurde.
Doungane.
William Crawfurde of Clolynane.
Dowglasse of Penieland.
Cunninghame of Lagland.
L. of Caprington, Cunninghame.
Cunninghame of Poquharne.
Shaw of Glenmure.
L. of Entirkin, Dunbar.
L. of Scankistoun, Campell.
L. of Barkymmem, Stewart.
L. of Auchinlek, Boswell.
L. of Bargany, Kennedie.
L. of Blairquhane, Kennedie.
Kennedie of Girvanmaynis.
Kennedie of Skeldon.
L. of Carmichaell.
Goodman of Ardmillane.
Goodman of Dromnellane.
Kennedie of the Coist.
Balmaclennochane.
L. of Kelwood, Currie.
L. of Carltowne, Cathcart.

Kennedie of Knotidaw.
Kennidie of Bramestoun.
Boyde of Penkill.
Boyde of the Throchrig.
L. of Dundaffe.
L. of Kilkerane.
L. of Kilhenzie.
Kennedie of Tornagannoch.
Schaw of Halie.
Schaw of Germet.

Wigtoun.

L. of Garlies, Stewart.
L. of Mochrum, Dumbar.
L. of Garthland, Makdowgall.
Agnew, Sherife Wigton.
L. of Kynhylt.
L. of Ardwell, Makulloch.
Killassyre.
Laerg.
L. Mærton, Maggeé.
L. of Mærton, Mackulloch.
L. of Barnbarrawch, Vaus.
L. of Craichlaw, Mure.
Kennedie of Barquhome.
Kennedie of Uchiltré.
Campbell of Arie.

Dumfries, with the Stewartries of Kirkenbright and Annandail.

L. of Lochin-war, Gordon.
L. of Troquhayne, Gordon.
L. of Barskeoche, Gordon.
L. of Airdis, Gordon.
Sheirmæs, Gordon.
Gordon of the Cule.
L. of Broghton, Murray.
L. of Dalbatie.
L. of Portoun, Glendonyng.
L. of Bomby, Mackclellane.
Mackclellane of Mærton.
L. of Cardenes.
Lidderdaill of S. Mary Ile.
Lindesay of Barcloy.
Heries of Madinhoip.
L. of Mabie, Heries.
Macknaucht of Kilquhanatie.
Glenduynning of Drumrasche.
Maxwell of the Hill.
Sinclair of Auchinfranke.
Maxwell of the Logane.
Maxwell of Dromcoltrane.
Stewart of Fintillauche.
Levinston of Little Ardis.
L. of Drumlanrig, Dowglasse.
Dowglasse of Cashogill.
Creichton of Carco.
Creichton of Liberie.
Mackmath of that ilk.
Dowglasse of Dalvene.
Menzies of Castelhill.
Menzies of Auchinsell.
L. of Auchingassill, Maitland.
L. of Closeburne, Kirk Patrik.
Kirkmichael.
Goodman of Frier, Kersse.
L. of Lag, Greir.
L. of Amysfield, Charterhouse.
Maxwell of Gowhill.
Maxwell of Porterrake.
Maxwell of Tynwald.
Maxwell of Conhaith.
Maxwell of Carnsallauch.
Maxwell of the Ile.
Browne of the Lawne.
Cunninghame of Kirkschaw.
L. of Craigdarroch.
L. of Bardannoch.
Kirko of Glenesslane.
Ballaggane.
L of Johnestoun.
L. of Wamfra, Johnestone.
L. of Eschescheiles.
L. of Corheid, Johnestone.
L. of Corry
L. of Newbie, Johnestone.
L. of Graitnay, Johnestone.
Johnestone of Craighop-burne.
Johneston of Newtone.
Johnstone of Kirkton.
L. of Apilgirth, Jarden.
L. of Holmends.
L. of Cockpoole, Murray.
L. of Moryquhat.
L. of Wormondby.
L. of Knok.
Goodman of Granton.
Boidisbyke.

The Names of the principall Clannes, and Surnames on the Borders, not landed, and chiefe Men of Name amongst them at this present.[1]

EAST MARCH.

Brumfieldes.

John Brumfield, tutor of Greynelawdeyne.
Adame Brumfield of Hardaikers.
Brumfield of Pittilesheuche.
Alexander Brumfield of Eastfield.
Alexander Brumfield of Hasilton maynes.
James Brumfield of Whytehouse.
The laird of Todderike
Alexander Brumfield of Gordon maines.

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[1] The Borders and Highlands, previous to the union of the crowns, were in a state totally different from the rest of Scotland, and were subjected to laws different from those of the remainder of the kingdom. The feudal system, which formed the principal ground-work of ancient law, both civil and criminal, had, in these unruly districts, a comparatively imperfect influence. The inhabitants were divided into surnames or clans, which acknowledged no supremacy, saving that of the chieftain, or head of their name, who might often be a person entirely different from their feudal superior, or over-lord, as he was called in Scottish law. The Scottish statute-book contains many enactments for bringing these persons to justice, when they transgressed; and the 95th act of the 11th parliament of James VI. is particularly ample upon the subject. There is subjoined a list or roll of Highland and Border clans, which may serve to illustrate the curious list in the text.

The Rolls of the Names of the Landislords and Bailies of Landes dwelling on the Borders and in the Hielandes, quhair broken Men hes dwelt, and presently dwellis. To the quhilk Roll, the 95. Acte of the Eleventh Parliament of James VI. 29 July, 1587, is relative.

Middle March.

The earle Both-well.
The laird of Farnie-herst.
The earle of Angus.
The laird of Buck-cleuch.
The shireffe of Teviot-daill.
The laird of Bed-roule.
The laird of Wauchop.
The lord Hereis.
The laird of How-paislay.
George Turne-bull of Halrovie.
The laird of Little-dene.
The laird of Drumlangrig.
The laird of Chisholme.

West March.

The lord Maxwell.
The laird of Drumlangrig.
The laird of Johne-stoun.
The laird of Aple-girth.
The laird of Holmends.
The laird of Gratnay.
The lord Hereis.
The laird of Dun-widdie.
The laird of Lochin war.

Landis-lords and Bailies. Hielandes and Iles.

The duke of Lennox.
The laird of Buchannan.
The laird of Mak-farlane of the Arroquhair.
The laird of Luss.
The laird of Mak-caula of Ardincaple.
The laird of Merchinston.
The laird of Glennegyis.
The earle of Glencairne.
The laird of Drumquhassill.
The laird of Kilcreuch.
The tutour of Menteith.
The laird of Knokhill.
Henry Schaw of Cambusmoir.
The laird of Kippenrossie.
The laird of Burley.
The laird of Keir.
The master of Levingstoun.
The lord of Doun.
The lord Drummound.
The laird of Tulliebardin.
The laird of Glen-urquhy.
The laird of Laweris.
The laird of Weyme.
The abbot of Inche-chaffray.
Coline Campbell of Ardbeith.
The laird of Glen-lyon.
The earle of Athole.
The laird of Grantully.
The laird Strowane, Robert-sonne.
The laird Strowane, Murray.
The laird of Wester-wemes.
The laird of Abbots-hall.
The laird of Teling.
The laird of Inch-martine.
The laird of Nury-Fothringhame.
The laird of Moncreif.
The laird of Balleachen.
The barron of Fandowie.
The earle of Erroll.

Trotter.

The laird of Pentennen.
William Trotter of Foulschawe.
Cuthbert Trotter in Fogo.
Tome Trotter of the Hill.

Diksons.

The goodman of Buchtrig.
The goodman of Bolchester.
Dikson of Haffington.
Dikson in New-bigging.

The earle of Gowrie.
The laird of Cultiebragane.
The lord Ogilvie.
The laird of Clouay.
The laird of Fintrie.
The laird of Edzell.
The earle of Marre.
The master of Elphinstoun.
The earle of Huntlie.
The master of Forbes.
The laird of Grant.
Makintosche.
The lord and tutour of Lovate.
Chisholme of Cummer.
The laird of Glengarrey.
Mackeinzie.
The laird of Fowlis.
The laird of Balnagown.
The tutour of Cromerti.
The earle of Suther-land.
The laird of Duffus.
James Innes of Touchie.
The earle of Caithness.
The earle Marshall.
The lord Oliphant.
The laird of Bowquholly.
The laird of Dunnybeith.
Mackye of Far.
Torquill Mak-lewid of Togoyth.
The laird of Garloch.
Mak-gilliechallum of Raarsay.
Mak-lewyd of the Harrich.
Mackinnon of Strathodell.

Mak-lewid of the Lewiss.
Makneill of Bara.
Mackeane of Ardnamurchen.
Alane Mackeyne of Iland Terim.
The laird of Knoyderr.
Macklene of Dowart.
The laird of Ardgower.
John Stewart of the Appin.
Mackoull of Lorne.
Mackoull of Roray.
The laird of Lockinnell.
The laird of Caddell.
The laird of Skelmurelie for Rauchry.
Mackondachy of Innerraw.
Angus Mackoneil of Dunyweg, and the Glennes.
The laird of Lowip.
The schireffe of Bute.
The laird of Camys.
The earle of Argile.
The laird of Auchinbrek.
The laird of Ardkinglass.
Maknauchtane.
Mak-lauchlane.
The laird of Laumount.
The laird of Parbreck.
The laird of Duntrune.
Constable of Dundie, L. of Glastry.
The laird of Elenegreg.
The laird of Otter.
The laird of Coll.
Macklene of Lochunie.
Mackfee of Collonsay.
The lord Hammiltoun.

The Roll of the Clannes that hes Captaines and Chieftanes, quhom on they depende, of Times against the Willes of their Landes-lordes, asweill on the Borders as Hielandes; and of sum special Persons of Branches of the saides Clannes.

Middle Marche.

Ellotes.
Arme-strangs.
Nicksonnes.
Crosers.

Belles.
Carratheres.
Grahames.
Johnstones.
Jardanes.
Moffattes.
Latimers.

West Marche.

Scottes of Eusdaill.
Beatisonnes.
Littles.
Thomsonnes.
Glendunninges.
Irvinges.

Hielands and Iles.

Buchannannes.
Mak-farlanes of the Arroquhair.
Mak-knabes.
Grahames of Menteith.
Stewarts of Balquhedder.

Ridpeths.

Thomas Ridpeth of Crumrig.
Alexander Ridpeth of Angellraw.

Haitlies.

The goodman of Lambden.
John Haitlie of Brumehill.
George Haitlie in Hordlaw.
Laurence Haitlie in Haliburton.

Gradenis.

Jasper Graden in Ernislaw.

Youngs.

James Young of the Criffe.
Will Young of Otterburne.
David Young of Oxemsyde.
William Scot of Feltershawes.

Davisons.

Roben Davison of Symeston.
Jok Davison of Quhitton.
James Davison of Byrnirig.
George Davison of Throgdan.

Pringils.

James Hoppringill of Towner.
Wat Hoppringill of Clifton.
John Hoppringil of the Bents.
David Hoppringill of Morbottle.

Tates.

Will Tate in Stankfurde.
David Tate in Cheritries.
David Tate in Bair-ers.
Will Tate in Zettane.

Middlemaists.

Robin Middilemaist in Milrig.

Burnes.

David Burne of Ellisheuch.
Raph Burne of the Coit.

Dagleschis.

Jok Dagleisch of Bank.
Robert Dagleish in Wideopen.

Gilchristis.

Hugh Gilchrists, called of Cowbene.
Will Gilchrist in Cavertoun.

MIDDLE MARCHES.

Hall.

John Hall of Newbigging.
George Hall, called Pats Geordie there.
Andrew Hall of the Sykes.
Thom Hall in Fowlscheils.

Clanne-Gregore.
Clan Lauren.
Campbelles of Lochinel.
Campbelles of Inneraw.
Clan-dowall of Lorne.
Stewartes of Lorne, or of Appin
Clan-Mackeane Awright.
Stewarts of Athoill, and partes adjacent.
Clanne-Donoquhy in Athoill, and partes adjacent.
Meinzies in Athoill and Apnadull.
Clane-mak-Thomas in Glensche.
Fergussonnes.
Spaldings.
Mackintosches in Athoill.
Clan-Chamron.
Clan-Rannald in Loch-aber.
Clan-Rannald in Knoydert, Moydert, and Glengarrey.
Clan-Lewid of the Lewis.
Clan-Lewid of Harrick.
Clan-Neill.
Clan-Kinnon.
Clan-Jeane.
Clan-Chattane.
Grantes.
Frasers.
Clan Keinzie.
Clan-Avereis.
Munroes.
Murrayes in Sutherland.

Pyle.

George Pyle in Milkheuch,
John Pyle in Swynsyde.

Robeson.

Raph Robeson in Prenderlech.
Rinzean Robeson in Howston.

Anislie.

William Anislie of Fawlaw.
Lancie Anislie in Oxnem.

Oliver.

David Oliver in Hynhaucheid.
Will Oliver in Lustruther.
George Oliver in Clareley.

Laidlow.

Ryne Laidlow in the Bank.
John Laidlow in Sonnysyde.

LIDDISDAIL.

The laird of Mangerton.
The lairds Jok.
Chrystie of the Syde.

Quhithauch.

The laird of Quhitauch.
Jonie of Quhitauch.
Sym of the Maynes.

Merietoun Quarter.

Archie of Westburnflat.
Wanton Sym in Quhitley Syde.
Will of Powderlanpat.

Ellots.

Redheuch.
Robert Ellot, and Martyne Ellot.

Thoirlishop.

Rob of Thorlishop, Arthure fyre the Brays.

Gorrumberie.

Archie Keene, Will of Morspatriks hors.

Parke.

Jonie of the Park, Gray Wil.

Burnheid.

Gawins Jok, Ade Cowdais.

Welshaw.

Will Colichis Hob, Hob of Bowholmes.

Niksons.

John Nikson of Laiest burne.
Georgies Harie Nikson.
Cleme Nikson, called the Crune.

Crosers.

Hob Croser, called Hob of Ricarton.
Martine Croser.
Cokkis John Croser.
Noble Clemeis Croser.

Hendersons.

Rinzian Henderson in Armiltonburne.
Jenkyne Henderson in Kartley.

DEBAITABLE LAND.

Sandeis Barnes Armestrangs.

Will of Kinmonth.
Krystie Armestrang.
John Skynbanke.

Lardis Rinzians Gang.

Lairdis Rinziane.

Lairdis Robbie.
Rinzian of Wauchop.

Grahames.

Priors, John and his Bairnes.
Hector of the Harlaw.
The griefs and cuts of Harlaw.

EWISDAIL.

Armestrangs of the Gyngils.

Ekke of the Gyngils.
Andrew of the Gyngils.
Thome of Glendoning.

Scots.

Thome the Flower.
Anfe of the Busse.

Ellots.

John the Portars sonne.
Will of Devisleyes.
Will the lord.

ESKDAIL.

Battisons of Cowghorlae.

David Batie.
Hugh Batie.
Mungoes Arthurie.
Adame of the Burne.

Batisons of the Scheill.

Nichol of the Scheill.
Androw of Zetbyre.
John the Braid.
Wat of the Corse.

Johnes.

John Armstrang of Hoilhous.
John Armstrang of Thornequhat.
Wil Armstrang of Ternsnihil.

Littils.

John Littill of Cassoke.
Thome Littill of Finglen.
Ingrahames Archie Littill.

ANANDAIL.

Irwingis.

Edward of Bonschaw.
Lang Richies Edward.
John the young duke.
Chrystie the Cothquhat.
Willie of Graitnayhill.

Bellis.

Will Bell of Alby.
John Bell of the Tourne.
Mathie Bell, called the king.
Andro Bell, called Lokkis Androw.
Will Bell Reidcloke.

Carlilles.

Adame Carlile of Bridekirk.
Alexander Carlile of Egleforhame.

Grahames.

George Grahame of Reupatrik.
Arthour Grahame of Blawoldwood.
Richie Grahame, called the Plump.

Thomsons.

Young Archie Thomson.
Sym Thomson in Polloden.

Romes.

Roger Rome in Tordoweth.
Mekle Sandie Rome there.

Gasses.

David Gasse in Barch.
John Gasse, Michaels sonne in Rig.

The Shriefdomes and Shriefs of Scotland.

Orknay, the shriefe thereof heritable, earle of Caythnes.
Innernes, the earle of Huntlie.
Cromartie, Urquhart of Cromartie.
Narne, John Campbell of Lorne.
Elgene and Forress, Dumbar of Cumnok.
Abirdene, the earle of Huntlie.
Kincardin, the earle of Marshall.
Forfar, the lord Gray.
Perth, alias Saint Johnston, the earle of Gowry.
Fyfe, the earle of Rothosse.
Kynross, the earle of Morton, of Lochlevin, and Dalkeyth.
Clackmannan, the knight of the Karss.
Sterling, the provost of the towne for the time.
Dumbarton, earle of Lennox.
Sterling-shire, extra Burgum, the earle of Mar.
Tarbart, the earle of Mar.
Laynrik, the earle of Arran, lord Hammilton.
Renfrew, the lord Sampill.
Aere, Campbell, knight of Lowdon.
Wigton, Patrik Agnew of that ilk.
Drumfreis, lord Sanquhat.
Pebles, lord Zester.
Selkirk, Murray of Fallahill.
Roxburgh, Dowglasse of Cavers, called sherife of Tividaill.
Barwick, lord Home.
Edinburgh, the provost of the towne for the time.
Lothin, the earle Bothwell.
The Cunstabularie of Hadington, the earle Bothwell.
Lithgow, Hammilton of Kenneill.

The Stewartries of Scotland.

Stratherne, Menteith, } the lord Drummond.
Kircudbricht, Annandaill, } the lord Maxwell.

The Bailleries of Scotland.

Kyle, the knight of Cragy-wallace.
Carrik, the earle of Cassils.
Cunninghame, the earle of Eglinton.

The Order of the calling of the Table of the Session.

Munday.

Redemptions of lands.
Reductions of all kinds.
Transferrings.
Losse of superiorities.
For making, sealing, and subscribing of reversions.

Tewsday.

Recent spoyles without the time of vacants.
Acts of Aiurnall.

Wednesday.

The common table of the foure quarters of the realme, by order, every one after another, as is divided in the actes of the institution, in the print books of parliament.

Thursday.

The same table.

Friday.

The king's actions, straungers, the poore.

Saturday.

The lords of session, and members thereof; the prelates, payers of contribution, and the common table foresaid. And upon the Wednesday and Thursday, to cal common priviledged matters; such as hornings, free-persons, evidents, fortalices, warnings, letters conforme to rolements, decreits, arbitralles, taks, pensions, ordinarie letters, giftes, rigistring of contracts, actions to become civill or prophane, double poyndings, billes, supplications; and their last actions to bee called of newe, by ordinance of the lords of session, for expedition of causes.

The Shyres of Scotland.

The shires of the first quarter as followeth, that is to say, Forfair, Kincardin, Banff, Elgin, Forres, Narne, Innernes, and Cromartie.

The shires of the second quarter, Edinburgh, Lynlithgow, Selkirk, Roxburgh, Poblis, Berwick, and Haddington.

The third quarter, Striviling and Renfrew, Lanerk, Wigton, Dumfries, Kilc dbright, and Annandaill.

The fourth quarter, Perth, Clackmannan, Agyle, and Bute.

The Senators begin their Sittings and Risings as follows:

They begin to sit downe in Edinburgh, on the morne after Trinity Sunday, while the first day of August, and after to be vacant while the first day of November next ensuing, and then to begin and sit, while the xix. day of March next, and then to be vacant, while the morning after Trinity Sunday, as aforesayd.

The Names of the Free Burrowes subject to pay Extent and Subsidie within Scotland.

SOUTH.

Edinburgh.	Aere.	Jedburgh.
Sterling.	Irwing.	Sel-kirk.
Lithgow.	Glasgow.	Peblis.
Rothsaye.	Kircudbricht.	Haddington.
Dumbarten.	Wigtoun.	North-Barwick.
Renfrew.	Whithorne.	Dumbar.
Ruglen.	Laynerik.	Dumfreis.

NORTH.

Abirdene.	Forfar.	Cowpar.
Dundie.	Brechin.	Cullane.
Saint Johnston, alias Perth.	Mont-rosse.	Fores.
	Elgene.	Narne.
Banffe.	Innernes.	Thaine.
Dumfermeling.	Arbrothe.	Dysert.
Carraill.	Saint Androis.	Kirkady.

Palaces appertayning to the King.

The palace of Halyrud-house, beside Edinburgh, in Lothien.

2. The palace of Dalkeyth, reserved for the use of the prince, with the orchard, gardens, banks, and wood adjacent thereunto, within four miles of Edinburgh.

3. The palace of Lithgow, within the towne of Lithgow, in Lithgow shire.

4. The palace of Falkland, and the towne of Falkland adjacent thereunto, with the parke, in Fyfe.

Castels appertayning to the King.

Desert. The Castell of Roxburgh, now demoleist by the law, and by the commandement of the king, and three estates in Teviotdaill. The monuments yet stand to this hour, but desert.

Desert. The Castell and fortalice of Dumbar, a house of great strength, till within these late yeres it was demolished by James Earle of Murray, Regent of Scotland, in Lothien, desert.

1. The Castell of Edinburgh, inhabited by John Earle of Mar.

2. The Castell and strength of Blacknes, in Lothien, inhabited by Sir James Sandelands.

3. The Castel and strength of Sterling, inhabited by John Earle of Mar, and his deputies.

4. The Castell of Dumbarton, inhabited by John Lord Hammilton.

5. The Castel of Lochmaben, in Annadaill, occupied by the Lord Maxwell.

6. The Castel of Kirkwall, in Orknay, appertayning to the king, inhabited by the Earle of Orknay.

FINIS.

A true Description and Division of the whole Countrey of Scotland. Of the Situation, Distance, and Commodities in every Part thereof.

Scotland is devided from England, first, by the high hils of Cheviot, and where the hils do end, by a wall called the march dike, made in our time, and then by the waters Esk and Seloua. By north, those borders from the Scots sea to the Ireland sea. The countries lye in order as followeth: The Mærs (wherein stands the tower of Barwike, at this present possessed by England), lyes upon the north side of Tweede, which is compassed by the firth of Forth on the east, by England on the south; westward on both the sides of Tweede lyes Teviotdaill, taking the name from the water of Tiot, devided from England by the hilles of Cheviot. Next unto Teviotdaill lye countries that are not great, Liddisdail, Ewisdail, and Esdaill, taking their names from three waters, Liddall, Ewis, and Esk. The last is Annandaill, which also hath the name from the water of Annan, deviding the country almost in two, and runnes after Solova into the Ireland sea. Now let us returne to Forth. The countrey of Lothian is compassed by it at the east. Cocburnspeth and Lamermure devides it from the Mærs, and then turning somewhat westward, it joynes with Twedaill and Lawderdaill; Tweddaill, taking the name from the river of Tweed, which runnes through the same, and Lawderdaill, from the towne of Lawder, or rather from the water of Lidder running through the countrey. Liddail, Nithsdaill, and Clyddisdaill, march with Tweddaill, at the south and west parts thereof. Nithsdaill taking the name from the water of Nith, running through it to the Ireland sea. Lothian, so named from Loth, king of Pights, is bordered on the south est by Forth, or the Scottish sea, on the northwest by Clyddisdaill. This countrie, in civilitie, and abundance of all other things necessarie for the use of man, excelles very farre all the rest of the countries of Scotland.

The borders in order.

The causes of them denominations.

There runne fine waters through it, Tyne and Esk, (which both runne in one at the foote of the wood of Dalkeith, before they enter into the sea,) Leith and Almon. Of those waters, some spring out of Lamermure, and some out of Pentland hils, and runne into Forth. The townes of Lothian are, Dunbar, Hading, commonly called Hadington, Dalkeith, Edinburgh, Leigh: Linlithgow lieth more westwardly; Clyddisdaill lies on both sides of the Clyde, which, for the length thereof, is divided in three shires.

The townes of Lothian.

In the overward there is an hill, not to call hich, out of the which spring rivers running into three sundry seas, Twede into the Scottish sea, Annand into the Ireland sea, and Clyde into the great ocean. The chiefe townes of Clyddisdaill are Lanark and Glasgow; north-west from Clyddisdaill lies Kyle; beyond Kyle, lyes Galloway, which is devided from Clyddisdaill by the water of Cloudan. All Galloway almost declines to the south, the shyre whereof incloseth all the rest of that side of Scotland. It is more plentifull in store than cornes.

The chief townes of Clyddisdail.

The waters of Galloway, Uxe, Dee, Kenne, Cree, and Losse, runne into the Ireland sea. There is almost no great hilles in Galloway, but it is full of craggie knolles. The waters gathering together in the valleyes betwixt those knolles, make almost innumerable loches, from whence, the first flood that comes before the autumnal equinoctiall, causeth such abundance of waters to runne, that there come foorth of the said loches, incredible numbers of elees, and are taken by the countriemen in wand creels, who, salting them, obtain no small gaine thereby. The farthest part of that side is the head, called Nonantum, under the which there is an haven at the mouth of the water of Lussie, named by Ptolome, Rerigonius. In the other side of Galloway, overagainst this haven, from Clyddis-forth, there enters another haven, named commonly Lochryen, and by Ptolome, Vidogora; all that lyeth betwixt these two havens, the countrie people cal the Rynns, that is, the point of Galloway, who also call it Nonantum the Mule, that the Beck.

Galloway described.

The whole countrey is named Galloway; for Gallovid, in the auncient Scottish tongue, signifies a man of Gallia. Under Lochrien, at the back of Galloway, lies Carrik, declining easily till it come to Clyddisforth. The waters of Stenzear and Grevan devide Carrik; upon the cruiks of those waters there are many prettie villages. Carrik, betwixt the waters, where it riseth in knolles, is fertill of beastiall and resonable good ground for corne. The whole countrey of Carrik, both by sea and land, hath abundance, not only sufficient for themselves, but also largely to support their neighbours. The water of Dunes divides Carrik from Kyle. Dune springs out of a loch of the same name, in the middest whereof is an ile, on the which is builded a little towre. Next unto Carrik lies Kyle, marching upon the south with Galloway, upon the south-east with Clyddisdaill, upon the west with Cunninghame, separated from thence by the water of Irwing.

Carrik described.

Kyle described.

The water of Air runnes through the midst of Kyle; at the mouth of the water stands the towne of Air, a notable market stead. The countrey generally is more aboundant of valiant men then of corne and cattel, the ground being but poore and sandie, which sharpens the mens industrie, and confirmes the strength of the minde and body by scarcenesse of living.

From Kyle, northward, lies Cunninghame, renewing Clide, and reducing it to the quantity of a reasonable river. The name of the countrey is Dens, signifying, in that language, the kings house, whereby it appears, that the Danes have bene sometime masters thereof. Next unto Cunninghame, eastward, lies Renfrew, so named from a litle towne, wherein they use to keepe session of justice to the countrie. It is commonly named the Barronie, and is divided in the midst by two waters, both called Carth. After the Barronie followeth Clyddisdail, lying on either side of Clyde, which, in respect of the quantitie thereof, and landes of Glasgow, is divided in many jurisdictions. They that dwell upon the landes of Glasgow have their owne justice seat within the towne of Glasgow. The most notable waters of Clyddisdaill are Ervenne and Douglasse running into Clyde; upon the south side thereof, and upon the north side, there is another called Avenne, which cuts Lothian from Strivelingshyre. These two waters have gotten their names of Walter, at the beginning, instead of proper names, as also the water of Avone, in Wales, hath done, with a little difference for the propriety of the language sake.

Cunningham described.

Renfrew described.

Clyddisdaill.

Avenne devides Stirlingshyre from Lothian at the south, the firth of Forth at the east, which peece and peece becomes narrow, till it grow to the quantity of a resonable river, neere unto Striveling bridge. There is but one water worthy to make account of that runnes thorow it, named Carron, neere unto the which there are some ancient monuments upon the east side of Carron. There are two little earthen knolles, buylded as may appeare by men, commonly called Duini Pacis, that is, the knolles of peace. Two myles downeward upon the same water, there is a round building without lyme, made of hard stone, in such sort, that one part of the uppermost stone is indented within the stone that lyes directly under it; so that the whole worke, by this conjunction mutuall, and burthen of the stones, upholds itselfe, growing narrow by little and little, from the ground to the head, where it is open like a dove-coate. The common sort of people following their owne fantasies, have devised sundry authours of this worke, and that the same was appoynted for sundry uses, every man appropriating an use according to his owne device; and I, led by conjecture, was sometime indeed of opinion, that this was the chappell of the god Terminus, which, as we read, was appoynted to be open above. The two knolles Duini Pacis, lying so neere it, doe somewhat fortifie this my conjecture, as peace had beene concluded there, and this worke set up in memory thereof, and that the same should be the border of the Roman empire.

Two ancient monuments.

The country people call it Arthur's Oven.

I could not be drawne from this opinion, untill I understood that there are sundry workes in a certayne ile, like unto this chappell in all things, except they are broader

and wider[1]. In which respect, I am compelled to suspend my judgement farther than to thinke that these have bene monuments of things done, and especially of victories gotten, and set up in those places, as it had been out of the world, the rather to be kept from the injuries of enemies; but truely, whether they be monuments of victory, or, as some beleeve, sepulchers of noblemen, I trust, they have bene monuments to continue in eternall memory, but builded by rude and unlearned men. Like to this chappell, standing upon Carron, there is a peece of ground at the right side of Carron, playne almost round about, growing to a knoll; neere midway betwixt the Duini Pacis and this chappell, into the which, at the turning of the corner, appears at this day the roomes of a pretty towne; but by labouring of the ground where it stood, and taking away of the stones for building of gentlemens houses thereabouts, the foundations of the walles, and description of the roomes, cannot be discerned.

Beda, the English writer, disertly names this place Guidi, placing the same in the very corner of Severus wall. Many notable Romanes have made mention of this wall: here of as yet remayne sundry apparences, as stones gotten bearing inscriptions, contayning testimonies of safegaurd receyved of tribunes and centurions, or else of their sepulchers. And seeing that from the wall of Adrian to this wall of Severus (as the grounds of both doe witnesse) it is little lesse then an hundreth myles, the ignorance of them that have written the English matters, was either great, not understanding the Latine writers who intreated of them, or else their oversight that so confusedly handled that which was so clearely written. Howsoever the matter bee, if they bee not worthy to reprooved for this their deed, at least, I thinke them worthy to bee sleightly admonished thereof, specially, for that of the records foresayds, and of the history of Beda, the English writer; it is certayne, that there was sometime the bordour betweene the Brittaynes and the Scottes.

They that tell that Camelote stood heere, alleadge also, that this chappell before mentioned was the temple of Claudius Cæsar, and both the one and the other is a vayne lyer: for that Camelot is a colonie of the Romanes, three hundred myles distant from this place, if trueth may be given to Ptolameus, or Itinerarium Antonini. And Cornelius Tacitus maketh this errour with the rest of the whole narrative most knowne; chiefly in that he writeth, that the Romanes, after they had lost Camelot, fled for their owne preservation to the temple of Claudius Cæsar. And, whether this chapell was the temple of Terminus, or a monument of any other thing wanting a dore, whereof presently it hath neither signe or token, being the height of a stones cast, yet it could never cover ten armed men of warre, or scarcely containe so many within the walles thereof.

Besides this, after Claudius Cæsars jorney, almost fortie yeres, Julius Agricola was the first Romane that ever entered in those parts. Also was it not fiftie yeres after Agricola, that Adrianus made a wall betwixt Tyne and Esk, to be the border of the Romane province, whereof to this present, in divers places, signes do remaine? Septimius Severus, about the yeere of God 210, entered into Britannie, and beyond this border, appointed by Adrian 100 myles, he made a wall from the firth of Clyde to the mouth of Even, where it entereth into Forth. Of this wall, even at this day, there are many and cleare demonstrations. Moreover, we never finde in the auncient monuments, that Camelodnum was the chiefe seate of the Pights: but that their regall seate was in Abirnethie, as also the metropolitane seate of their bishop: which afterwards was transported to Sanctandrewes.

[1] The *Duns*, as they are called, seem here to be alluded to. They are built of loose stones, and do not at all resemble Arthur's Oven, which was obviously the work of a much more enlightened people. Its fall is well known. It was pulled down to make a dam-head; and I would it was the only piece of antiquity in Scotland that had been demolished for such purpose.

If it were inquired, what moved the Romanes to bring a colonie there, or how they susteined the same in so barraine a ground, and, as things were at that time, wilde and unmanured, and subject to the dayly injuries of most cruell enemies, they will, as I suppose, answere, (for I cannot see what other thing they can say) that they furnished it by sea, what time ships used to passe up Garron, even to the towne wall. If this were true, of necessitie the ground of both the banks of Forth was then overflowed by the great ocean, and so was barren, and yet now, that is the only ground that is supposed to be plentifull of cornes in those partes. There is another question somewhat more difficill. If both the bankes of Forth were drowned with salt water, why ended not the Romanes their wall rather at that part, then with superfluous laboures, to draw it further in length by many myles. Beyond Striviling-shyre lyeth the Lennox, devided from the barronny of Renfrew by Clyde; from Glasgow, by the water of Helvin; from Striviling-shire by hilles; from Teth by Forth; and then ends in the hils of Grangebean; at the foot whereof, Loch-lomond runnes downe a lowe valley, 24 myles of length, and 8 of bredth, having more then 24 ilsands within the same. This loch, besides aboundance of other fishes, hath an kinde of fishe of the owne, named pollac, very pleasant to eate. The water of Levin runneth out of Loch-lomond southward, which water hath given the name to the countrey. Levin entreth into Clyde neere to the castle of Dumbarton, and towne of the same name. The west-most of the hilles of Grangebean make the borders of the Lennox. The hilles are cutted by a little bosome of the sea, named, for the shortnes thereof, Gerloch. Beyond this loch, there is an farre greater loch, named, from the water that runneth in it, Loch-long; and this water is the march betwixt Lennox and Couall. This Covall, Argyle, (or rather Ergyle) and Knapdaill, are devided in many partes, by many narrow creekes, that rünne out of the firth of Clyde into them, whereof there is one most notable, named Loch-fyne, from the water of Finne that runneth into it. This loch is three-score myles of length. In Knapdaill, is Loch-haw, and therein a little island, with a strong castle. The water of Aw runneth out of this loch, and is the onely water of all that countrey that doth runne into the Deucalidon sea. North-west from Knapdaill doth lye Kentyir, (the head of the countrey over-against Ireland,) from which it is devided by a little sea. Kyntyir is more long then broad, joyning to Knapdaill by so narrow a throate, that is scarce one myle in bredth, and the same throate is nothing else but very sand, lying so lowe, that mariners drawing their ships ofttimes through it, make their journey a great deale shorter then it would bee keeping the common course. Lorne, lying upon Ergyle, doth march with it, untill it come to Haber, a playne countrey, and not unfruitfull. The countrey where the hilles of Grangebean are, are most easie to be travelled, named broad Albin, and that is to say, the highest part of Scotland: and the highest part of broad Albin, is called Drunnalbin, that is, the backe of Scotland, so tearmed, not altogether without cause; for forth of that backe waters do runne into both the seas, some unto the north, and some unto the south. Forth of Locherne, the water of Erne runneth north-east, and entereth into Tay, under Sainct-Johnstoun three myles. The countrey that lyeth on each side of this water, taking the name from it, is called, in the ancient Scottish language, Straitherne. Straith of old, in that tongue, was called a countrie lying along a water side. Betwixt the hilles of this countrey and Forth, lyeth Teth, taking the name from the water of Teth, running through the middest thereof. The hils called Ochels, march with Teth, which for the most part, (as also the ground lying at the foot of them,) are accounted to be of the stewardie of Straitherne. The rest of that countrey to Forth (through ambition) is devided in sundry jurisdictions, as in Clackmanan-shire, Culros-shire, and Kinros-shire, from which all the countrey that lyes betwixt Forth and Tay, eastward, like a wedge in a narrow point of the sea, is called by one name, Fyfe, aboundant within the selfe in all things necessary to the use of man. It is broadest, where

A fertill soyle.

Lochlevin devided it, from thence it becommeth narrow, untill it come to the towne of Carraill. There is but one water to make account of in all Fyfe, named Levin. There are many pretty townes upon the coast in three sides of Fyfe. The towne of Sainct-Andrewes, for the study of good learning. The towne of Cowper standeth almost in the middest of Fyfe, which is the sherifes seat for administration of justice. Upon the march betwixt it and Stratherne, standeth Abirnethy, of old the chiefe cittie of the Pights. Neere it, Erne runneth into Tay; the water of Tay commeth forth of Loch-tay, in Bread-albin. The loch is 24 myles of length. Tay, is the greatest river in Scotland, which turning course at the hilles of Grangebean, joynes with Atholl, a fertile countrey, situate in the very wildernesse of the same mountaines; at the foote whereof, there is a part of Atholl, lying playne, named the Blair, which word signifies a ground proper for wood. Atholl.

Under Atholl, upon the south side of Tay, stands the towne Caledon, which onely retaines the auncient name, commonly called Dunkeld, that is, a knoll full of nut-trees. The nut-trees growing in that unmanured ground, and covering the earth with the shadowe of the boughes thereof, have given the name, both to the towne and people. Dunkeld.

Caledones indeed, or Caledonii, were sometime one of the most renowned people of Brittaine, and made the one halfe of the kingdome of Pightes, whome Amnianus Marcellinus devideth in Caledones, and Vecturiones, of whome at this day scarsely doth remayne any memoriall of name.

Twelve myles under Dunkeld, in the same right side of of the river of Tay, standes S. Johnstone. Upon the noth side of the water, eastward from Atholl, lyes Gowrie, a fertill ground for corne, and under it againe, betwixt Tay and Esk, lyes Angusse, or, as the auncient Scots call it, Eencia. Some men also are of opinion, that it was named Horrestia, or, according to the English phrase, Forestia. In Angusse are the townes of Cowper and Deidoun (the gift of God, as Boetius, to gratifie his countrey, ambitiously names it) but I trust, the auncient name of the towne was Taidunum, from the word Dun, called the law, or knoll, that standes upon Tai. At the foote whereof this towne is builded, fourteene myles north from Tai, right by the sea side, stands Abirbrothock, otherwise named Abrinca: from thence ye may perfitly see the redde head a farre off. South-east cuts Angusse even in the middest, and north-east devides it from the Mærnis. The Mærnis, for the most part, is a playne ground, till it passe Fordoun, and Dunnotter, the Earle Marshels castle, and come to the hilles of Grangebean, which beginne there to decrease and end in the sea. Gowrie. Angusse. This towne is now called by all men in the vulgar tongue, Downdee.

North from Mærnis, is the mouth of the water of Deva, or Dee, commonly named, and about a myle from Dee northward, the mouth of the water of Done. At the mouth of Dee standes Abirdene, renowned for the salmond fishings thereof: and at the mouth of Done, the bishops seat, and common schooles flourishing in all kind of science of liberall artes. I finde in some olde monuments, that the towne neerest to the south, was called Abirdee, but now both the one towne and the other is called Abirdene, devided onely to the words olde and new, as new Abirdene, and old Abirdene. At this narrow poynt, lying betwixt these waters, the countrey of Mar beginnes, growing alwayes wider and wider, til it be 60 miles in length, and come to Badzenoch. The country of Badzenoch hath, as it were a back, running out thorow the midst of it, which spouts forth waters into both the seas. Habre marcheth with Badzenoch, tending by little and little towards the Deucalion sea; a countrey as aboundat of commodities, both by sea and land, as any countrey within Scotland is. First, it is good for corne and store: the shaddowes of the woods, the rivers and the springs, make it very pleasant: and it hath also great plenty of fishes as any countrey within Scotland: for, besides the abundance of fresh water fishes produced by a great number of waters, the sea runnes within the countrey, in a long channell, and Abirdene. Abirdene, an university flourishing in all kinde of artes. Marre. Badzenoch. Habre.

being narrowe at the mouth, the water kept in betwixt two high bankes, and spreading wide inwarde, makes the forme of a stanke, or rather of a loch, from which it hath gotten the name Abre, by the countreymen, that is, in their language, a place where shippes may lye as sure as in a haven. The same name is given to all the countrey that lyes round about: such as speake the English tongue, name both the creeke of the sea, and the country, Lochabre, but altogether without reason, and indecently. These three countries, Habre, Badzenoch, and Mar, comprehend the breadth of Scotland betwixt the two seas. Next unto Marre, northward, lies Buquhan, devided from Marre by the water of Done. This countrie runnes farthest in the Germane sea, of all the countreys of Scotland; fertill in store and increase of the ground, and in itselfe sufficient to satisfie for all other commodities necessary for the country. There is abundance of salmond fish taken in all the waters thereof, except Rattray, wherein, to this houre, was never seene any Salmond. Upon the coast of Buquhan, there is a cave, the nature whereof is not to be forgotten. From the crowne of the cave there drops downe water, which water, upon the instant, is turned into litle round stones: If the cave were not from time to time cleansed by mans labour, it would in short space be filled to the head. The stone that is ingendered of this water is of nature half stone, halfe ice, fresh, and never growing solide, as the marble doth.

The broadnes of Scotland. Buquhan.

A strange thing.

When I was in Tolosse, about the yere of God 1544, I understood, by credible men, that there was a cave into the Pirenee mounts, neere unto the place of their habitation, like unto this cave in all things. Boyne and Enzee lye from Buquhan, northward to Spey, which devides them from Murray. Spey springs forth of the north side of the mounteynes of Badzenoch, whereof we have made mention: and not far from the spring thereof is a loch, forth of the which comes the water of Lute, running into the west sea. By report, there was, at the mouth of this water, a good towne, named Innerluther, from the name of the water. Surely, if wee will consider the nature of the people that dwell thereabouts, the commodity of sayling and portage by sea, this is very proper for an haven.

Boyne and Enzee.

The ancient kings, allured by these commodities, sometime dwelt there, in the castle of Enone; which castle, many at this time (sinisterly informed) suppose to be Dunstaffage: for the ruines and signes of Dunstaffage, even to this day, may be seen in Lorne.

Murray.

There are some small countries cast in betwixt Buquhan and the west sea, which (having no notable thing worthy of memory within them) we overpasse. Murray lyes betwixt Spey and Næs, sometime named, as some suppose, Verar. The Germane sea, running betwixt these two waters backward, makes the shire narrow; and yet, for the quantity, it is wealthy in corne and store, and is the first country of Scotland for pleasure and commodities of fruitfull trees. There are two townes in it, Elgin, upon the water of Loxi, keeping at this day the ancient name, and Innernes, upon the water of Næs. Næs comes forth of a loch, 34 miles of length, named Loch-næs. The water of Næs is almost alwayes warme, and at no time so cold that it freezeth: yea, in the most cold time of winter, broken ice falling in it is dissolved by the heat thereof. West from Loch-næs there lyes eight myles of continent ground; and that small peece is the onely impediment that the seas joyne not, and make the remanent of Scotland an iland: for all the land that lyes between this strait and the Deucalidon sea, is cutted by creeks and loches of salt water running into the land. The country that lies by North Næs, and these straits, is commonly devided in foure provinces, Navern, or, as the common people name it, Stranaverne, from the water of Narn.

A loch of a strange nature.

From the mouth of Næs, where it enters into the Germane sea, north, lies Rosse, shooting into the sea, in great promontories or heads, as the word itself expresseth: For Rosse, in Scottish, is called an head. The country of Rosse is of greater length then breadth, extended from the Germayne to the Deucalidon sea, where it riseth in

Rosse, the description thereof.

craggy and wilde hilles; and yet, in the playne fields thereof, there is as great fertility of corne as in any other part of Scotland. There is in Rosse, pleasant dales, with waters, and loches full of fishes, specially Loch-broome. It is broad at the Deucalidon sea, and grows narrow by little and little, turning south-ward. From the other shore, the Germane sea (winning the selfe an entre betwixt high clints) runnes within the land, in a wide bosome, and makes an healthfull port and sure refuge against all tempests and stormes. The entry of it is easie; and within it is a very sure haven against all injuries of sea, and a haven for great navies of ships.

Next unto Rosse, northward, is Navarn, so named from the water of Navarn, which the common people (following the custome of their countrey speech) calleth Stranaverne. Rosse marches with Stranaverne at the south. The Deucalidon sea, at the west and north, runnes about it, and at the east it joynes with Caithnes. Sotherland is so cast in amongst these countries, that it is neighbour to them all, and marches with every one of them at some part. At the west, it hath Stranaverne; at the east, Rosse; and at the north, Caithnes, lying over against it. The countrey people, in respect of the nature of the ground, are more given to store then to corne. There is no singular thing in it that I know, except the hilles of white marble: a rare wonder in cold countries, and serving for no purpose; because that over-great delicacy, the curious carver of such things, is not entered in that country.

Navarne.

Sotherland.

Hilles of white marble.

Caithnes, where it marches with Stranaverne, is the furthest north countrey of all Scotland: and those two countries draw the breadth of Scotland into a narrow front. In them are three promontories or heads; the highest whereof is in Navernia, named by Ptolomie, Orcas, or Tarvidum. The other two, not altogether so hye, are in Caithnes,—Vervedrum, now named Hoya, and Berubrum, untruly by Voetius called Dume, now commonly called Dunnesbey, or by some, Duncans-bey. Of this word, as appeareth, (some letters taken away), the word Dunsbey is come. At the foot of the hil, there is a pretty creek, which they that travel from Orknay by sea use for an haven. Creeke is commonly called a bay. This creek, then, being named by such as dwelt there-about, Duncans-bey, or Dunnachis-bey, the common people joyning both the wordes in one, have (in their fashion) made the word Dunsbey. In this country, Ptolemie places Carnavii: of which names there remaine yet some signes; for the earle of Caithnes chiefe castle is named Gernigo. It appeares that the people named by Ptolomie, Cornavii, were called by the Britaynes, Kernici; for, indeed, not only in this countrey, but also in the furthest place of this ile, that is, in Cornwales, he places the people named Cornavii, and they that speak the Britayne toung, call the same people Kernici. It may be, that he should not judge amisse, that should esteeme Cornewales to be spoken for Kernico-wales, taking that name from the Frenchmen called Kernici. It appeareth likewise, that some signes of this name, although obscure, remayned in the middest of the ile: for Beda writes, that the beginning of Severus wall was not far from the abbay of Kebercurnike: but in these places now there is no appearance of any abbay. Yet there is in that part, a castle of Dowglasses, ruinous and halfe decayed, named Abircorne. Whether one of these words, or both, bee corruptly driven for Kernici, I leave the reader to judge.

Caithness.

Of the Iles of Scotland in generall.

Now resteth it to speake somewhat of the iles, the part of all the Britaine history, involved in greatest errours. We will leave the most ancient writers, of whom wee have no certainty, and followe that which men of our owne time, more truly and clearly, have written. They devide all the iles, (which, as it were, crown Scotland) in three classes or ranks, the west iles, Orkenay iles, and Shetland iles. They call

them West, that lie in the Deucalidon sea, from Ireland almost to Orkenay, upon the west side of Scotland. They that, either in our fathers dayes or ours, have written any thing of Brittayne, call these iles Hebrides, (a new name indeede) whereof they bring neither ground nor evidence from the ancient writers.

Some writers have placed Aebudæ, Aemode, or Acmode, in that part of that sea; but so diversly, that they scarcely agree, either in the number, the situation, or names. Strabo, (to begin at him, as most ancient) perchance may be pardoned, for that, in his time, that part of the world was not sufficiently explored; and he therefore hath but followed the uncertaine brute. Mela reckoneth seven, Aemodæ; Martianus Capella, also many Acmode; Ptolomeus and Solinus five, Acbude; Plinius seven, Acmode; and thirtie Aebudæ. We will retaine the name that is most frequent and common amongst the ancients, and call all the west iles Aebude, and shew their situation, the nature of every one of them, and commodities thereof, out of recent authors, that have lately written, as most certaine. First, we will follow Donald Munro, a man both godly and diligent, who travelled all these iles upon his feete, and saw them perfitly with his eyes. They lye scattered into the Deucalidon sea, to the number of 300 and above. Of olde, the kings of Scotland kept these isles in their owne possession, untill the time of Donald, brother to king Malcolm III. who gave them to the king of Norway, upon condition that he should assist him in usurping of the kingdom of Scotland, against law and reason. The Danes and Norway people kept possession of them for the space of 160 yeres: and then king Alexander the third, overcomming the Danes and Norway men in a great battel, thrust them out of the iles: yet afterward they attempted to recover their liberty; partly trusting to their owne strength, and partly moved by seditions in the mayne land of this countrey, creating kings of themselves, as not long ago, John (of the house of Clandonald) did usurpe the name of king, as others had done before. In food, rayment, and all things pertayning to their family, they use the ancient frugality of the Scots.

The numbers of the Scottish iles are 300 iles and above.

Their bankets are hunting and fishing. They seethe their flesh in the tripe, or else in the skinne of the beast, filling the same full of water. Now and then in hunting, they strayne out the blood, and eate the flesh raw. Their drinke is the broth of sodden flesh. The love very well the drinke made of whey, and kept certayne yeeres, drinking the same at feasts: it is named by them, *blandium*. The most part of them drinke water. Their custome is, to make their bread of oates and barly, (which are the onely kindes of grayne that grow in those parts:) experience (with time) hath taught them to make it in such sort, that it is not unpleasant to eate. They take a little of it in the morning, and so passing to the hunting, or any other businesse, content themselves therewith, without any other kind of meat, till even.

The maner of their baukets. Their drinke.

They delight in marled clothes, specially that have long stripes of sundry colours: they love chiefly purple and blew. Their predecessors used short mantles, or playds, of divers colours, sundry ways devided; and amongst some, the same custome is observed to this day; but for the most part now they are browne, most neere to the colour of the hadder; to the effect, when they lye amongst the hadder, the bright colour of their playds shall not bewray them; [1] with the which, rather coloured then clad, they suffer the most cruell tempests that blowe in the open field; in such sort, that under a wrythe of snow they sleepe sound. In their houses also they lye upon the ground, laying betwixt them and it, brakens, or hadder, the rootes thereof downe, and the tops up, so prettily layed together, that they are as soft as feather-beds, and much more wholsome; for the tops themselves are dry of nature, whereby it dries the weake humours, and restores againe the strength of the sinewes troubled before; and that so

Their attire, coloured garments.

Their manner of lodging.

[1] Notwithstanding what is here stated, the clans, or septs, were distinguished by the difference of the *sett* or chequer of their plaids; a difference which is still remembered in the Highlands.

evidently, that they, who at evening go to rest sore and weary, rise in the morning whole and able. As none of these people care for feather-beds and bedding, so take they greatest pleasure in rudenesse and hardnesse. If, for their owne commodity, or upon necessity, they travell to any other countrey, they reject the feather-beds and bedding of their hoste: they wrap themselves in their owne playds, so taking their rest; carefull indeed, lest that barbarous delicacie of the mayne land (as they tearme it) corrupt their naturall and country hardnesse.[1]

Their armour wherewith they cover their bodies in time of warre, is an iron bonnet, and an habbergion, side, almost even to their heeles. Their weapons against their enemies, are bowes and arrowes. The arrowes are for the most part hooked, with a barble on either side, which, once entered within the body, cannot be drawn forth againe, unlesse the wound be made wider. Some of them fight with broad swords and axes. In place of a drum, they use a bag-pipe. They delight much in musike, but chiefly in harps and clairschoes of their owne fashion: the strings of the clairschoes are made of brasse-wire, and the strings of the harps of sinewes; which strings they strike either with their nayles, growing long, or else with an instrument appoynted for that use. They take great pleasure to decke their harps and clairschoes with silver and precious stones: and poore ones, that cannot attayne hereunto, decke them with christall. They sing verses prettily compound, contayning (for the most part) prayses of valiant men: There is not almost any other argument, whereof their rymes entreat. They speake the ancient French language, altered a little. Their armour in time of warre.

The Iles lying about Scotland, that speake the ancient Language, called the West Iles, are these that follow.

The first of them all is the isle of Man, untruly by some men named Mon; by the ancients called Dubonia; by Paulus Orosius, Menenia, or rather Mænante; and in the old country speach, Manium. Before this time, there was a towne in it, named Sodora, wherein the bishop of the iles had his seat. It lies almost midway betwixt Ireland and Cumbir, a countrey of England, and Galloway, a countrey of Scotland; 24 miles in length, and 18 in breadth. Next unto Man, is Ailsay, into the firth of Clyde, an hard high craig on all sides, except at an entry. It is never occupied by any man, but that at some times there come a great number of boats there to fish keeling. There are many conies and sea-fowles in it, specially of that kind which wee call solayne-geese. It hath Carrik upon the north-east, Ireland upon the north-west almost, and Kyntyre upon the south-east. Foure and twenty myles from Ailsay, lies Arrane, almost direct

[1] Sacheverel thus describes the ancient Highlanders: "During my stay, I generally observed the men to be large bodied, stout, subtle, active, patient of cold and hunger. There appeared in all their actions a certain generous air of freedom, and contempt of those trifles, luxury and ambition, which we so servilely creep after. They bound their appetites by their necessities, and their happiness consists not in having much, but in wanting little. The women seem to have the same sentiments with the men; though their habits were mean, and they had not our sort of breeding, yet in many of them there was a natural beauty, and a graceful modesty, which never fails of attracting. The usual outward habit of both sexes is the plaid; the women's finer, the colours more lively, and the squares larger than the men's, and put me in mind of the ancient Picts. This serves them for a veil, and covers both head and body. The men wear theirs after another manner, especially when designed for ornament; it is loose and flowing, like the mantles our painters give their heroes. Their thighs are bare, with brawny muscles; what is covered is only adapted to necessity. A thin brogue on the foot, a short buskin, of various colours on the leg, tied above the calf with a pair of striped garters. What should be concealed is hid with a large shot-pouch, on each side of which hangs a pistol and a dagger, as if they found it necessary to keep these parts well guarded. A round target on their backs, a blue bonnet on their heads, in one hand a broad sword, and a musquet in the other. Perhaps no nation goes better armed, and I assure you they will handle them with bravery and dexterity, especially the sword and target, as our veteran regiments found to their cost at Gillie Crankie."—*Voyage to I-Columb-kill, apud* SACHEVEREL'S *Account of the Isle of Man*, 1702.

north, 24 myles of length, and 16 of breadth. All the whole iland riseth in high and wild mountaynes: it is manured onely upon the sea side: where the ground is lowest, the sea runs in, and makes a well large creeke into it, the entries whereof are closed by the iland Molas; the hilles rising on all sides, and breaking the rage of the winds, in such sort, that within is a very sure haven for shippes; and in the waters, which are alwayes calme, such abundance of fish, that, if there be more taken then the countrey people thinke should serve them for a day, they cast them in agayne into the sea, as it were in a stanke. Not farre from Arrane, lyes the little ile Flada, fertill of conies. Farther in it, is situate the ile of Bute, within the firth of Clyde, eight myles of length, and foure in breadth: distant from Arrane, as is sayd, eight miles south-east, and from Argyle south-west; little more than halfe a myle from Cunnynghame, which lyes by east of it sixe myles. It is a low countrey, commodious enough for corne and store: in it is a towne of the same name; and therein is the olde castell of Rosa. There is another castell in the middest of it, named Cames, in their owne language; in Greeke, Kamcos; that is, very crooked. The ile Mernoca, a myle of length, and halfe a myle of bredth, lies lowe south-westward, well manured, and fertill for the quantity. Within the firth of Clyde, lyes Little Cambra and Great Cambra, not farre distant one from another. Great Cambra is fertill of corne, and Little Cambra of fallow deere. From the Mule of Kyntyre Littia, more then a myle, is *Porticosa avona*; getting that name from the creeke of Walter, that kept the Danes navy there, at what time they had the iles in their hands. From the same Mule north-west, over against the coast of Ireland, lyes Rachuda: and from Kyntyre foure myles, the little isle Caraia; and not far from thence, Gigaia, sixe myles of length, and a myle and a halfe of bredth. Twelve myles from Gigaia, lies Jura, foure and twenty miles of length. The shore side of Jura is well manured, and the inward part of the country is cled with wood; full of deere of sundry kinds. Some thinke that this isle was named of olde, Dera, which word, in the Gothicke tongue, signifieth a deere. Two myles from Jura, lyes Scarba, in length, from the east to the west, foure miles, and a myle in bredth: in few places occupied. The tyde of the sea betwixt this ile and Jura is so violent, that it is not possible to passe it, eyther by sayle or ayre, except at certayne times. At the backe of this ile are many unworthy little islands scattered here and there: Ballach, or Genistaria, Gearastilla, Longaia, the 2. Fidlas, the 3. Barbais, distinguished by their owne proper names, Culbremna, Dunum, Coilp, Cuparia, Belvahua, Vikerana, Vitulina, Lumga, Seila, Scana. These three last iles are indifferent fertill of corne and store, and pertayne to the earles of Argyle. Next unto them is Sklata, so named from a sklait quarre that is in it. Then Naguisoga and Eisdalfa, and Skennia, and that which is named Thiana, from an herbe hurtfull to the eornes, called guld, not unlike to the herbe Lutea, but that it is somewhat more waterish colored. Uderga, and the kings iland; then Duffa, that is, blacke; and the iland of the church, and Triaracha; and then the iland Ardua, Hunilis, Viridis, and Ericea, item, Arboraria, Capraria, Cunicularia, and it that is named the iland of Idle-men; and Abridica, and Lismora, wherein sometime was the bishop's seate of Argyle; it is 8 myles of length, and two in breadth. In this iland, besides the commodities that it hath common with the rest, there are mynes of mettalles. Then Ovilia, the iland Trajecte, the iland Garna, (that is, sharpe,) the iland of the stane. Gressa, and the great iland, Ardiescara, Musadilla, and Bernera, sometime called the Holy Girth, notable by the tree taxus which growes in it. Molochasgia, Drinacha, full of thornes and bourtree, over-covered with the ruines of old houses. Wrichtoun, fertil of wood. Item, Ransa, Kernera. The greatest iland, next unto Jura, westward, is Yla, 24 myles of length, and 16 of bredth, extended from the south to the north, aboundant in store, cornes, deere, and lead. There is a fresh water in it, called Laia, and a creeke of salt water; and therein are many ilands: in it also is a fresh water loch, wherein stands the iland, named Fulnigania, sometime the chiefe

An ancient castle.

Jura,

Lutea,

Taxus, a tree not unlike to the fir-tree, but the fruit thereof is venomous.

seate of all the iles-men. There the governour of the iles, usurping the name of a king, was wont to dwell.[1] Neere unto this island, and somewhat lesse then it, is the Round Iland, taking the name from counsell; for therein was the justice seat, and fourteene of the most worthy of the countrey did minister justice unto all the rest continually; and intreated of the waightie affaires of the realme, in counsell, whose great equitie and discretion kept peace both at home and abroade; and with peace was the companion of peace, aboundance of all things. Betwixt Ila and Jura, lyes a little island, taking the name from a cairne of stones. At the south side of Ila, do lye these ilands: Colurna, Muluoris, Ossuna, Brigidana, Corskera, the Lowe Iland, Imersga, Beathia, Texa, Ovicularia, Noasiga, Vinarda, Cava, Tarsheria, the great iland Auchnarra, the island made like a man, the iland of John Slakbadis. At the west corner of Ila, lyes Oversa, where the sea is most tempestuous, and at certaine hours unnavigable. The Marchants Iland, and south-westward from it, Usabrasta, Tanasta, and Nefa. The Weavers Iland, eight myles from Ila: somewhat towards the north, lies Ornansa. Next unto it, the Swines iland: halfe a myle from Ornansa, Colnansa: north from Colnansa, lyes the Mule, 12 myles distant from Ila. This isle is 24 myles of length, and as much in bredth, unpleasant indeed, but not unfruitful of cornes: there are many woods in it, many heardes of deere, and a good haven for shippes: there are in it two waters, entring into the sea, over against the Dowe Iland; and there are two waters well spred of salmond fish, and some strypes not altogether emptie thereof. There are also two loches in it, and in every one of the loches an iland, and in every iland a towre. The sea running into this iland at foure sundrie partes, makes foure salt-water loches therein, all foure abounding in herring. To the north-west lyes Calumbaria, or the Dowe Iland; to the south-east, Era; both the one and the other profitable for bestiall, for cornes, and for fishings. From this iland, two myles, lies the iland of Sanct-colme, two myles of length, and more then a myle of bredth, fertill of all things that that part of the heaven useth to produce; renowned by the ancient monuments of that countrey; but most esteemed for the sincere holinesse and discipline of Sanct-colme. There were in this iland two abbies, one of monkes, another of gray fryars: a court, or, (as it is tearmed at this time,) a parish church, with many chappelles, builded of the liberalitie of the kings of Scotland, and governours of the iles. When, as the English men had taken Eubonia, and therein the auncient seate of the bishops of the iles, they placed their seate into the old cloister of Sanct-colme. There is as yet remayning amongst the olde ruines, a buriall place, or church-yard, common to all the noble families of the west iles, wherein there are three tombes, higher then the rest, distant every one from another a little space; and three little houses situated to the east, builded severally upon the three tombes; upon the west parts whereof, there are stones graven, expressing whose tombes these were, which stand in the midst, bearing this title: "The tombs of the kings of Scotland." It is said there were 48 kings of Scotland buried there. The tombe upon the right side hath this inscription: "The tombes of the kings of Ireland." It is recorded, that there were foure kings of Ireland buried there.

Iland like a man.

Iland of Weavers.

Buriall places of the kings of Scotland.

Kings of Ireland.

[1] "Loch Finlagan, about three miles in circumference, affords salmon trouts and eels; this lake lies in the centre of the isle. The isle Finlagan, from which this lake hath its name, is in it. It is famous for being once the court in which the great Macdonald King of the Isles had his residence. His guards *de corps*, called Lucht-Tach, kept guard on the lake side, nearest to the isle; the walls of their houses are still to be seen there. The high court of judicature, consisting of fourteen, always sat there, and there was an appeal to them from all the courts in the isles: the eleventh share of the same in debate was due to the principal judge. There was a big stone of seven feet square, in which there was a deep impression, made to receive the feet of Macdonald; for he was crowned King of the Isles, standing in this stone, and swore that he would continue his vassals in the possession of their lands, and do exact justice to all his subjects; and then his father's sword was put into his hands. The bishop of Argyle and seven priests anointed him king, in presence of all the heads of the tribes in the isles and continent, who were his vassals, at which time the orator rehearsed a catalogue of his ancestors, &c."—MARTIN'S *Description of the Western Isles, p.* 241.

Kings of Norway.

It that is upon the left side, hath this inscription: "The tombes of the kings of Norway." The report is, that there were eight kings of that nation buried there. The notable houses of the iles have their tombes in the rest of the church-yard, every one severally by themselves.[1] There are about this iland, and neere unto it, sixe little ilands, not unfruitfull, given by the auncient kings of Scotland, and governours of the iles, to the abbey of Sanct-colme. Soa is a very profitable ground for sheepe; albeit the chiefe commoditie of it consists in sea-fowles that build therein, specially of their egges. Next unto it, is the ile of Wemen; then Rudana. Neere unto it, Bernira; and from that, Skennia, halfe a myle distant from the Mule: it hath a priest of their owne, but the most part of the parishioners dwell in Mule: the sea sides of it abound in connies. Five myles hence, lyeth Erosa: all these iles are subject to the monkes of Saint Colmes abbey. Two myles from Erosa, lyeth Vilua, five myles of length, fruitfull for the quantitie of corne and store. It hath a commodious haven for gallies or boates.

Upon the south side of it lyeth Tolvansa, the ground whereof is not unfruitfull. There is a wood of nut-trees in it. About 300 paces from this island, lyeth Gomatra, 2. myles long, and one myle broad, extended from the north to the south. From Gomatra, 4. myles southward, lies 2. Staffæ, the one and the other full of havening places. Foure miles south-east from Staffa, lie 2. islands, named Kerimburgæ, the more and the lesse, environed with such shore, high and furious tide, that by their owne naturall defence, (supported somewhat by the industry of man,) they are altogether invincible. One mile from them, lies an island, whereof the whole earth almost is blacke, growne together of rotten wood and mosse. The people make peates of it for their fire; wherefrom it is called monadrum; for that kinde of earth, which in the English language is called mosse, in the Irish is called monadrum. Next unto this ile, lieth Longa, 2. miles of length, and Bacha, halfe as much. From Bacha 6. miles lies Tiria, 8 miles in length, and 3. in bredth; most fertill of all the ilandes, in all things necessarie for the sustentation of man. It aboundeth in store of cornes, fishings, and sea-fowles. In this iland there is a fresh-water loch, and therein an olde castle. It hath also a haven not incommodious for boates. From this iland two myles, lies Sunna; and from Sunna as far, lieth Colla, 12 myles of length, and 2. miles of bredth, a fertill iland. Not far from it, is Calfa, almost all full of wood. And then two ilands, named Meekle Viridis and Little Viridis. Item, other two of the same names. Over against the Mules head, and not farre from it, lie 2. ilandes, named Glassæ, and then Ardan-eidir, that is, the high iland of the

[1] When William Sacheverel, governor of the Isle of Man, visited I-Columb-kill, in 1688, few of the monuments remained; but he was told by the dean of the isles, Mr John Frazer, (an honest episcopal minister,) that his father, "who had been dean of the iles, left him a book, with above 300 inscriptions, which he had lent to the late earl of Argyle, (beheaded in James II.'s reign,) a man of incomparable sense and great curiosity; and he doubted they were all lost by that great man's afflictions."—*Account of the Isle of Man*, 1702, *p.* 132.—Mr. Sacheverel mentions, that, among the tomb-stones said to cover the graves of various monarchs, the natives pointed out to him that of no less a man than the "Great Teague King of Ireland," on which the visitor proceeded thus to moralize: "I had never heard of him, and could not but reflect of how little value is greatness that has barely left a name, scandalous to a nation, and a grave the meanest of mankind would never envy."—*Ibidem.*—The muse of Collins soared a pitch higher on the same subject:—

> ——————"Beneath the showery west,
> The mighty kings of three fair realms are laid;
> Once foes perhaps, together now they rest:
> No slaves revere them, and no wars invade;
> Yet frequent now, at midnight's solemn hour,
> The rifled tombs their yawning cells unfold,
> And forth the monarchs stalk with sovereign power,
> In pageant robes, enwreath'd with shiny gold,
> And on their twilight tombs aerial council hold."
>
> *Ode on Highland Superstition.*

rider. Then Luparia, or the Wolfe Iland: and after it a great ile, lying north from the iland Colla, extended east and west. Then Ruma, 16. miles in length, and 6. in bredth, rising high in strait hilles, full of woods and scrogges, and, for that cause, it is inhabited in very fewe places; the sea-fowles laye their egges here and there in the ground thereof. In the middest of the spring time, when the egges are laid, any man that pleaseth may take of them. In the high rockes thereof, the sea-guse, whereof we spake before, are taken in aboundence. From this iland, foure miles north-eastward, lies the Horse Iland; and from it halfe a mile, the Swine Iland, for the quantitie fruitfull enough in all things necessary. The falcon buildeth in it. It hath also an haven. Not far from it, lies Canna and Egga, little ilands, fertill enough. In Egga are solan-geese. Soabrittella, more profitable for hunting, then for any other commodity necessary for man. From this iland, the ile of Skye, greatest of all the ilands that are about Scotland, lies north and south, 40. miles in length, and 8. miles broad, in some places, and in other places 12. miles, rising in hilles, in sundry places full of woods and pastorage. The ground thereof fertill in corne and store; and, besides all other kindes of beastiall, fruitfull of mares for breeding of horse. It hath five great rivers, rich of salmond, and many little waters, not altogether bare thereof. The sea running into the land on all sides, make many salt-waters, three principall, and 13. others, all rich in herring. There is in it a fresh-water loch, and five castles. The ile, in the old Scottish tongue, is called Scianacha, that is, winged; because the heads, betwixt the which the sea runneth into the land, spreadeth out like winges; but, by common custome of speech, it is called Skye, that is, a wing. About the Skye, lie little ilands, scattered here and there. Oronsa, fertil in corne and store. Cunicularia, full of bushes and connies. Pava, infamous for throat-cutting: For that, in the woods thereof, robbers lie in ambushments, to trap them that passe that way. 8. miles south-west from it, lies Scalpa, which, (besides sundry other commodities) hath woods full of troopes of deere. Betwixt the mouth of Lochcarron and Raorsa, lyes Crulinga, seven miles of length, and two of breadth; there is a sure haven in it for ships. There are in it also, woods of bucke and deere in them.

Halfe a mile from Crulinga, is Rona, full of wood and hadder. There is an haven in the innermost loch thereof, perillous for robbery, to them that passe that way, because it is a meete place to hide ambushments in. In the mouth of the same loch, is an iland of the same name, called for shortnesse, Ger-loch. From Rona, sixe miles north-ward, lies Flada; two miles from Flada, Evilmena. Upon the south side of Sky, lies Oronsa; and a mile from it Knia, Pabra, and great Bina; and then five little unworthy ilands. Next unto them is, Isa, fertill in cornes. Beside it, is Ovia, then Askerma and Lindella. 8. miles from Skye, southward, lies Linga, and Gigarmena, Benera, Megala, Pava, Flada, Scarpa Vervecum, Sandara, Vatersa; which, besides many other commodities, hath a haven, commodious for a number of great ships, whereinto fishermen of all countries about convene certaine times of the yeere ordinarily. These last nine ilandes, are subject to the bishop of the iles. 2 miles from Vatersa, is Barra, running from the north-west to the south-east, 7. miles in length, fruitfull of cornes, and profitable for fish. There runneth into it, a loch, with a narrow throat, growing round and wide within. In it there is an inch, and in the inch, a strong castle. Upon the north side of Barra, there riseth an hill, full of hearbes from the foote to the head, upon the top whereof, is a fresh water well. The spring that runneth from this well to the next sea, carries with it little things, like as they were quicke, but having the shape of no beast, which appeare (although obscurely) in some respect, to represent the fish that wee call commonly, cockles. The people that dwell there, call that part of the shore, whereunto these things are carried, the great sandes; because, that, when the sea ebbes, there appeareth nothing but drye sandes the space of a mile. Out of these sandes, the people dig out great cockles, which the

A strange kind of fish.

neighbours about judge either to grow (as it were) of that seede, that the springs do bring from the well, or else, indeed, to grow in that sea. Betwixt Barra and Wist, lie these little ilands following; Oronsa, Onia, Hakerseta, Garnlanga, Flada, Great Buya, Little Buya, Haya, Hell Sæa, Gygaia, Lingaia, Foraia, Fudaia, Eriscaia. From these ilandes Vistus lies northward, 34 miles of length, and 6 miles of bredth. The tide of the sea, running into two places of this isle, causeth it appeare three ilandes; but when the tide is out, it becometh all one iland. In it are many fresh water loches, specially one, three miles long. The sea hath worne in upon the land, and made it selfe a passage to this loch, and can never be holden out, albeit the inhabitants have made a wall of 60 foot broad, to that effect. The water entereth in amongst the stones, that are builded up together, and leaves behind it, at the ebbe, many sea-fishes. There is a fish in it, like to the salmond in all things, except that, with the white womb, it hath a blacke backe, and wanteth skailes. Item, in this iland are innumerable fresh-water loches. There is in it caves covered over with hadder, that are very dennes for knaves. In it are five churches. 8 Miles west from it, lies Helsther Vetularum, so named, (as I beleeve) because it appertaineth to the nunnes of the ile of Jone. A little further north, riseth Haneskera; about this iland, at certaine times of the yeere, are many sealches; they are taken by the countrey-men. South-west, almost 60 miles from Haneskera, lies Hirta, fertill in corne and store, specially in sheepe, which are greater then the sheepe of any the other ilands; the inhabitants thereof are rude in all kinde of craft, and most rude in religion. After the summer solstice, which is about the 17 day of June, the lord of the iland sandeth his chamberlaine to gether his duties, and with him a priest, who baptizeth all the children that are borne the yeere preceeding; and if it chaunce the priest not to come, then every man baptizeth his owne childe. The tenants pay to their lordes, certaine number of sealches, of reisted wedders, and sea-fowles. The whole iland passeth not one mile in length, and as much in bredth. There is no part of it that can bee seene by any of the other ilands, except three hilles, which are upon the coast thereof, and may be seene from hie places of some other ilands. In these hilles are very faire sheepe, but scarcely may any man get to them for the violence of the tide. Now let us returne to Wistas. From the north point thereof, is the iland Velaia, one mile of bredth, and twise as long. Betwixt this point, and the iland Harea, lie these ilands following, little of quantity, but not unfruitfull: Soa, Stroma, Pabaia, Barneraia, Emsaia, Keligira, Little Saga, Great Saga, Harmodra, Scarva, Grialinga, Cillinsa, Hea, Hoia, Little Soa, Great Soa, Isa, Little Seuna, Great Seuna, Taransa, Slegana, Tuemen.

A barbarous people.

Above Horea, is Scarpa, and halfe a mile towardes the west, equinoctiall from the Lewes, lie 7 little ilands, which some name Flananæ, some holy places of girth and refuge, rising up in hilles that are full of hearbes, but unlaboured of any man. There is never, almost, one foure-footed beast in them, except wilde sheepe, which are taken by hunters, but they serve of no purpose for eating, because, in stead of flesh, they have a kinde of fatnesse; and if there be any flesh upon them, it is so unpleasant, that no man, (unlesse he be very sore oppressed with extreme hunger,) will taste of it.

Further north, in the same ranke, lies Garn Ellan: that is, the hard ile. Lamba, Flada, Kellasa, little Barnera, Great Barnera, Kirta, little Bina, great Bina, Vexaia, Pabaia, Great Sigrama, Cunicularia, so named, from the plenty of conies that are there; Little Sigrama; the iland of the Pigmeis. In this iland is a church, wherein the Pigmeis were buried, (as they that are neighbours to the iland beleeve.[1]) Sundrie stran-

Island of Pigmies.

[1] This was one of the fictions which fired the imagination of Collins.

That hoar pile, which still its ruins shews,
In whose small vaults a pigmy-folk is found,
Whose bones the delver with his spade upthrows,
And culls them wondering from the hallowed ground.

gers, digging deepely in the ground, sometimes have found, and yet to this day do finde, very little round heads, and other little bones of mans body, which seemes to approve the truth, and apparance of the common brute. In the north-east side of the iland Leogus, there are two loches running forth of the sea, named the North and South Loches, wherein at all times of the yeere there is aboundance of fish for all men that list to take them. From the same side of the loch, somwhat more southerly, lies Fabilla, Adams iland, the Lamb iland, item Hulmetia, Viccoilla, Hanarera, Laxa, Era, Adams Island. the Dow iland, Tora, Iffurta, Sealpa, Flada, Senta; at the east side whereof, there is a passage under the earth, vaulted above a flight shoote of length, into the which little boates may either saile or rowe, for eschewing of the violent tide, raging with great noice and danger, of them that saile betwixt the iland and the head that is next unto it. Somewhat eastward, lies an iland, named Old Castle, a roome strong of nature, and sufficient inough to nurish the inhabitants in cornes, fish, and egges of sea-fowles that build in it. At that side where Lochbrien enters, is situate the iland Eu, al ful of woods, onely meete to cover theeves, who lie in waite for passengers comming that way. More northerly, lies the iland Grumorta, and it is likewise full of woods, and haunted by throat-cutters. The iland, named the Priestes Iland, lies that same way, profitable for pastorage of sheepe, and full of sea-fowles. Next unto it is Afulla. Neighbour to Afulla, in great Habrera; then little Habrera, and neere unto it, the Horse Isle. Horse Ile; and besides that againe, the iland Marta Ika.

These last-mentioned ilands lye all before the entrie of Lochbrien, and from them northward, lye Haray and Lewis, sixteen myles of length and sixteen of bredth. These three make an iland, which is not divided by any haven or port of the sea, but by the severall lordships of the heritours thereof. The south part is commonly named Haray. In it sometime was the abby named Roadilla, builded by Maccleude Hareis; is a country fertill inough in cornes, but yet the increase commeth rather of digging and delving, then by earing with the plough. There is good pastorage for sheepe in it, chiefly a high hill over-covered with grasse to the very top. Master Donald Monro, a learned and godly man, sayth, that when he was there, he saw sheepe (as olde as that kind of bestial useth to be) feeding masterlesse, pertayning peculiarly to no man, the commodity whereof is the greater, for that there is neyther woolfe, foxe, or serpent seene there; albeit, that betwixt that part and Lewis, there be great woods full of deere, but they are of stature low and not great of body. In that part also of the iland is a water well stored with salmond fishes. Upon the north side of it, it is well manured upon the sea side. There are in it foure churches, one castle, seven great running waters, and twelve lesse, all for their quantities plentifull of salmond fish. The sea enter-within the land in divers parts of the iland, making sundry salt water loches, all plentifull of herring. There is in it great commoditie of sheepe, which feed at their pleasure upon the hadder, and among the bushes and craigs. The inhabitants gather them together every yere once, eyther within some narrow roome, or else within some flaik foldes, and there conforme to the ancient custome of the countrey, they plucke off the wooll of them.

The most part of the hie land hereof is moory ground, the superfice whereof is black, congealed together by long progresse of time, of mosse and rotten wood, to the thicknesse of a foot, or thereabouts: the upper scruffe is cast in long thicke turffes, dryed at the sunne, and so wonne to make fire of, and burnt instead of wood. The next yeere after, they mucke the bare ground, where the scruffe was taken away, with sea ware, and sowe barly upon it.

Martin says, "the discovery of these small bones was made at Bal-nin-Kallaich, or Nunstown; and that, while some contended they were the bones of birds, and others, of pigmies, Sir Norman Mac Leod, asserted they belonged to the children of the nuns, who had formerly dwelt there. This hypothesis was so disagreeable to the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the isle, that they shut up the vault, to prevent further propagation of the scandal."—MARTIN'S *Western Isles*, p. 82.

Whales. In this iland is such abundance of whales taken, that, as aged men report, the priests will get of small and great together 27 whales for their tenth. There is also in this iland, a great cave, wherin the sea, at a low water, abides two faddom high, and at full sea, it is more than four faddome deepe. People of all sortes and ages sit upon the rockes thereof, with hooke and line, taking innumerable multitude of all kinde of fishes. South-east from Lewis, almost threescore myles, there is a little iland, lowe and playne, well manured, named Rona; the inhabitants thereof are rude men, and almost without religion. The lord of the ground limits certayne number of housholds to occupy it, appoynting for every houshold few or many sheepe, according to his pleasure, whereon they may easily live and pay him his rent. Whatsoever rests at the yeres end, more then their necessary sustentation, they send the same yeerely to Lewis to their master. The rent for the most part which they pay is barly meale, sewed up in sheep-skinnes, in great quantity, (amongst them growes no store of any other kind of grayne,) mutton, and so many sea fowles dried at the sunne, as they themselves leave uneaten at the yeres end, are sent to their master. And in case, at any time, the number of persons increase in their houses, they give all that exceed the ordinary number to their master; so that, in my opinion, they are the onely people in the world that want nothing, but hath all things for themselves in abundance, uncorrupted with lechery or avarice, and are indued with innocency and quietnesse of mind (which other people with great travel seeke out by the institutions and precepts of philosophie,) purchast to them by ignorance of vice; so that they appeare to want nothing of the highest felicity that may be, except only, that they are ignorant of the commodity of their owne condition[1].

Happy people.

There is in this iland, a chappell, dedicated to Saint Ronan, wherein, as aged men report, there is alwayes a spade, wherewith, when as any is dead, they find the place of his grave marked. In it, besides divers kinds of fishings, there are many whales taken. Sixteene miles west from this iland, lies Suilkeraia, a myle in length; but in it growes no kind of hearbe, no, not so much as a hadder. There is onely black craggy hilles in it, and some of them covered with blacke mosse. Sea fowles lay their egges in sundry places thereof, and doe hatch. When they are nere their flight, the inhabitants of Leogus, next neighbours unto it, sayle thither, and remayne there eight dayes or thereabout, to take and gather the fowles, drying them at the wind, and loade their boates with the dryed flesh and feathers thereof. In that iland is seene a rare kind of fowle, unknowne to other countries, named colca, little lesse in quantity then a goose. These fowles come there every yeere in the spring time, hatche and nourish their young ones, till they be able to live by themselves; about that same very time, they cast their feathers, and become starke naked of all their body, and then they get themselves to the sea, and are never seene againe till the next spring. This farther is notable in them, their feathers have no stalke as other fowles feathers have, but they are all covered with a light feather, like unto doun, wherein is no kind of hardnesse.

A strange kind of fowle haunting in the ile of Suilkeraia.

The Iles of Orkenay, in the North of Scotland.

Now follow the iles of Orkenay, lying scattered, partly in the Deucalidon sea, partly in the Germane seas, towards the north parts of Scotland The ancient writer and the

[1] The extinction of this ancient and simple people took place in the beginning of the 18th century. "A swarm of rats, but none knows how, came into Rona, and in a short time eat up all the corn in the island. In a few months after some seamen landed there, who robbed the poor people of their bull. These misfortunes, and the want of supply from Lewis for the space of a year, occasioned the death of all that ancient race of people." MARTIN'S *Description of the Western Isles.* It may be safely deduced, from this catastrophe, that, with all submission to our author, the circumstance of having no more provisions than barely sufficient for a year's consumption, is but a precarious ingredient in the happiness of a people, and may occasionally subject them to considerable inconvenience. Martin tells some singular stories concerning the simplicity of this primitive tribe.

late writers, both agree sufficiently upon their name; but yet, never man, so far as I know, hath given any reason of the same, neither yet is it sufficiently knowne who were the first possessors thereof. All men notwithstanding, alledge their originall to be from Germany, but of which countrie they are descended, none hath expressed. Unlesse we list to conjecture from their speach they sometime spake, and yet speake the ancient language of the Gothes. Some are of opinion that they were Pights, chiefly perswaded hereunto, through their devision by the sea named Perth, and the firth from Caithnes, who likewise suppose, that the Pights were of their original Saxons, moved hereunto by the verse of Claudian, taken out of his seven panegerick.

Maduerunt Saxone foso
Orcades, incaluet Pictorum sanguine Thule
Scotorum cumulos fleuit glacialis lerne.

But these mens errors may be easily confuted, partly by Beda, an English Saxon himselfe, who affimes, that God was praysed in seven sundry languages, amongst the Britaynes; and that the Pights language was one of them, may well appeare; for if that, at that time, the Pights had spoken Saxon, which was then the uncorrupted speach of the Englishmen, hee would then have made no division betwixt the Saxons and the Pights language; and partly also confuted by Claudian himselfe, who, in the very same verses, disertly noteth the Pights a severall people from the Saxons, affirming the countrey of the one nation to be Orknay, and the countrey of the other Thule; from which country soever they be descended, at this day, their language differs both from the Scottish and English tongues, but not much divers from the Gothes.

A healthful countrey.

The common people, to this day, are very carefull to keepe the ancient frugality of their predecessors, and in that respect they continue in good health for the most part, both in minde and body, so that few dye of sicknesse, but all for age. The ignorance of delicacie is more profitable to them for preservation of their health, then the art of medicine, and diligence of mediciners is to others. The same their frugality is a great help to their beauty and quantity of stature. There is small increase of cornes amongst them, except of oats and barly, whereof they make both bread and drinke. They have sufficient store of quicke goods, neat, sheepe, and goats, and thereby great plenty of milk, cheese, and butter. They have innumerable sea fowles, whereof, and of fish, for the most part, they make their common food. There is no venemous beast in Orknay, nor none that is evil favoured to looke upon. They have little nagges, little worth in appearance, but more able and mettelled for any turne then men can beleeve. There is no kind of tree, no, not so much as a sprig, in Orknay, except hadder: the cause hereof is not so much in the ayre and ground, as in the sloth of the inhabitants. This may be easily proved by roots of trees that are taken out of the ground, in sundry parts of the ile. When wine comes there in their ships forth of strange countries, they greedily swallow it, till they be drunken.

No venemous beast in Orknay. Their horses.

S. Magnus bicker.

They have an old cup amongst them, which (to the effect their drunkennesse may have the greater authority) they say did appertayne to Saint Magnus, the first man that brought the Christian religion into that countrey. This cup exceeds far the common quantity of other cups, so as it appears to have been kept since the banquet of the Lapiths. By it they trye their bishop, first when he comes among them. Hee that drinkes out the whole cuppe at one draught, which is seldome seene, is by them extolled to the skyes; for hereof, as from a blyth presage, they conceive with themselves, increase in their goods the yeere following. Hereupon, wee may easily conjecture, that the frugality whereof I speake, proceeded not so much from reason and care to bee frugall, as from poverty and scarcity. And the same necessity, that was mother of this frugalitie at the beginning, kept her daughter long after amongst the offspring of that ile, till

such time as the countries lying neere unto it (luxurie increasing) being corrupted, by the auncient discipline by little and little deformed, they likewise gave themselves to deceitful pleasures. Their traffique also with pirates was a great spur to the decay of their temperancie. The pirates fearing to frequent the company of them that dwelt in the continent land, got fresh water forth of the iles, made exchange with the inhabitants thereof, giving them wines and other sleight marchandise for fresh rivers, or taking the same upon slight prices from the people, who being a small number without arms, and lying so wide one from another, in a tempestuous sea, staying and impeding their incurrence for mutuall defence, and finding themselves unable to withstand those pyrats, considering also their owne security, joined with advantage and pleasure, were contented, not altogether against their willes, to receive them, at least they opponed not themselves directly unto them.

The contagion of maners began, not in the simple people, but it did both begin and continued in the wealthy men and priestes. For the common sort, at this day, keepe some remembrance of their accustomed moderation. The Orkenay sea is so tempestuous and raging, not onely in respect of the violent winds, and aspect of the heavens, but also in consideration of the contrarious tydes, running head-long together from the west ocean, that the vessels, comming in any strayt betwixt two landes, can neither, by sayle nor oare, once releeve themselves of raging tydes and whirling waves of the seas. If any dare approach the strait, they are either violently brought backe into the sea, by the rage thereof, broken upon rocks, or driven upon skares, or else, by the sworle of the seas, sunk in the waves thereof. These straits may be passed at two times of the tyde, when the weather is calme, either at a deep neep or at a full sea. At these times, the great ocean, offended with contentious tydes, whose force raysed huge contrary waves, sounds, as it were, the retreat in such sort, that the surges of the seas of before raging returne againe to their owne camps. Writers agree not upon the number of these iles of Orkenay. Plinius sayes there be forty iles of them. Others thinke there is but thirty, or thereabouts. Paulus Orosius, accounting them to be thirty-three in number, judgeth the neerest the truth. Of these there be thirteen inhabited, the remanent are reserved for nourishing of cattel.

Dangerous seas.

There are also some little ilands amongst them, of so narrow bounds, that scarcely (albeit they were laboured) are able to sustain one or two labourers. Others are but either hard crags bare, or else crags covered with rotten mosse. The greatest of the Orkenay ilands is named by many of the ancients, Pomona; at this day it is called "The firme land," for that it is of greater quantity then any of the rest: it is thirty miles of length, sufficiently inhabited. It hath twelve countrey parish churches, and one towne, named by the Danes, (to whose jurisdiction these ilands were sometime subject) Cracomaca, but now the name being corrupt, it is called in Scottish, Kirkwaa.

The ancient and name new of the chiefest towne in Orkenay.

In this towne there are two little towers builded, not far the one from the other: one of them appertaines to the king, the other to the bishop. Betwixt these two towers stands one church, very magnifique for such a countrey. Betwixt this church and the towers, on eyther side, are sundry buildings, which the inhabitants name the Kings Towne and the Bishops Towne. The whole iland runes out in promontories or heads, betwixt which the sea runnes in, and makes sure havens for ships and harbours for boats. In six sundry places of this ile, there are mines of as good lead and tynne as is to be found in any part of Britayne. This iland is distant from the Caithnes twenty-four miles, or thereabouts, devided from thence by the Pight sea, of whose nature wee have already spoken. In this sea are divers ilands scattered here and there, of whom Stroma for the quantity, lying four miles from Caithnes, is one, and that not unfruitfull; but, because it lies so neere to the continent land of Britayne, and that the Earles of Caithnes have alwayes bene masters and lords thereof, it is not accounted amongst the iles of Orknay. From this land northward, lies South Ranalsay, which is distant from Duncan-bey, (or rather Du-

Mynes of lead and tynne.

nachis-bey,) sixteene miles, and may be sayled without tyde, although there bee no winde in the space of two houres, the course of that sea is so vehement. Ranalsay is five miles long, and hath a commodious haven, named after Saint Margaret. From it, somewhat eastward, there lye two little unoccupied ilands, meete for pastouring of cattell, called by the Orkenay men, in their original language, Holmes, that is, playne grassy ground upon water sides. Towards the north lyes Burra. Westward lye three ilands, every one of them besides another, Suna, Flata, and Fara; and beyond them, Hoja and Walles, which some men think but one iland, and others esteeme it two; for that, at the time of the equinoctials, the spring tides are very great and high, and at the dead neap the sands are bare, joining them together at one straight throate, making one iland of both; yet, when the tyde turnes and filles the straight agayne, they appeare to bee two ilands.

In these iles are the highest hilles that are in all Orkenay. Hoja and Walles are ten myles of length, distant from Ranalsay eyght myles, and more than twenty myles from Dunkirk, in Caithnes. By north of it, is the ile Granisa, situated in a narrow firth betwixt Caithnes and Pomona. The west side of Pomona lookes to the west sea directly, into the which, so farre as men may see, there is neyther iland nor craig. From the east poynt of Pomona lyes Cobesa; and upon the north side it is almost invironed by the iles adjacent thereunto. Siapinsa, turning somewhat east, lies two myles from Kirkwaá, even over against it, six miles in length. Right west from Siapinsa are the two little ilands, Garsa and Eglisa, four miles of length. In this iland they say Saint Magnus is buried. Next unto it, and somewhat neerer the continent land, is Rusa, four miles of length and three miles of breadth in some places, well peopled. A little west-ward lies the little iland Broca. Besides all these iles, there is another band of iles lying to north the eastmost whereof is Stronza, and next it Linga, five myles of length and two of breadth; then sundry ilands named Holmes; then Haá, five miles of length and two of breadth. By east of it lies Fara, and north from Fara, Wastra, running out into the sea in many heads and promontories. Above Stronza, at the east end of Etha, lies Sanda, north-ward, ten miles of length and foure of bredth, where it is broadest. Sanda is most fertill of corne of all the ilands of Orknay; but it hath no kind of fire within itselfe, so the indwellers are compelled to make exchange of their victuals for peits, (a kind of black mosse, whereof almost all the north parts of Scotland make their fire) with their neighbours the Ethanis. Beyond Sanda, lyes North Ranalsaá, two myles of length and two of breadth. No man may passe it but in the middest of summer, and that what time the sea is very calme. Upon the south side of Pomona lies Rusa, sixe myles of length; and from it eastward, Eglisa, wherein, as is reported, Saint Magnus is buried. From Eglisa, south, Veragersa; and not farre from it, Westraá, from which Hethlandi is distant eighty myles, and Papastronza lyes eighty myles from Hethland. In the midway betwixt, lies Fara, that is, the faire iland, standing in the sight of Orknay and Hethland both; it rises in three high promontories or heads, and shore craig round about, without any kind of entrance, except at the south-east, where it growes a little lower, making a sure harbour for small boats. The indwellers thereof are very poore; for the fishers that come out of England, Holland, and other countries, neere unto the great ocean, yerely to fish in these seas, in their passing by this iland, they spoyle, reife, and take away at their pleasures whatsoever they find in it. Next unto this iland, is the greatest ile of all Hethland, which, in respect of the quantity the indwellers, name the Maneland, sixteen miles of length; there are sundry promontaries or heads in it, amongst which there are only two to make account of: the one long and small runnes north, the other broader, as in some parts sixteen miles, runnes north-east. It is inhabited for the most part upon the sea coast. Within the country there is no kind of quick beast, except the fowle flying. Of late the labourers attempted to manure farther within the country then their predecessors were accustomed to doe, but they reported small advantage for their paynes. There is very good fishing round about the whole country,

and so their commodity stands by the sea. From this land, ten miles north-ward, lies Zeal, twenty miles of length and eight miles of bredth, so wild a ground of nature, that no kind of beast will live in it, except they that are bred in the same. They say that the Bremes merchants come thither, and bring to them all forrayne wares they need in abundance. Betwixt this iland and the mayne land, lie these little ilands: Linga, Orna, Bigga, Sanctferri; two miles north-ward from these lies Unsta, more than twenty miles of length and sixe in breadth, a playne country, pleasant to the eye, but it is compassed by a very tempestuous sea. Via and Ura are cast in betwixt Unsta and Zeall. Two ilands, Skenna and Burna, lie westward from Unsta, Balta, Hunega, Fotlara, seven miles long, and seven miles eastward from Unsta, eight miles from Zeall; over against the sea that devides Zeal from Usnta, lies Fotlara, more than seven miles of length. There are divers unworthy ilands lying upon the east side of the mayne land: Mecla, the three ilands of East Skennia, Chualsa, Nostvada, Brasa, and Musa. Upon the west side lye West Shemniæ, Rotra, Little Papa, Venneda, Great Papa, Valla, Trondra, Burra, Great Havra, Little Havra, and so many holmes lying scattered amongst them. The Hethlandish men use the same kind of food that the Orknay men use, but that they are somewhat more scarce in house-keeping. They are appareled after the Almayne fashion, and, according to their substance, not unseemly. Their commodity consisteth in course cloth, which they sell to Norway men in fish, oyle, in butter. They fish in little cock-boats, bought from the Norway men that make them. They salt some of the fish that they take, and some of them they dry at the wind. They sell those wares, and pay their masters with the silver thereof.

An iland wherein no kind of she beast will live 24 houres together, except ky, ewes, conies, and such beasts as may be eaten.

A Memoriall of the most rare and wonderfull Things in Scotland.

Among many commodities that Scotland hath with other nations, it is not needful to rehearse in this place, in respect of their particulars declared at length before. It is beautified with some rare gifts in itselfe wonderful to consider, which I have thought good not to obscure, from the good reader, as, for example:

In Orknay, besides the great store of sheepe that feede upon the maine land thereof, the ewes are of such fecundity, that at every lambing time they produce at least two, and ordinarily three. There be neither venemous or ravenous beasts bred there, nor do live there, although they be transported thither.

In Schetland, the iles called Thulæ, at the time when the sunne enters the signe of cancer, for the space of twenty dayes there appeares no light at all. And among the rockes thereof growes the delectable lambre, called succinum. Where is also great resort of the beast called the mertrik, the skinnes whereof are costly furrings.

In Rosse, there be great mountaines of marble and alabaster.

In the south of Scotland, specially in the countries adjacent to England, there is a dog of marveilous nature, called the suth-hound, because when, as he is certified by wordes of arte spoken by his master, what goods are stolne, whether horse, sheepe, or neat, immediately he addresseth him suthly to the sent, and followeth with great impetuositie through all kind of ground and water, by as many ambages as the theeves have used, till he attaine to their place of residence. By the benefit of the which dog the goods are recovered. But now of late, he is called a new popular name, the slouth-hound; because, when, as the people do live in slouth and idlenesse, and neither by themselves, or by the office of a good herd, or by the strength of a good house, they doe preserve their goods from the incursion of theeves and robbers; then have they recourse to the dog for reparation of their slouth[a].

[a] This derivation may well be quoted as a burlesque upon etymology. The sluith-hound derived his name from tracking the *slot*, or footsteps of deer, or other objects of pursuit.

In the west and north-west of Scotland, there is great repairing of a fowle called the erne,[1] of a marveilous nature, and the people are very curious and solist to catch him, whom thereafter they punze off his wings, that he shall not be able to flie againe. This fowle is of a huge quantity; and although he be of a ravenous nature, like to the kind of haulks, and be of the same qualitie, gluttonous, nevertheless the people doe give him such sort of meat as they thinke convenient; and such a great quantity at a time, that hee lives contented with that portion for the space of fourteene, sixteene, or twenty dayes, and some of them for the space of a moneth. The people that do so feed him, doe use him for this intent, that they may be furnished with the feathers of his wings when hee doth cast them, for the garnishing of their arrowes, either when they are at warres or at hunting; for these feathers onely doe never receive rayne or water, as others doe, but remayne alwayes of a durable estate and uncorruptible.

In all the moore-land and mosse-land of Scotland doth resort the blacke cocke, a fowle of a marveylous beauty and marveilous bounty; for he is more delectable to eate then a capon, and of a greater quantity, cled with three sorts of flesh, of divers colours and divers tastes, but all delectable to the use and nouriture of man.

In the two rivers of Deé and Done, besides the marveylous plenty of salmon fishes gotten there, there is also a marveylous kinde of shel-fish, called the horse-mussell, of a great quantitie, wherein are ingendred innumerable faire, beautiful, and delectable pearles, convenient for the pleasure of man, and profitable for the use of physike; and some of them so fayre and polished, that they be equall to any mirrour of the world.

And generally, by the providence of the Almighty God, when dearth and scarcity of victuals doe abound in the land, then the fishes are most plentifully taken for support of the people.

In Galloway, the loch called Loch-myrton, although it be common to all fresh water to freeze in winter, yet the one half of this loch doth never freeze at any time.

In the shire of Innernes, the loch called Loch-nes, and the river flowing from thence into the sea, doth never freeze; but, by the contrary, in the coldest dayes of winter, the loch and river are both seene to smoake and reeke, signifying unto us that there is a myne of brimstone under it of a hote qualitie.

In Carrik are kyne and oxen delicious to eate, but their fatnes is of a wonderfull temperature, that although the fatnes of all other comestable beasts, for the ordinary use of man doe congeale with the cold ayre, by the contrary, the fatnesse of these beasts is perpetually liqued like oyle.

The wood and parke of Commernauld is replenished with kyne and oxen, and those at all times to this day, have been wilde, and all of them of such a perfect wonderfull whitenesse, that there was never among all the huge number there so much as the smallest blacke spot found to be upon one of their skinnes, horne, or cloove.[2]

In the parke of Halyrud-house are foxes and hares of a wonderfull whitenes in great number.

In Coyle, now called Kyle, is a rock of the height of twelve foot, and as much of bredth, called the Deafe Craig; for although a man should crie never so lowd to his fellow from the one side to the other, he is not heard, although he would make the noise of a gunne.

In the countrey of Stratherne, a little above the old towne of the Pights, called Abernethie, there is a marveilous rock, called the Rockand stone, of a reasonable bignes, that if a man will push it with the least motion of his finger, it will move very lightly,

[1] The Scottish eagle. The Highland chiefs were distinguished by wearing the plumes of the Erne in their bonnets.

[2] These are supposed to be the remains of the indigenous cattle of Britain. They were preserved till of late in Lord Elphinstone's park, at Cumbernauld, in that of the Duke of Hamilton, at Hamilton, and in that of the Duke of Queensberry, at Drumlanrig. The remains of the race are still kept at Chillingham Castle, in Northumberland, the seat of the Earl of Tankerville.

but if he addresse his whole force, hee profites nothing, which moves many people to be wonderfully merry, when they consider such contrariety.

In Lennox is a great loch, called Loch-lowmond, being of length twenty-four myles, in bredth eight myles, containing the number of thirty iles. In this loche are observed three wonderfull thinges; one is fishes very delectable to eate, that have no fynnes to move themselves withall, as other fishes doe. The second, tempestuous waves and surges of the water perpetually raging without windes, and that in time of greatest calmes in the faire pleasant time of summer, when the ayre is quiet. The third is one of these iles that is not corroborate nor united to the ground, but hath been perpetually loose, ; and although it be fertill of good grasse, and replenished with neate, yet it moves by the waves of the water, and is transported sometimes toward one point, and other whiles toward another.

In Argyle is a stone found in divers parts, the which, layd under straw or stubble, doth consume them to fire, by the great heate it collects there.

In Buquhan, at the castle of Slains is a cave, from the top whereof distilles water, which within short time doth congele to hard stones, white in colour. In this countrey are no rottons seene at any time, although the land bee wonderfull fertill.

In Lothien, within two myles of Edinburgh, southward, is a well-spring, called Saint Katherins wel, which flowes perpetually with a kind of blacke fatnesse above the water, whereof Dioscorides makes mention. The fatnes is called *bitumen aquis supernatus*. It is thought to proceed of a fat myne of coale, which is frequent in all Lothien, and especially of a sorte of coale, called vulgarly the parret coale; for as soone as it is laide in the fire, it is so fat and gummy, that it renders an exceeding great light, dropping, frying, hissing, and making a great noise, with shedding and dividing itselfe in the fire, and of that marveylous nature, that as soone as it is laide in a quicke fire, immediately it conceyves a great flame, which is not common to any other sort of coale. This fatnes is of a marvelous vertue: that as the coale, whereof it proceeds, is sudden to conceive fire and flame, so is this oyle of a sudden operation to heale all salt scabs and humours that trouble the outward skin of man, wheresoever it be, from the middle up, as commonly those of experience have observed. All scabbes in the head and hands are quickly healed by the benefit of this oyle, and renders it a marveilous sweet smell.

At Abirdene is a well of marveylous good quality to dissolve the stone, to expell sand from the reines and bladder, and good for the collicke, being drunke in the moneth of July and a few dayes of August, little inferiour in vertue to the renowned water of the Spaw, in Almanie.

In the north seas of Scotland are great clogges of timber, in the which are marveylously ingendered a sort of geese, called clayk-geese, and do hang by the beake till they be of perfection, oft times found, and kept in admiration for their rare forme of generation[1].

At Dumbarton, directly under the castle, at the mouth of the river of Clyde, as it enters into the sea, there are a number of claik-geese, blacke of colour, which in the night time doe gather great quantitie of the crops of the grasse, growing upon the land, and carry the same to the sea: then they assemble in a round, and with a wondrous curiositie, do offer every one his owne portion to the sea-floud, and there attend upon the flowing of the tyde, til the grasse be purified from the fresh taste and turned to the salt;

[1] This absurd fable, founded upon the appearance of the horse muscle, whose beard and filaments look somewhat like feathers, has been echoed and re-echoed by all the ancient chronicles of Scotland. Boys pretends to have been an eye-witness of the transformation; and Martin more modestly professes only to have seen the shells sticking to the tree. "I never," he cautiously adds, "saw any of them with life in them upon the tree, but the natives told me they had observed them to move with the heat of the sun." P. 357.—Cleveland's jest is well known, that

"A Scotsman from the gallows-tree got loose,
"Falls into Styx, and turns a solan-goose."

and, lest any part thereof should escape, they labour to hold it in with labour of their nebbes. Thereafter, orderly every fowle eates his portion; and this custome they observe perpetually. They are very fat, and very delicious to bee eaten.

FINIS.

1599.—*Five Hundred Pointes of good Husbandrie, as well for the Champion or open Countrie, as also for the Woodland or Severall, mixed in every Month with Huswiferie, over and besides the Booke of Huswifery. Corrected, better ordered, and newlie augmented to a fourth Part more with divers other Lessons, as a Diet for the Farmer, of the Properties of Winds, Planets, Hops, Herbs, Bees, and approoved Remedies for Sheepe and Cattell, with manie other Matters, both profitable and not unpleasant for the Reader. Also a Table of Husbandrie at the Beginning of this Booke, and another of Huswiferie at the End, for the better and easier finding of any Matter conteined in the same. Newlie set foorth by Thomas Tusser, Gentleman.*

At London printed by Peter Short, dwelling on Bredstreete-hill, at the Signe of the Starre.

Thomas Tusser, the author of this excellent and curious work, has given us a short abridgment of the principal events of his life. He was born about 1523, according to Ellis, "of lineage good, of gentle blood," at a village called Rivenhall, in Essex, and having apparently a fine voice, was sent to study music at the collegiate chapel of Wallingford. The superintendants of choirs had at that time a sort of impress warrants, by which the boys educated to music were transferred to their different establishments. Our author had the good fortune to be sent to St Paul's, where he attained considerable proficiency in music, under the tuition of John Redford. The next stage of his education was Eton school, where the discipline of Nicholas Udal seems to have made a more lasting impression on his mind than the classical lessons which accompanied it. A few scraps of Latin, and his version of St Bernard's verses, with the classical allusions scattered through his poems, do however shew, that the fifty-three stripes, all bestowed upon him at one time, were not entirely thrown away. Tusser then entered Trinity Hall at Cambridge, where his studies being interrupted by sickness, he became induced to engage in the service of Lord Paget, to which he was probably preferred by his knowledge of music. With this generous patron he remained in easy servitude for ten years. The discord among the nobility, which began to arise in the reign of Edward VI. drove Tusser, a man of quiet and pacific habits, from attendance upon Lord Paget, afraid peradventure his services might be required in a military capacity. He then addicted himself to husbandry, married and settled in Suffolk, upon the sea coast, but the air disagreeing with his wife's infirm constitution, he removed to Ipswich, where she died. We next find Tusser at Ratwood, in Suffolk, where he first devised the plan of the following work. About the same time he was again married to Mistris Amy Moone, and soon afterwards removed his residence to Dixam, where he held a farm under Sir Richard Southwell. The death of this gentleman, whose estate fell to seven executors, exposed Tusser to new difficulties. The quarrels betwixt these joint proprietors, whom he likens, not unaptly, to ravens, drove him from his farm to reside in the town of Norwich, where he became known to Salisburie, Dean of Norwich, was a singing man in the cathedral there, and, probably through the dean's influence, obtained a lease of tithes near Fairsted, in Essex. The lease however being only for the parson's life, and the occupation subject to much loss and vexation, our author again renounced his situation and went to London. From London he was driven by the plague to Cambridge, where he obtained some situation in his college, and moved, doubtless by the classic air which he breathed, revised and published his Georgics, or, as he unostentatiously calls them, "Five Hundred Points of good Husbandry." Apparently, however, he afterwards quitted his haven at Cambridge, to adventure forth again into a

world which he had found so unstable, for he died very aged, in London 1580, and was buried in St Mildred's church, in the Poultry, where his grave bears the following inscription, composed by himself, or an equally homely muse.---

Here Thomas Tusser,
Clad in earth, doth lie,
That somtime made
The Points of good Husbandrie.
By him then learn thou mayest,
Here learn thou must,
When all is done we sleep,
And turn to dust.
And yet, through Christ,
To heaven we hope to go:
Who reades his bookes,
Shall find his faith was so.

It is obvious, from the incidents of his life, that, notwithstanding his excellent maxims of frugality, he did not himself profit by his agriculture or economy. His ill success occasioned the following epigram:—

Tusser, they tell me, when thou wert alive,
Thou teaching thrift, thyself could never thrive,
So like the whetstone, many men are wont,
To sharpen others, when themselves are blunt.

Wit's Recreations, 1641.

"He was successively," says Fuller, "a musician, schoolmaster, serving-man, husband-man, grazier, poet, more skilful in all than thriving in any profession. He traded at large in oxen, sheep, dairies, grain of all kinds, to no profit. Whether he bought, or sold, he lost, and, when a renter, impoverished himself, and never enriched his landlord. Yet hath he laid down excellent rules in his book of husbandry and houswifry, (so that the observer thereof must be rich) in his own defence. He spread his bread with all sorts of butter, yet none would stick thereon. Yet I hear no man to charge him with any vicious extravagancy, or visible carelessness, imputing his ill success to some occult cause in God's counsel. Thus our English Columella might say with the poet,

Monitis sum minor ipse meis,

none being better at the theory, or worse at the practice, of husbandry. I match him with Thomas Churchyard, they being marked alike in their poetical parts, living at the same time, and statured alike in their estates, being low enough, I assure you."—Fuller's *Worthies, Essex*, p. 334.

But however Tusser may have failed in setting an example, the excellence of his precepts has never been disputed. There is no where to be found, excepting, perhaps, in Swift's Directions to Servants, evidence of such rigid and minute attention to every department of domestic economy; and if Tusser's observations are less entertaining, than those of the Dean of St Patrick's, it must be remembered they are compiled for use, not for satire. If indeed his genius had been that way directed, his sad remembrance could not but have stocked him with numerous examples of the sloth, fraud, and waste of domestics. For although he was able to lay down the strictest rules of economy, for feeding every living thing within his gates, from the master's hall to the ban-dog's kennel, the extravagance of his servants was the principal cause which disgusted him with the life of a husbandman.

Loiterers I kept so many,
Both Philip, Hob, and Cheanie,
That, that way nothing geanie,
Was thought to make me thrive.

Tusser's practical rules of husbandry have been thought excellent by unquestionable judges. Lord Molesworth proposed, that, to increase the number of husbandmen, and prevent the growth of the idle poor, the book of husbandry should be taught at parish schools, as a sort of manual both of knowledge and moral precept. In the former point of view, many of the lessons may have become obsolete. Yet these remain interesting to the agricultural antiquary, and not to

him alone, but to all who are curious to know the simple, orderly, and strictly economical mode of life of the English farmers in the 16th century. Many old customs may be traced in Tusser's rude poetry, and some curious inferences drawn respecting the state of the peasantry. The English farm-servants lived better even in 1557, than the farmers themselves in Scotland, or on the continent do at this day. They looked, "of custom and right," to have roast meat on Sundays and Thursdays, and had besides various days of festival, to be regularly kept at the farmers' expence. Yet the patriarchal government under which they lived authorised occasionally a good drubbing. The maids in particular were subjected to this domestic discipline, as we learn from numerous hints throughout the work. As, for example,

> Let Holly-wand threat,
> Let Fizgigg be beat.[1]

Warton enumerates the following particulars of information concerning the farmer's domestic life, extracted from Tusser, to which many more might be added: "For the farmer's general diet he assigns, in Lent, red herrings and salt fish, which may remain in store when Lent is past: at Easter, veal and bacon: at Martinmes, salted beef, when dainties are not to be had in the country: at Middsummer, when mackrel are no longer in season, grasse, or sallads, fresh beef, and pease: at the Michaelmas, fresh herrings, with fatted crones, or sheep: at All-Saints, pork and pease, sprats and spurlings: at Christmas, good cheere and plaie. The farmer's weekly fish-days, are Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday; and he is charged to be careful in keeping embrings and fast days.

"Among the husbandlie furniture, are recited most of the instruments now in use, with several obsolete and unintelligible names of farming utensils. Horses, I know not from what superstition, are to be annually blooded on Saint Stephen's day. Among the Christmas husbandlie fare, our author recommends good drinke, a good fire in the hall, brawne, pudding and souse, and mustard withall, beef, mutton, and pork, shred, or minced pies of the best, pig, veal, goose, capon, and turkey, cheese, apples, and nuts, with jolie carols. A Christmas carol is then introduced, to the tune of King Solomon.

"In a comparison between champion and several, that is, open and inclosed land, the disputes about inclosures appear to have been as violent as at present. Among huswifelie admonitions, which are not particularly addressed to the farmer, he advises three dishes at dinner, which being well dressed, will be sufficient to please your friend, and will become your hall. The prudent housewife is directed to make her own tallow candles. Servants of both sexes are ordered to go to bed at ten in the summer, and nine in the winter: to rise at five in the winter and four in the summer. The ploughmen's feasting days, or holydays, are Plough-Monday, or the first Monday after twelfth-day, when ploughing begins in Leicestershire. Shrof-tide, or Shrove-Tuesday, in Essex and Suffolk, when, after shroving or confession, he is permitted to go thresh the fat hen, and if blindfold (you) can kill her, then give it thy men, and to dine on fritters and pancakes. Sheepshearing, which is celebrated in Northamptonshire with fritters and cakes. The wake-day, or the vigil of the church saint, when everie wanton maie danse at her will, as in Leicestershire, and the oven is to be filled with flawnes. Harvest-home, when the harvest-home goose is to be killed. Seed-cake, or a festival so called at the end of wheat sowing in Essex and Suffolk, when the village is to be treated with seed-cakes, pasties, and the frumentie-pot. But twice a week, according to ancient right and custom, the farmer is to give roast-meat, that is, on Sundays and on Thursday-nights."—*Hist. of E. Poetry*, iii. 306. *et seq.*

The few notes scattered through the tract will point out other circumstances worthy of the antiquary's notice, although the present editor's experience does not enable him to throw any light upon the agricultural precepts or practice.

To inlist as many favourers of Tusser as possible, the merry hunter may be pleased with the moderation of the following precept:—

> To hunters and hawkers, take heed what you say,
> Mild answer with courtesy drives them away;
> So where a man's better will open a gap,
> Resist not with rudeness for feare of mishap.

The poetry of Tusser is obviously the least recommendation of his work. Yet, even here, there is

[1] A cant word for a serving wench.

something worthy of observation; for the stanza of the following apology forms the first example of that employed by Shenstone in his pastoral ballad:—

What lookest thou herein to have,
Fine verses thy fancy to please,
Of many my betters that crave,
Look nothing but rudeness in these.

What look ye, I pray ye shew what,
Termes painted with rhetoric fine,
Good husbandry seeketh not that,
Nor is't any meaning of mine.

Although neither beauty of description, nor elegance of diction, were Tusser's objects, he has frequently attained, what better indeed suited his purpose, a sort of homely, pointed, and quaint expression, like that of the old English proverb, which the rhyme and the alliteration tended to fix in the memory of the reader. To attain this concise and magisterial brevity of expression, he almost always discards articles, conjunctions, and even auxiliary verbs, where the sense can be attained without their assistance, and these frequent elisions constitute the peculiarity of his versification. The moral reflections of Tusser assume the quaint old-fashioned appearance of his agricultural instructions; and though just and lively, have no claim to elegance or sublimity.

The miscellaneous plan of these rude Georgics was, perhaps, suggested by the popular work, entitled "The Shepherd's Calender," translated from the French, and first printed by Richard Pynson. This ancient almanack, for such it may be properly termed, contained not only the computation of eclipses, holidays, fasts, and so forth, but many marvellous good monitions for doing of good and eschewing of evil. It also presented a list of the genealogical trees, or pedigrees of the deadly sins, and of the virtues, with the subordinate ramifications of each, a dreadful portrait of hell's tortures, a great deal of poetry, more remarkable for its moral and religious tendency, than any other excellence, lessons of anatomy, and rules for phlebotomy, a long treatise of astrology, &c. &c.[1] But it would do Tusser great injustice to suppose he borrowed much from this rambling and desultory performance.

The various editions of the Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry, are thus enumerated in the "Censura Literaria."

"Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry, by Thomas Tusser. Printed by R. Tottell, 1557, 4to.

Again 1573, by the same, 4to, under the title of "Five Hundreth Points of Good Husbandry, united to as many of good huswiferie, first devised and now lately augmented with divers approved lessons concerning hopps and gardening, and other nedeful matters, together with an abstract before every moneth, contelling the whole effect of the sayd moneth, for the better understanding of the booke. Set forth by Thomas Tusser, gentleman, servant to the honorable Lord Paget of Beudesert. Imprinted anno 1573." In a compartment with the Midas on one side and Venus on the other.

Again, by Henry Denham, 1577, 4to. Again 1580.

Again, 1586, by the same, 4to, 164 pages.

Again, 1593, by Richard Yardley, 4to.

Again, 1597, by R. Waldegrave, 4to.

[1] The most singular of its contents, is the following account of a thunder-storm that fell in the duchy of Austria:—"Howbeit that the impressions before sum things marvellous to people that have not seen them, so that they say it is in purly impossible. Know they and other, that, in the year of our Lord 1492, the 7th day of November, a marvel hapned in the erledom of Ferrare, in the duchy of Ausbuch, near a town named Enzheim, where that day was great thunder and orage. In the plain fields, nigh the said town, fell a stone of thunder, which weyed two hundred and fifty pounds and more, which stone, to this present time, is kept in the said town, and every man and woman may see it that will." A barbarous Latin epitaph, as it is called, is subjoined, too long to be quoted entire, but the following passage, describing the fall of the stone, may be interesting to such naturalists as have been lately engaged in investigating phenomena of this singular nature:—

Ad medium cursum tenderat illa dies,
Cum tonat horridem crepuitque per aera fulmen
Multisonum, hic ingens condidit atque lapis
Cui species de lite est aciesque triangula, obustus
Est color, et terræ format metalligere,
Missus ab aliquo fertur visusque sub auris
Saturni qualem mittere sydus habet.

Again, by Peter Short, 1599. Again, 1604, and 1610, 4to.

Tusser's work was abridged and re-published in numbers in 1710, by one Daniel Hillman a surveyor, under the title of "Tussers Redivivus," with notes and observations by the editor.

In transferring this first specimen of English didactic poetry to this collection, the editor has followed the edition of Short in 1599. The following apt motto may be adopted on Warton's suggestion:—

Possum multa tibi veterum præcepta referre,
Ni refugis, tenuesque piget cognoscere curas.

Georgic, I. 176.

A Lesson how to confer everie Abstract with his Month, and how to find out Huswiferie Verses by the Pilcrow, and Champion from Woodland.[1]

In everie month, yer in aught be begun,
Read over that month, what avails to be dun:
So neither this travell shall seeme to be lost,
Nor thou to repent of this trifling cost.

The figure of abstract, and month do agree,
Which one to another, relations bee:
These verses so short, without figure that stand,
Be points of themselves to be taken in hand.

In husbandry matters, where pilcrow ye find,
That verse appertaineth to huswifery kind:
So have ye mo lessons (if there ye looke well)
Than huswifery booke doth utter or tell.

Of champion husbandry, now do I write,
Which heretofore never this booke did recite:
With lessons approved, by practise and skil,
To profit the ignorant, buie it that will.

The champion differs from severall much,
For want of partition, closure and such:
One name to them both do I give now and than,
For champion country, and champion man.

[1] *Champion*, is open common ground. *Several*, that which is inclosed and divided. The *Pilcrow* above mentioned, is the *pica* type in which the letters, &c. of the early editions are printed, the rest being in black letter.

The Authors Epistle to the late Lorde William Paget, wherein he doth discourse of his owne bringing up, and of the goodnes of the said Lord his Maister unto him, and the occasion of this his booke thus set forth of his owne long practise.

CHAP. I.

TIME tries the troth in every thing,
Herewith let men content their minde,
Of works which best may profit bring,
Most rash to judge, most often blinde,
As therefore troth in time shall crave,
So let this booke just favour have.

Take you my Lord and Maister than,
Unlesse mischanse mischanceth me,
Such homely gift of me your man,
Since more in court I may not be,
And let your praise woon heretofore,
Remaine abroad for evermore.

My serving you (this understand)
And God his helpe and yours withall,
Did cause good lucke to take mine hand,
Erecting one most like to fall.

My serving you, I know it was,
Enforced this to come to passe.

Since being once at Cambridge taught,
Of court ten yeares I made assaie,
No musick then was left unsought,
Such care I had to serve that waie:
When joy gan slake, then made I change,
Expelled mirth for musicke strange.
My musicke since hath beene the plough,
Intangled with some care among;
The gaine not great, the paine inough,
Hath made me sing an other song:
Which song if well I may avow,
I crave it judged be by you.

Your servant, THOMAS TUSSER.

THOMAS TUSSAR MADE ME.

The Right Honorable and my speciall good Lord and Maister, the Lord Thomas Paget of Beaudesert, Sonne and Heire to his late Father deceased.

CHAP. II.

My lord, your father loved me,
And you, my lord, have proved me,
And both your loves have moved me,
To write as I have donne:
Since God hath hence your father,
Such flowers as I gather,
I dedicate now rather,
To you, my lord, his sonne.

Your father was my founder,
Till death became his wounder,
No subject ever sounder,
Whom prince advancement gave:
As God did here defend him,
And honor here did send him,
So now I will commend him,
As long as life I have.

His neighbors then did blisse him,
His servants now do misse him,
The poore would gladly kisse him,
Alive againe to be:
But God hath wrought his pleasure,
And blest him out of measure,
With heaven and earthly treasure,
So good a God is he.

His counsell had I used,
And Ceres art refused,
I need not thus have mused,
Nor droope as now I do:
But I must play the farmer,
And yet no whit the warmer,
Although I had his armor,
And other comfort too.

The fox doth make me mind him, Aesops fable.
Whose glory so did blind him,
Till tayle cut off behind him,
No feare could him content:
Even so must I be proving,
Such glory I had in loving,

[1] Thomas Lord Paget was involved in Throgmorton's conspiracy, in favour of Queen Mary, and on discovery thereof, fled to France, where he died in exile.

Of things to plow behooving,
That makes me *now repent.*

Loiterers I kept *so meany,*
Both Philip, *Hob, and Cheany,*
That, that way *nothing geanie,*[1]
Was thought to make me thrive:
Like Jugurth, *prince of Numid,*
My gold away consumid,
With losses so perfumid,
Was never none alive.

Salust.

Great fines so neere did pare me,
Great rent so much did skare me,
Great charge so long did dare me,
That made me at length cry creke:
Much more of all such fleeses,
As oft I lost by peeces,
Among such wilie geeses,
I list no longer speake.

Though country health long staid me,
Yet lease expiring fraid me,
And *(ictus sapit)* praid me,
To seeke more steadie staie
New lessons then I noted,
And some of them I quoted,
Least some should think I doted,
By bringing nought away.

Pallas, goddese of wisdom and cunning.

Though Pallas hath denide me,
Hir learned pen to guide me,
For that she daily spide me,
With countrey how I stood
Yet Ceres so did bold me,
With hir good lessons told me,
That rudenes cannot hold me,
From doing countrey good.

By practise and ill speeding,
These lessons had their breeding,
And not by heeresay or reeding,
As some abroad have blown:
Who will not thus beleeve me,
So much the more they grieve me,
Because they grudge to give me,
That is of right mine owne.

At first for want of teachin,
At first for trifles breaching.

[1] Gainful.

At first for over-reaching,
And lacke of taking hid:
Was cause that tosse so tost me,
That practise so much cost me,
That rashness so much lost me,
Or hindred as it did.

Yet will I not despaier,
Through God's good gift so faier,
Through friendship, gold, and praier,
In countrey againe to dwell:
Where rent so shall not paine me,
But paines shall helpe to gaine me,
And gaines shall helpe maintaine me,
New lessons mo to tell.

For citie seemes a wringer,
The peny for to finger,
From such as there do linger,
Or for their pleasure lie:
Though countrey be more painefull
And not so greedy gainefull,
Yet is it not so vainefull,
In following fansies eie.

I have no labour wanted,
To prune this tree thus planted,
Whose fruit to none is scanted,
In house nor yet in field:
Which fruit, the more ye tast of,
The more to eat ye haste of,
The lesse this fruit ye wast of,
Such fruit this tree dooth yeeld.

My tree or booke thus framed,
With title already named:
I trust goes forth unblamed,
In your good lorships name:
As my good lord I take you,
And never will forsake you,
So now I crave to make you,
Defender of the same.

Your servant, THOMAS TUSSER.

To the Reader.

CHAP. III.

I HAVE been praid,
To shew mine aid,
In taking paine,
Not for the gaine,
But for good will,
To shew such skill,
As shew I could;
That husbandry,
With huswifery,
As cocke and hen,
To countrey men,
As strangers gone,
Might joyn in one,
As lovers should.

I trust both this,
Performed is,
And how that here,
It shall appeare,
With judgment right
To thy delight,
Is brought to passe:
That such as wive,
And faine would thrive,
Be plainly taught,
How good from naught,
May trim be tride,
And lively spide,
As in a glasse.

What should I win,
By writing in,
My losses past,
That ran as fast,
As running streame,
From reame to reame,
That flowes so swift?
For that I cold,
Not get for gold,
To teach me how,
As this doth you,
Through dailie gaine,
The way so plaine,
To come by thrift.

What is a grote,
Or twaine to note,
Once in the life,
For man and wife,
To save a pound,
In house or ground,
Each other weeke?
What more for health,
What more for wealth,
What needeth lesse,
Run Jacke, helpe Besse,
To stay amis,
Not having this,
Far off to seeke?

I doo not crave,
Mo thanks to have,
Than given to me,
Already be,
But this is all,
To such as shall,
Peruse this booke:
That for my sake,
They gently take,
Where ere they find,
Against their mind,
When he or she,
Shall minded be,
Therein to looke.

And grant me now,
Good reader thou,
Such termes to use,
Such choise to chuse,
As may delight,
The countrey wight,
And knowledge bring:
For such doo praise,
The countrey phrase,
The countrey acts,
The countrey facts,
The countrey toies,
Before the joyes,
Of any thing.

Nor looke thou here,
That every shere,
Of every verse,
I thus reherse,
May profit take,
Or vantage make,
  By lessons such:
For here we see,
Things several be,
And there no dike,
But champion like,
And sandie soile,
And claiey toile,
  Do suffer much.

This being waide,
Be not afraide,
To buy to proove,
To read with love,
To follow some,
And so to come,
  By practise true:
My paine is past,
Thou warning hast,
Th' experience mine,
The vantage thine,
May give thee choise,
To crie, to rejoise.
  And thus adue.

T. Tusser.

Finis.

An Introduction to the Booke of Husbandrie.

CHAP. IV.

Good husbandmen, must moile and toile,
  To laie to live, by labored feeld:
Their wives at home must keep such coile,
  As their like acts, may profit yeeld.

    For well they know,
    As shaft from bow,
    Or chalke from snow,

A good round rent their lords they give,
  And must keepe tutch, in all their paie:
With credit crackt, else for to live,
  Or trust to legs, and run away.

Though fense wel kept, is one good point,
  And tilth wel done, in season due:
Yet needing salve, in time t' annoint,
  Is all in all, and needfull true,

    As for the rest,
    Thus thinke I best,
    As friend doth ghest,

With hand in hand, to lead thee forth,
  To Ceres campe, there to behold,
A thousand things as richly worth,
  As anie pearle is worthy gold.

Ceres, goddese of husbandry.

A Preface to the Buier of this Booke.

CHAP. V.

WHAT lookest thou herein to have?
Fine verses thy fansie to please?
Of many my betters that crave,
Looke nothing but rudenes in thease.

What other thing lookest thou then?
Grave sentences many to find?
Such poets have twenty and ten,
Yea thousands contenting the mind.

What looke ye, I pray you shew what?
Termes painted with rhetorike fine?
Good husbandry seeketh not that,
Nor ist any meaning of mine.

What lookest thou, speake at the last
Good lessons for thee and thy wife?
Then keepe them in memory fast,
To helpe as a comfort to life.

What looke ye for more in my booke?
Points needful and meet to be knowne?
Then daily be suer to looke,
To save to be suer thine owne.

The Commodities of Husbandry.

CHAP. VI.

LET house have to fill her,
Let land have to till her.

No dwellers, what profiteth house for to stand?
What goodness, unoccupied bringeth the land?

No labour, no bread,
No host we be dead.

No husbandry used, how soone shall we sterve?
Housekeeping neglected, what comfort to serve?

Ill father no gift,
No knowledge no thrift.

The father an unthrift, what hope to the sonne?
The ruler unskilful, how quicklie undone?

CHAP. VII.

As true as thy faith,
This riddle thus saith:

I SEEME but a drudge, yet I passe anie king;
To such as can use me, great wealth I do bring.
Since Adam first lived, I never did die,
When Noe was a shipman, there also was I.
The earth to sustaine me, the sea for my fish,
Be ready to pleasure me as I would wish.
What hath any life, but I helpe to preserve,
What wight without me but is ready to sterve?
In woodland, in champion, citie, or towne,
If long I be absent, what falleth not down?
If long I be present, what goodness can want?
Though things at my comming were never so scant.
So many as love me, and use me aright,
With treasure and pleasure I richly acquigh t.
Great kings I do succour, else wrong it would go,
The king of all kings hath appointed it so.

The Description of Husbandry.

CHAP. VIII.

OF husband, doth husbandry challenge that name,
Of husbandry, husband doth likewise the same:
Where huswife and huswifery, joineth with thease,
There wealth in abundance is gotten with ease.

The name of a husband what is it to say?
Of wife and the houshold, the band and the staie?
Some husbandly thriveth, that never had wife,
Yet scarse a good husband, in goodnes of life.

The husband is he, that to labour doth fall,
The labour of him, I do husbandry call:
If thrift by that labour, be any way caught,
Then is it good husbandry, else it is naught.

So houshold and housholdry, I do define,
For folke and the goods, that in house be of thine
House keeping to them, as a refuge is set,
Which like as it is, so report it doth get.

Be house, or the furniture, never so rude,
Of husband and husbandry, (thus I conclude:)
That huswife and huswifery, if it be good,
Must pleasure togither, as cousins in blood.

The Ladder to Thrift.

CHAP. IX.

1 To take thy calling thankfullie,
And shun the path to beggerie.

2 To grudge in youth no drudgerie,
To come by knowledge perfectlie.

3 To count no travell slaverie,
That brings in peny saverlie.

4 To follow profit earnestlie,
But meddle not with pilferie.

5 To get by honest practisie,
And keepe thy gettings covertlie.

6 To lash not out too lashinglie,
For feare of pinching penurie.

7 To get good plot to occupie,
And store and use it husbandlie.

8 To shew to landlord curtesie,
And keepe thy covenants orderlie.

9 To hold that thine is lawfullie,
For stoutnes or for flatterie.

10 To wed good wife for company,
And live in wedlocke honestly.

11 To furnish house with housholdry,
And make provision skilfullie.

12 To joine to wife good familie,
And none to keepe for braverie.

13 To suffer none live idelie,
For fear of idle knaverie.

14 To courage wife in huswiferie,
And use well doers gentlie.

15 To keepe no more but needfullie,
And count excesse unsaverie.

16 To raise betimes the lubberlie,
Both snorting Hob and Margerie.

17 To walke thy pastures usuallie,
To spie ill neighbors subtletie.

18 To hate revengement hastelie,
For losing love and amitie.

19 To love thy neighbor neighborlie,
And shew him no discourtesie.

20 To answer strangers civilie,
But shew him not thy secresie.

21 To use no friend deceitfullie,
To offer no man villanie.

22 To learne how foe to pacifie,
But trust him not too trustilie.

23 To keep thy touch substantiallie,
And in thy word use constancie.

24 To make thy bonds advisedlie,
And come not bound through suertie.

25 To meddle not with usurie,
Nor lend thy money foolishlie.

26 To hate to live in infamie,
Through craft and living shiftingly.

27 To shun all kind of trecherie,
For treason endeth horriblie.

28 To learne to eschew ill companie,
And such as live dishonestlie.

29 To banish house of blasphemie,
Least crosses crosse unluckilie.

30 To stop mischance through policy,
For chancing too unhappilie.

31 To beare thy crosses patientlie,
For worldlie things are slipperie.

32 To laie to keepe from miserie,
Age comming on so creepinglie.

33 To praie to God continuallie,
For aide against thine enemie.

34 To spend the Sabbath holilie,
And helpe the needie povertie.

35 To live in conscience quietlie,
And keepe thy selfe from maladie.

36 To ease thy sicknes speedilie,
Yer helpe be past recoverie.

37 To seeke to God for remedie,
For witches prove unluckilie.

These be the steps unfeinedly,
To clime to thrift by husbandry.

These steps both reach, and teach thee shall,
To come by thrift to shift withall.

Good Husbandry Lessons worthy to be followed of such as will thrive.[1]

CHAP. X.

1 God sendeth and giveth, both mouth and the meat,
And blesseth us all with his benefits great:
Then serve we the God, that so richly doth give;
Shew love to our neighbors, and lay for to live.

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[1] The Shepherds Calendar, mentioned in the introduction, has the following scantlings of proverbial morality, which perhaps suggested those of Tusser, though the latter are more pointedly adapted to the use of the farmer.

These proverbes be good to mark,
The which followeth in this book:
Be thou never so great a clerk,
Disdain not on them to look.

The first is, man be content,
As God has sent thee in degree:
Each man may not have land and rent;
It were not convenient so to be.

If thou have not worldly goods at will,
Therefor care nothing by the read of me:
Do well, and God's commandement fulfill,
For every man may not a goldsmith be.

He that hath not a pennie in his purse,
If he the right way of God's law hold,
He shall come to heaven as soon i wusse,
As a king that weareth a gowne of gold.

Also there is of men ful many a score,
And each of them doth keep wel his wife,
Which never had a noble in store,
And yet they live a full merrie life.

And also another, forget it not:
Keep your own home as doth a mouse;
For I tell you the divel is a wiley cat,
He will spye you in another man's house.

And in especial God to please,
Desire thou never none other man's thing;

2 As bud by appearing betokeneth the spring,
And leafe by her falling the contrary thing:
So youth bids us labour, to get what we can,
For age is a burthen to laboring man.

3 A competent living, and honestly had,
Makes such as are godly, both thankful and glad:
Life never contented with honest estate,
Lamented is oft, and repenteth too late.

4 Count never well gotten, that naughtly is got,
Nor wel to account of, which honest is not:
Looke long not to prosper, that weighest not this,
Least prospering faileth, and all go amis.

5 True wedlocke is best, for avoiding of sinne,
The bed undefiled, much honor doth win:
Though love be in choosing, far better then gold,
Let love come with somewhat, the better to hold.

6 Where couples agree not, is rancor and strife,
Where such be togither, is seldome good life:
Where couples in wedlocke, do lovely agree,
There foizon remaineth, if wisedom there be.

7 Who looketh to marrie, must laie to keepe house,
For love may not alway be playing with douse,
If children increase, and no staie of thine owne,
What afterwards followes, is soone to be knowne.

8 Once charged with children, or likely to be,
Give over to sojourne, that thinkest to thee:

Remember that many fingers is wel at ease,
That never weare on no gold ring.

And this I tell you for good and all,
Remember it that you be wise,
That man or woman hath a great fall,
The which slide down and never rise.

And one also forget not behind,
That man or woman is likely good to be;
That banishes malice out of their mind,
And sleepeth every night in charity.

I read you work by good counsell,
For that man is worthy to have care
That hath twice fallen into a well,
And yet the third time cannot be ware.

Say that a friar told you this:
He is wise that doth forsake sinne.
Then may we come to heavens blesse,
God give us grace that place to winne

Least grudging of hostis, and craving of nurse,
Be costly and noisome, to thee and thy purse.

9 Good husbands that loveth good houses to keepe,
Are oftentimes carefull, when others do sleepe.
To spend as they may, or to stop at the furst,
For running in danger, for fear of the wurst:

10 Go count with thy cofers, when harvest is in, By harvest is meant all thy stocke.
Which waie for thy profit, to save or to win:
Of tone of them both, if a saver we smel,
Housekeeping is godly, where ever we dwel.

11 Sonne, thinke not thy mony pursse bottom to burne,
But keepe it for profit, to serve thine owne turne:
A foole and his money be soone at debate,
Which after with sorrow repents him too late.

12 Good bargaine a dooing, make privy but fewe,
In selling, refraine not abroad it to shew:
In making make haste, and away to thy pouch,
In selling no haste, if ye dare it avouch.

13 Good landlord who findeth, is blessed of God, Evil landlord.
A cumbersome landlord, is husbandmans rod:
He noieth, destroieth, and all to this drift,
To strip his poore tenant of farme and of thrift.

14 Rent corne who so paieth, as worldlings would have
So much for an acre, must live like a slave:
Rent corne to be paide, for reasonable rent,
At reasonable prices, is not to lament.

15 Once placed for profit, looke never for ease,
Except ye beware of such misers as these:
Unthriftinesse, slothfulnesse, carelesse, and rash, Four beggers.
That thrusteth thee headlong to run in the lash.

16 Make money thy drudge, for to follow thy warke,
Make wisdom controller, good order thy clarke: Thrifts officers.
Provision cater, and skill to thy cooke,
Make steward of all, pen, inke, and thy booke.

17 Make hunger thy sauce, as a medicine for health, Thrifts physicke.
Make thirst to be butler, as phisicke for wealth:
Make eie to be usher, good usage to have,
Make bolt to be porter, to keepe out a knave.

18 Make husbandrie bailie, abroad to provide, Thrifts bai
Make huswiferie dailie, at home for to guide:
Make cofer fast locked, thy treasure to keepe,
Make house to be sure, the safer to sleepe.

Husbandlie armour.

19 Make bandog thy scoutwatch, to barke at a theefe,
Make courage for life, to be capitain-chiefe:
Make trapdore thy bulworke, make bel to begin,
Make gunstone and arrow show who is within.

Theeves to thrift.

20 The credit of maister, to Brothel his man,
And also of mistris, to minikin Nan:
Be causers of opening a number of gaps,
That letteth in mischiefe, and many mishaps.

Friend to thrift.

21 Good husbande he trudgeth to bring in the gaines,
Good huswife she drudgeth, refusing no paines:
Though husband at home, be to count ye wot what,
Yet huswife within, is as needfull as that.

Enemie to thrift.

22 What helpeth in store to have never so much,
Halfe lost by ill usage, ill huswifes and such?
So, twenty lode bushes, cut down at a clap,
Such heed may be taken, shal stop up a gap.

Six noiances to thrift.

23 A retchlesse servant, a mistrisse that scowles,
A ravening mastiffe, and hogs that eat fowles:
A giddy braine maister, and stroiall[1] his knave,
Brings ruling to ruine, and thrift to her grave.

Enough is a praise.

24 With some upon Sundaies, their table do reeke,
And halfe the weeke after their dinners do seeke:
Not often exceeding, but alway inough,
Is husbandlie fare, and the guise of the plough.

25 Each day to be feasted, what husbandry worse,
Each day for to feast, is as ill for the purse:
Yet measurely feasting, with neighbours among,
Shall make thee beloved, and live the more long.

Thrifts advises.

26 Things husbandly handsome, let workmen contrive,
But build not for glory, that thinkest to thrive:
Who fondly in doing consumeth his stocke,
In the end for his follie shal get but a mocke.

Spoilers to thrift.

27 Spend none but your owne, howsoever ye spend,
For bribing and shifting have seldome good end:
In substance although you have never so much,
Delight not in parasites, harlots, and such.

28 Be suerty seldome, (but never for much,)
For feare of pursse pennilesse, hanging by such:
Or Skarborow warning, as ill I believe,
When, sir, (I arrest ye,) gets hold of your sleeve.

[1] Destroy all.

29 Use *(legem pone,)* to paie at thy daie,
But use not *(oremus.)* for often delaie:
Yet *(praesta quesumus.)* out of a grate,
Of all other collects, the lender dooth hate.

30 Be pinched for lending, for kiffe nor for kin,
Nor also by spending, by such as come in:
Nor put to thy hand, betwixt barke and the tree,
Least through thy owne follie, so pinched thou be.

31 As lending to neighbour, in time of his need,
Wins love of thy neighbour, and credit dooth breed;
So never to crave, but to live of thine owne,
Brings comforts a thousand, to many unknowne.

32 Who living but lends? and be-lent to they must,
Else buieng and selling might lie in the dust:
But shamelesse and craftie that desperate are,
Make many ful honest, the worser to fare.

33 At sometime to borrow, account it no shame,
If justlie thou keepest thy touch for the same:
Who quicke be to borrow, and slow be to pay,
Their credit is naught, go they never so gay.

34 By shifting and borrowing, who so as lives,
Not well to be thought on occasion gives:
Then lay to live warilie, and wiselie to spend,
For prodigal livers have sildome good end.

35 Some spareth too late, and a number with him,
The foole at the bottome, the wise at the brim:
Who careth nor spareth, till spent he have all,
Of bobbing, not robbing, be fearfull he shall.

36 Where welthines floweth, no friendship can lacke,
Whom povertie pincheth, hath friendship as slacke:
Then happie is he, by example that can,
Take heed by the fall of a mischieved man.

37 Who breaketh his credit, or cracketh it twise,
Trust such with a suertie, if ye be wise:
Or if he be angrie, for asking thy due,
Once even, to him afterward, lend not anew.

38 Account it well sold, that is justlie well paid,
And count it well bought, that is never denaid:
But yet here is tone, here is tother doth best,
For buier and seller, for quiet and rest.

39 Leave princes affaires, undeskanted on,
And tend to such dooings as standes thee upon:

Feare God, and offend not the prince and his laws,
And keepe thyselfe out of the magistrates clawes.

40 As interest or usurie, plaieth the divell,
So hilbacke [1] and filbellie biteth as evill:
But dicing among them, and docking the dell,[2]
And by and by after, of beggerie swell.

Thrifts auditor.

41 Once weekelie remember, thy charges to cast;
* Once monthlie see how thy expences may last:
If quarter declareth too much to be spent,
For feare of ill yeare, take advise of thy rent.

42 Who orderly entereth his paiment in booke,
Shall orderly find them againe (if ye looke:)
And he that intendeth but once for to paie,
Shall find this in dooing, the quietest waie.

43 In dealing uprightly, this counsell I teach,
First reckon, then write, yer to purse ye doo reach:
Then paie and dispatch him, as soone as ye can,
For lingring is hindrance to many a man.

44 Have waights, I advise thee, for silver and gold,
For some be in knaverie now adaies bold:
And for to be sure good money to paie,
Receive that is current as neere as ye may.

45 Delight not for pleasure, two houses to keepe,
Least charge without measure upon thee doo creepe;
And Jankin and Jenikin, coosen thee so,
To make the repent it, yer the yeere about go.

46 The stone that is rolling, can gather no mosse,[3]
Who often removeth, is sure of a losse;
The rich it compelleth to paie for his pride,
The poor it undooeth on every side.

47 The eie of the maister inricheth the hutch,
The eie of the mistresse availeth as much;
Which eie, if it governe with reason and skill,
Hath servant and service at pleasure and will.

48 Who seeked revengment of every wrong,
In quiet nor safetie continueth long;
So he that of wilfulnes trieth the lawe,
Shall strive for a coxcombe and thrive as a dawe.

49 To hunters and hawkers, take heed what ye say,
Mild answer, with courtesie, drives them away,

[1] Hil-back, or Hele-back, cover-back, *i. e.* extravagance in dress.
[2] Incontinence. *Dell*, in the gipsey language, signifies a strumpet.
[3] Fuller, who quotes this proverb against Tusser himself, declares his rolling stone was that of Sisyphus

So where a man's better, will open a gap,
Resist not with rudnes, for feare of mishap.

50 A man in this world, for a churle that is knowne,
Shall hardly in quiet keepe that is his owne;
Where lowlie and such as of curtesie smells,
Finds favour and friendship where ever he dwels.

51 Keepe trustie thy Saboth, the better to speed,
Keepe servant from gadding, but when it is need;
Keepe fish day and fasting day, as they doo fall,
What custome thou keepest, let others keepe all.

52 Though some in their tithing be slack or too bold,
Be thou unto godward, not that waie too cold;
Evill conscience grudgeth, and yet we doo see,
Ill tithers, ill thrivers, most commonly bee.

53 Pay weekelie thy workmen, his houshold to feed,
Pay quarterly servants, to buy as they need;
Give garment to such, as deserve and no mo,
Least thou and thy wife, without garment do go.

54 Be ware raskabilia, slothful to worke,
Purloiners and filchers, that loveth to lurk;
Awaie with such lubbers, so loth to take paine,
That rowles in expenses, but never no gain.

55 Good wife, and good children, are worthy to eat;
Good servant, good labourer, earneth their meat;
Good friend, and good neighbor, that fellowlie ghest,
With hartilie welcome, should have of the best.

56 Depart not with all that thou hast to thy child,
Much lesse unto other, for being beguild;
Least if thou wouldst gladlie, possesse it agen,
Looke for to come by it, thou wottest not when.

57 The greatest preferment, that child we can give,
Is learning and nurture, to teach him to live,
Which, whoso it wanteth, though left as a squier,
Consumeth to nothing, as blocke in the fier.

58 When God hath so blest thee, as able to live,
And thou has to rest thee, and able to give;
Lament thy offenses, serve God for amends,
Make soule to be ready, when God for it sends.

59 Send fruits of thy faith, to heaven aforehand,
For mercy here dooing, God blesseth thy land;
He maketh thy store, with his blessing to swim,
And after, thy soule to be blessed with him.

60 Some lay to get riches, by sea and by land,
And ventreth his life in his enemies hand;
And setteth his soule, upon sixe or on seaven,
Not fearing nor caring, for hell nor for heaven.

61 Some pincheth and spareth, and pineth his life,
To cofer up bagges, for to leave to his wife;
And she, when he dieth, sets open the chest,
For such as can sooth hir, and all awaie wrest.

62 Good husband preventing, the frailnes of some,
Takes part of Gods benefits, as they do come;
And leaveth to wife, and his children the rest,
Each one his owne part, as he thinketh it best.

63 These lessons approued, if wiselie ye note,
May save and advantage you many a groat;
Which, if you can follow occasion found,
Then every lesson may save you a pound.

An Habitation inforced, better late than never, upon these Words, Sit downe, Robin, and rest thee.

CHAP. XI.

My friend, if cause doth wrest thee,
Yer follie hath much opprest thee;
Farre from acquaintance kest thee,
Where countrey may digest thee,
Let wood and water request thee,
In good corne soil to nest thee,
Where pasture and meade may breast thee,
And healthsome aire invest thee,
Though envie shall deteste thee,
Let that no whit molest thee,
Thank God, that so hath blest thee,
And sit downe, Robin, and rest thee.

The Farmers Daily Diet.

CHAP. XII.

A PLOT set down for farmers quiet,
As time requires to frame his diet;
With sometime fish, and sometime fast,
That houshold store may longer last.

Let Lent wel kept, offend not thee,
For March and Aprill breeders be;
Spend herring first, save saltfish last,
For saltfish is good, when Lent is past.

When Easter comes, who knowes not than, — Easter.
That veale and bacon is the man;
And Martinmas beefe, doth beare good tacke,
When countrey folke doo dainties lacke.

When mackrell ceaseth from the seas, — Midsumer.
John Baptist brings grasse, beefe, and pease,
Fresh herring plenty, Michell brings, — Michelmas.
With fatted crones, and such old things.

All saints doo lay for porke and souse, — Hallowmas.
For sprats and spurlins, for their house.
At Christmas play, and make good cheere, — Christmas.
For Christmas comes but once a yeere.

Though some then doo, as doo they would, — A caveat.
Let thriftie doo, as doo they should.
For causes good, so many waies, — Fasting.
Keepe Embrings well, and fasting daies.

What law commands, we ought to obey — Fish-daies.
For Friday, Saturne, and Wednesday,
The land dooth will, the sea dooth wish, — A thing needful.
Spare sometime flesh, and feed of fish.

Where fish is scant and fruit of trees,
Supply that want with butter and cheese,

Quoth TUSSER.

A Description of the Properties of Winds all the Times of the Yeere.

CHAP. XIII.

NORTH winds send haile, south winds bring raine,
East winds we bewail, when west winds blow amaine;
North east is too cold, south east not too warm, — In winter.
North west is too bold, south west doth no harme.

The north is a noier to grasse of all suits,
The east a destroyer to herbs and all fruits; — At the spring.
The south with his showers refresheth the corne,
The west to all flowers may not be forborne. — Summer.

The west is a father, all goodnes doth bring,
The east a forbearer, no maner of thing; — Autumn.
The south as unkind, draweth seeknesse too neere,
The north, as a friend, maketh all againe cleare.

With temperate wind we be blessed of God,
With tempest we find, we are beat with his rod;

All power, we know, to remain in his hand,
However wind blow, by sea or by land.

Though winds do rage, as winds were wood,
And cause spring tides, to raise great floud,
And lofty ships, leave anker in mud,
Bereaving many of life and of bloud;

Yet true it is, as cow chewes cud,
And trees at spring, doo yeeld forth bud,
Except wind stands, as never it stood;
It is an ill wind turnes none to good.

Of the Planets.

CHAP. XIV.

As huswives are teached, instead of a clocke,
How winter night passeth, by crowing of cocke
So, here by the planets, as farre as I dare,
Some lessons I leave, for the husbandmans share.

If day starre appeareth, day comfort is nie;
If sunne be at south, it is noone by and by;
If sunne be at westward, it setteth a noon;
If sunne be at setting, the day is soon gon.

Of the moone changing.

Moone changed, keepes closet, three daies like a queene,
Yet she in hir prime, will of any be seene;
If great she appeareth, it showreth out;
If small she appeareth, it signifieth drout.

At change or at full, come it late or else soone,
Maine sea is at highest, at midnight and noone;
But yet in the creekes, it is later high flood,
Through farnesse of running, by reason as good.

Tide flowing is feared, for many a thing,
Great danger to such as be sicke it doth bring;
Sea eb, by long ebbing, some respit doth give,
And sendeth good comfort, to such as shall live.

Septembers Abstract.

CHAP. XIV.

1 Now, enter John,
Old farmer is gon.

2 What champion useth,
That woodland refuseth.

3 Good farmer, now take,
Keepe still or forsake.

4 What helps revive,
The thriving to thrive.

5 Plough fence and store,
Nought else before,

6 By tits and such,
Some getteth much.

7 Horse strong and light,
Soone charges quite,
Light head and purse,
What lightnes worse.

8 Who goeth a borrowing,
Goeth a sorrowing,
Few lends but fooles,
Their working tooles.

9 Greene rie have some,
Yer Michelmas come.

10 Grant soile hir lust,
Sowe rie in the dust.

11 Cleane rie that sowes,
The better crop mowes.

12 Mix rie aright,
With wheat that is white.

13 See corne sowne in,
Too thicke nor too thin.
For want of seed,
Land yeeldeth weed.

14 With sling and bow,
Keepe corne from crow.

15 Trench hedge and forrowe,
That water may thorow,
Deepe dike saves much,
From drovers and such.

16 Amend marsh wall,
Crap holes and all.

17 Geld buls and rams,
Sew ponds, amend dams,
Sell webster thy wull,
Fruit gether, grapes pull.
For feare of drabs,
Go gather thy crabs.

18 Pluck fruit to last,
When Michell is past.

19 Forget it not,
Fruits brused will rot.
Light ladder and long,
Dooth tree least wrong.
Go gather with skill,
And gather that will.

20 Drive hive good conie,
For war or for honie.
No driving of hive,
Till yeares past five.

21 Good dwelling give bee,
Or hence goes she.

22 Put bore in stie,
For Hallontide nie.

23 With bore (good Cisse)
Let naught be amisse.

24 Barle hempe left greene,
Now plucke up cleane.
Drowne hempe as ye need,
Once had out his seed.
I praie thee, good Kit,
Browne hempe in a pit.

25 Of all the rest,
White hempe is best.
Let skilful be gotten,
Least hempe prove rotten.

26 Set strawberies, wife,
I love them for life.

27 Plant respe and rose,
And such as those.

28 Go gather up mast,
Yer time be past.
Mast fats up swine,
Mast kils up kine.

29 Let hogs be roong,
Both old and yong.

30 No mast upon oke,
No longer unyoke.
If hog do crie,
Give eare and eie.

31 Hogs haunting corne,
Maie not be borne.

32 Good neighbor thow,
Good custome allow.
No scaring with dog,
Whilst mast is for hog.

33 Get home with the brake,
To brew with and bake,
To cover the shed,
Drie over the hed,
To lie under cow,
To rot under mow,
To serve to burne,
For many a turne.

34 To sawpit draw,
Boord log to saw,
Let timber be haile,
Least profit do quaile.
Such bord and pale
Is readie sale.

35 Sawne slab let lie,
For stable and stie;
Saw dust spread thicke,
Makes allie tricke.

36 Keepe safe thy fence,
Scarse breake hedge thence.
A drab and a knave,
Will prowle to have.

37 Marke wind and moone,
At midnight and noone.
Some rigs thy plow,
Some milks thy cow.

38 Red cur or blacke,
Few prowlers lacke.

39 Some steale, some pilch,
Some alwaies filch.
Marke losses with greefe,
Through prowling thiefe.

Thus endeth Septembers abstract, agreeing with Septem. husbandry.

Other Short Remembrances.

Now, friend, as ye wish,
Go sever thy fish,
When friend shall come,
To be sure of some.

Thy ponds renew,
Put eeles in stew,
To live till Lent,
And then to be spent.

Set privy or prim,
Set bore like him.
Set gilloflowers all,
That growes on the wall.

Set hearbs some more,
For winter store.
Sow seeds for pot,
For flowers sow not.

Thus ends Septembers short Remembrances.

Septembers Husbandry.

CHAP. XVII.

September blow soft,
Till fruit be in loft.
Forgotten month past,
Doo now at the last.

1 At Michelmas lightly, new farmer comes in,
New husbandry forced him new to begin;
Old farmer stil taking the time to him given,
Makes August to last unto Michelmas even.

2 New farmer may enter (as champions say)
On all that is fallow, at Lent, Lady day;
In woodland old farmer, to that will not yeeld,
For loosing of pasture, and feed of his field.

Farme take or give over.

3 Provide against Michelmas, bargaine to make,
For farme to give over, to keepe or to take;
In doing of either, let wit beare a stroke,
For buying or selling of a pig in a poke.

Twelve good properties.

4 Good farme and wel stored, good housing and drie,
Good corne and good dairy, good market and nie,
Good shepherd, good tilman, good Jacke and good Gill,
Makes husband and huswife, their coffers to fill.

5 Let pasture be stored, and fensed about,
And tillage set forward, as needeth without;
Before ye do open your purse to begin,
With any thing doing, for fansie within.

6 No storing of pasture, with baggagely tit,
With ragged, and aged, and evill at hit;
Let carren and barren, be shifted away,
For best is the best, whatsoever ye pay.

Strong and light.

7 Horse, oxen, plough, tumbrel, cart, waggon, and waine,
The lighter and stronger, the greater thy gaine;
The soile and the seed, with the sheafe and the purse,
The lighter in substance, for profit the wurse.

8 To borrow to day, and to-morrow to mis,
For lender or borrower, noiance it is;
Then have of thine owne, without lending unspilt,
What followeth needful, here learn if thou wilt.

A Digression to Husbandly Furniture.

Barne furniture.

1 BARNE locked, gofe ladder, short pitchforke and long,
Flaile, strawforke, and rake, with a fan that is strong;
Wing, cartnave, and bushel, pecke, strike, ready hand,
Get casting shovel, broome, and a sacke with a band.

Stable furniture.

2 A stable well planked, with a key and a locke,
Wals strongly well lined to beare off a knocke;
A racke and a manger, good litter and haie,
Sweet chaff and some provender every day.

3 A pitchforke, a dungforke, seeve, skep, and a bin;
A broome and a paile, to put water therein;
A handbarrow, wheelebarrow, shovel, and spade,
A currie combe, maine combe, and whipe for a jade.

4 A buttrice and pincers, a hammer and naile,
An apron and siszers, for head and for taile;
Whole bridle and saddle, whitlether and nall,[1]
With collars and harneis, for thiller and all.[2]

5 A pannel and wanty, packsaddle and ped,
With line to fetch litter, and helters for hed;
With crotches and pins, to hang trinkets thereon,
And stable fast chained, that nothing be gon.

Cart furniture.

6 Strong exle treed cart, that is clouted and shod,
Cart ladder and wimble, with perser and pod;
Wheele ladder for harvest, light pitchforke and tough,
Have whiplash wel knotted, and cartrope inough.

A coom is half a quarter.

7 Then sacks, whereof every one holdeth a coome,
A pulling hooke handsome, for bushes and broome;
Light tumbrell, and doong crone, for easing sir wag,
Ovel, pikax, and mattocke, with bottle and bag.

Husbandry towles.

8 A grindstone, a whetstone, a hatchet and bill,
With hammer and English naile, sorted with skill;
A frower of iron for cleaving of lath,
With rol for a sawpit, good husbandry hath.

9 A short saw, and long saw, to cut a two logs,
An axe and an ads, to make troffe for thy hogs;
A dovercourt beetle, and wedges with steele,
Strong lever to raise up the block from the wheele.

Plough furniture.

10 Two ploughs and a plough chaine, two culters, three shares,
With ground clouts, and side clouts, for soile that so tares;
With oxbowes, and oxyokes, and other things mo,
For oxe teeme, and horse teeme, in plough for to go.

11 A plough beetle, plough staffe, to further the plough,
Great clod to asunder, that breaketh so rough;
A sled for a plough, and another for blocks,
For chimney in winterto burn up their docks.

12 Sedge collars for plough horse, for lightnes of necke,
Good seed, and good sower, and also seed pecke;
Strong oxen and horses, wel shod and wel clad,
Well meated and used for making thee sad.

13 A barlie rake toothed with iron and steele,
Like pair of harrowes, and roller doth weele;
A sling for a mother, a bow for a boy,
A whip for a carter, is hoigh de la roy[3].

Harvest tooles.

[1] *Nal*, an awl. [2] *Thiller*, the shaft horse.
[3] *Hoigh de la Roy.* I do not know the derivation of this corrupted expression, which obviously refers to com-

14 A brush sith, and grasse sith, with rifle to stand,
A cradle for barlie, with rubstone and sand;
Sharpe sickle and weeding hooke, hay, forke, and rake,
Ameake for the pease, and to swing up the brake.

15 Short rakes for to gather up, barlie to bind,
And greater to rake up, such leavings behind:
A rake for to rake up, the fitches that lie,
A pike for to pike them up, handsome to drie.

16 A skuttle or skreine, to rid soile fro the corne,
And shearing sheeres readie, for sheepe to be shorne:
A forke and a hooke to be tampring in claie,
A lath hammer, a trowel, a hod or a traie.

17 Strong yoke for a hog, with a twitcher and rings,
With tar in a tarpot, for dangerous things:
A sheepe marke, a tar kettle, little or mitch,
Two pottles of tarre, to a pottle of pitch.

18 Long ladder to hang, all along by the wall,
To reach for a need to the top of a hall:
Beame, scales, with the weights that be sealed and true,
Sharpe moulspare with barbs, that the moules do so rue. Moles.

19 Sharpe cutting spade, for the deviding of mow,
With skuppat and sckavell, the marshmen allow:
A sickle to cut with, a didall and crome,
For draining of ditches, that noies thee at home.

20 A clavestocke, a rabbet stocke, carpenters crave,
And seasoned timber, for pinwood to have.
A Jacke for to saw upon, fewel for fire,
For sparing of firewood, and sticks fro the mire.

21 Soles, fetters, and shackles, with horselocke and pad,
A cow house for winter, so meet to be had:
A stie for a bore, and a hogscote for hog,
A roost for thy hens, and a couch for thy dog.

Here endeth husbandlie furniture.

plete or royal equipment. The boy's bow and his mother's sling were to assail the crows in seed time, as we learn a little farther down. "In my time," says Bishop Latimer, "my poor father was diligent to teach me to shoote, as to learn me any other thing, and so I thinke other men did their children. He taught me how to draw, how to lay my body in my bow, and not to draw with strength of armes, as other nations doe, but with strength of the bodye. I had my bowes bought me, according to my age and strength. As I encreased in them, so my bowes were made bigger and bigger; for men never shoote well, except they be brought up in it."—*Fruitful Sermons*, 1584, *fol.* 69.

Sowinge of rie.

9 Thresh seed, and to fanning, September doth crie,
Get plough to the field, and be sowing of rie:
Go harrow the ridges, yer ever ye strike,
Is one peece of husbandry, Suffolke doth like.

10 Sowe timely thy white wheat, sow rie in the dust,
Let seed have hir longing, let soile have hir lust:
Let rie be partaker of Michelmas spring,
To beare out the hardnes, that winter doth bring.

11 Some mixeth to miller, the rie with the wheat,
Tems lofe on his table, to have for to eate:
But sowe it not mixed, to grow so on land,
Least rie tarrie wheat, till it shed as it stand.

12 If soile do desire, to have rie with the wheat,
By growing togither, for safety more great:
Let white wheate be tone, be it deere, be it cheape,
The sooner to ripe, for the sickle to reape.

13 Though beanes be in sowing, but scattered in,
Yet wheat, rie, and peason, I love not too thin:
Some barlie and dredge, with a plentiful hand,
Least weed stead of seed, overgroweth thy land.

14 No sooner a sowing, but out by and by,
With mother or boy, that alarum can cry:
And let them be armed, with sling or with bow,
To scare away pigeon, the rooke and the crow.

15 Seed sowne, draw a furrow, the water to draine,
And dike up such ends, as in harms do remaine:
For driving of cattell, or roving that way,
Which being prevented, ye hinder the pray.

Amend marsh waies.

16 Saint Michel doth bid thee, amend the marsh wall,
The brecke and the crabhole, the foreland and all:
One noble in season, bestowed thereon,
May save thee a hundred, yer winter be gon.

Gelding of rams. Gathering of fruit.

17 Now geld with the gelder, the ram and the bull,
Sew ponds, amend dams, and sell webster thy wull:
But fruit go and gather, but not in the deaw,
With crab and the walnut, for feare of a shrew.

18 The moone in the wane, gather fruit for to last,
But winter fruit gather, when Michel is past:
Though michers that love not, to buy nor to crave,
Make some gather sooner, else few for to have.

19 Fruit gathered too timely, wil tast of the wood,
Wil shrinke and be bitter, and sildome prove good:
So fruit that is shaken, or beat off a tree,
With brusing in falling, soone faulty wil bee.

20 Now burne up the bees, that thou mindest to drive, *Driving of Bees.*
At Midsummer drive them, and save them alive:
Place hive in good ayre, set southly and warme,
And take in due season, wax, hony, and swarme.

21 Set hive on a planke, (not too low by the ground)
Where herbe with the flower, may compasse it round:
And boords to defend it, from north and northeast,
From showers and rubbish, from vermin and beast.

22 At Michelmas safely, go stie up thy bore,
Least straieng abroad, ye do see him no more:
The sooner the better, for Hollantide nie,
And better he brawneth, if hard he do lie.

23 Shift bore for ill aire as best ye do thinke,
And twice a day give him, fresh water and drinke:
And diligent Cisley, my dairy good wench,
Make clenly his cabin, for measling and stench.

24 Now plucke up thy hempe, and go beat out the seed,
And afterward water it, as ye have need:
But not in the river, where cattel should drinke,
For poisoning of them, and the people with stinke.

25 Hempe huswifely used, looks cleerelie and bright, Whitest hemp best sold.
And selleth itselfe, by the colour so white:
Some useth to water it but some do it not,
Be skilful in dooing, for feare it do rot.

26 Wife into thy garden, and set me a plot,
With strawberie roots, of the best to be got:
Such growing abroad, among thorns in the wood,
Well chosen and picked, prove excellent good.

27 The barbery, respis, and goosebery too, Gooseberries and respis.
Looke now to be planted, as other things doo:
The goosebery, respis, and roses, all three,
With strawberies under them, trimly agree.

28 To gather some mast, it shall stand thee upon, Gathering of mast.
With servant and children, yer mast be all gon:
Some left among bushes, shall pleasure thy swine,
For feare of a mischiefe keepe acorns fro kine.

39 For rooting of pasture, ring hog ye had need,
Which being well ringled, the better doth feed:
Though yoong with their elders, wil lightly keepe best
Yet spare not to ringle, both great and the rest.

Yoking of hogs.

30 Yoke seldome thy swine, while shacktime doth last
For divers misfortunes, that happen too fast:
Or if ye do fansie, whole eare of the hog,
Give eare to ill neighbor, and eare to his dog.

Ringling of hogs.

31 Keepe hog I advise thee, from medow and corne,
For out alowd crying, that ere he was borne:
Such lawles so haunting, both often and long,
If dog set him chaunting, he doth thee no wrong.

32 Where love among neighbours, doth beare any stroke,
While shacke time indureth, men use not to yoke:
Yet surely ringling, is needfull and good,
Til frost do invite them, to brakes in the wood.

33 Get home with thy brakes, yer summer be gon,
For teddered cattel, to sit thereupon:
To cover thy hovell, to brew and to bake,
To lie in the bottome, where hovell ye make.

34 Now saw out thy timber, for boord and for pale,
To have it unshaken, and ready to sale:
Bestowe it and sticke it, and laie it aright,
To find it in March, to be ready in plight.

35 Save slab of thy timber for stable and stie,
For horsse and for hog, the more cleanlie to lie:
Save sawdust, and brickdust, and ashes so fine,
For alley to walke in, with neighbour of thine.

Hedge breakers.

36 Keepe safely and warely, thine uttermost fense,
With ope gap and break hedge, do seldome dispense.
Such runabout prowlers, by night and by day,
See punished justly, for prowling away.

Learne to know Hew prowler.

37 At noone if it bloweth, at night if it shine,
Out trudgeth Hew Makeshift, with hook and with line
Whiles Gillet his blouse, is a milking thy cow,
Sir Hew is arigging thy gate or thy plow. [a]

38 Such walke with a blacke, or a red little cur,
That open will quikly, if any thing stur:
When squatteth the master, or trudgeth awaie,
And after dog runneth, as fast as he maie.

[a] Stripping them of the iron.

39 Some prowleth for fewel, and some awaie rig,
Fat goose and the capon, ducke, hen, and the pig:
Some prowleth for acorns, to fat up their swine,
For corn and for apples, and all that is thine.

Thus ends Septembers husbandrie.

Octobers Abstract.

CHAP XVI.

1 Lay drie up and round,
For barlie thy ground.

2 Too late doth kill,
Too soone is as ill.

3 Maids little and great,
Picke clean seed wheat.
Good ground dooth crave,
Choise seed to have.
Flailes lustlie thwack
Least plough seed lack.

4 Seed first go fetch;
For edish or etch,
Soile perfectlie know,
Yer edish ye sowe.

5 White wheat if ye please,
Sow now upon pease,
Sow first the best,
And then the rest.

6 Who soweth in raine,
Hath weed to his paine.
But worse shall be speede,
That soweth ill seed.

7 Now better than later,
Draw furrow for water.
Keepe crowes, good sonne,
See fencing be donne.

8 Ech soile no vaine,
For everie graine.
Though soile be but bad,
Some corne maie be had.

9 Naught prove, naught crave,
Naught venter, naught have.

10 One crop, and awaie,
Some contrie may saie.

11 All gravell and sand,
Is not the best land.
A rottenlie mould,
Is land worth gold.

12 Why wheat is smitten,
Good lesson is written.

13 The judgement of some,
How thistles do come.

14 A judgement right,
Of land in plight.
Land all forlorne,
Not good for corne.

15 Land barren doth beare,
Small straw, short eare.

16 Here maist thou reed,
For soile what seed.

17 Tis tride erie hower,
Best graine, most flower.

18 Crosse corne much bran,
The baker doth ban.

19 What croppers be,
Here learne to see.

20 Few after crop much,
But noddies and such.

21 Some woodland may crake,
Three crops he maie take.

22 First barlie, then pease,
Then wheat if ye please.

23 Two crops and awaie,
Must champion saie.

24 Where barlie did growe,
Laie wheat to sowe.
Yet better I thinke,
Sowe pease after drinke.
And then if ye please,
Sowe wheat after pease.

25 What champion knowes,
That custome showes.

26 First barlie yer rie,
Then pease by and by,
Then fallow for wheat,
Is husbandrie great.

27 A remedie sent,
Where pease lacke vent.
Fat pease fed swine,
For drover is fine.

28 Ech divers soile,
Hath divers toile.

29 Some countries use,
That some refuse.

30 For wheat ill land,
Where water doth stande,
Sowe pease or dredge,
Belowe in that redge.

31 Sowe acorns to prove,
That timber do love.

32 Sowe hastings now,
If land it allow.

33 Learne soone to get,
A good quick set.

34 For feare of the wurst,
Make fat awaie furst.

35 Fat that no more,
Ye keepe for store.

36 Hide carren in grave,
Lesse noiance to have.

37 Hog measled kill,
For Fleming that will:

38 With peasebolt and brake,
Some brew and bake.

39 Old corne worth gold,
So kept as it should.

40 Much profit is reapt,
By sloes well kept.

41 Keepe sloes upon bow,
For flix of thy cow.

42 Of verges be sure,
Poore cattell to cure.

Thus endeth Octobers abstract, agreeing with Octobers husbandry.

Other short Remembrances.

Cis have an eie,
To bore in stie.
By malt ill kept,
Small profit is rept.

Friend ringle thy hog,
For feare of a dog.
Rie straw up stacke,
Least thacker[1] do lacke.

Wheat straw drie save,
For cattell to have.
Wheat chaffe laie up drie,
In safetie to lie.

Make handsome a bin,
For chaffe to lie in.
(Seed thresht) thou shalt,
Thresh barlie to malt.

[1] Thatcher.

Cut bushes to hedge,
Fence meddow and redge.

Stampe crabs that maie,
For rotting awaie.
Make vergis and perrie,
Sowe kernell and berrie.

Now gather up fruit,
Of everie suit,
Marsh wall too slight,
Strength now, or good night.

Mend wals of mud,
For now it is good.

Where soile is of sand,
Quicke set out of hand.

To plots not full,
Ad bremble and hull,
For set no bar,
Whilst month hath an R.

Like note thou shalt,
For making of malt;
Brew now to last,
Till winter be past.

Thus ends Octobers short remembrances.

Octobers Husbandry.

CHAP. XVII.

October good blast,
To blow the hog mast.

Forgotten months past,
Doo now at the last.

1 Now lay up thy barlie land, drie as ye can,
When ever ye sow it, so looke for it than:
Get dailie aforehand, be never behind,
Least winter preventing, doo alter thy mind.

2 Who laieth up fallow, too soone or too wet,
With noiances manie, doth barlie beset;
For weed and the water so soketh and sucks,
That goodnes from either, it utterly plucks.

3 Greene rie in September, when timely thou hast,
October for wheat sowing, calleth as fast: Wheat sowing.
If weather will suffer, this counsel I give,
Leave sowing of wheat, before Hallowmas eve.

4 Where wheat upon edish, ye mind to bestowe,
Let that be the first of the wheat ye doo sowe:
He seemeth to hart it, and comfort to bring,
That giveth it comfort of Michelmas spring.

5 White wheat upon pease etch, doth grow as he would,
But fallow is best, if we did as we should:
Yet where, how, and when, ye intend to begin, Best wheat first sowne.
Let ever the finest be first sowen in.

6 Who soweth in rain, he shall reape it with teares,
Who soweth in harmes, he is ever in feares,

Who soweth ill seed, or defraudeth his land,
Hath eie sore abrood, with a corsie at hand.

7 Seed husbandly sowne, water furrow thy ground,
That rain when it cometh, may run awaie round:
Then stir about, Nicoll, with arrowe and bowe,
Take penie for killing of everie cowe.

A Digression to the Usuage of divers Countries, concerning Tillage.

8 Ech soile hath no liking of every graine,
Nor barlie and wheat is for everie vaine:
Yet knowe I no countrey so barren of soile,
But some kind of corne maie be gotten with toile.

9 In Branthom, where rie, but no barly did grow,
Good barlie I had, as a many did know:
Five seame of an aker, I truelie was paid,
For thirtie lode mucke, of ech aker so laid.

10 In Suffolke againe, whereas wheat never grew,
Good husbandry used, good wheatland I knew:
This proverbe, experience long agoe gave,
That nothing who practiseth, nothing shal have.

11 As gravell and sand, is for rie and not wheat,
Or yeeldeth hir burthen, to tone the more great:
So peason and barlie delight not in sand,
But rather in claie, or in rottener land.

12 Wheat sometime is steelie, or burnt as it growes,
For pride or for povertie, practise so knowes:
Too lustie of courage, for wheat doth not well,
Nor after sir peeler, he loveth to dwell:

13 Much wetnes, hog rooting, and land out of hart,
Makes thistles a number, forthwith to upstart.
If thistles so growing, prove lustie and long,
It signifieth land to be lustie and strong.

14 As land full of tilth, and in hartie good plight,
Yeelds blade to a length, and increaseth in might:
So crop upon crop, upon whose courage we doubt,
Yeelds blade for a brag, but it holdeth not out.

15 The straw and the eare, to have bignes and length,
Betokeneth land to be good, and in strength:
If eare be but short, and the straw be but small,
It signifieth barenes, and barren withall.

16 White wheat, or else red, red rivet or white,
Farre passeth all other, for land that is light:
White pollard or red, that so richly is set,
For land that is heavie, is best ye can get.

17 Maine wheat that is mixed with white and with red,
Is next to the best, in the market mans hed:
So Turkey or Purkey wheat many doo love,
Because it is flourie, as others above.

18 Gray wheat is the grosest, yet good for the claie,
Though worst for the market, as farmer may say:
Much like unto rie, be his properties found,
Coorse flower, much bran, and a peeler of ground.

19 Otes, rie, or else barlie, and wheat that is gray,
Brings land out of comfort, and soone to decay:
One after another, no comfort betweene,
Is crop upon crop, as will quickly be seene.

20 Still crop upon crop, many farmers doo take,
And reap little profit, for greedinesse sake.
Though breadcorne and drinkcorne, such croppers do stand,
Count peason or branke, as a comfort to land.

Crop upon crop.

21 Good land that is severall, crops may have three,
In champion countrie, it may not so be:
Tone taketh his season, as commoners maie,
The tother with reason, maie otherwise saie.

22 Some useth at first, a good fallow to make,
To sowe thereon barlie, the better to take:
Next that to sowe pease, and of that to sowe wheat,
Then fallow againe, or lie laie for thy neat.

23 First rie and then barlie, the champion saies,
Or wheat before barlie, be champion waies:
But drinke before breadcorne, with Middlesex men,
Then laie on more compas, and fallow againe.

24 Where barlie ye sowe, after rie or else wheat,
If land be unlustie, the crop is not great:
So lose yee your cost, to your corsie and smart,
And land overburdened is clene out of hart.

25 Exceptions take, of the champions land,
From lieng along, from that at thy hand:
(Just by) ye may comfort, with compas at will,
Far off ye must comfort, with favour and skill.

26 Where rie or else wheat, either barlie ye sow,
Let codware be next, thereupon for to grow:
Thus having two crops, whereof codware is ton,
Thou hast the lesse need, to lay cost thereupon.

27 Some far fro the market, delight not in pease,
For that erie chapman, they seeme not to please:
If vent of the market-place, serve thee not well,
Set hogs up a fatting, to drover to sell.

28 Two crops of a fallow, inricheth the plough,
Though tone be of pease, it is land good inough:
One crop and a fallow, some soile will abide,
Where if ye go further, laie profite aside.

29 Where peason ye had, and a fallow thereon,
Some wheat ye may well, without doing thereupon:
New broken up land, or with water opprest,
Or over much dunged, for wheat is not best.

30 Where water all winter annoieth too much,
Bestow not thy wheat upon land that is such:
But rather sowe otes, or else bullimong thare,
Gray peason or runcivals, fitches or tare.

Sowing of acorns.

31 Sowe acorns ye owners, that timber do love,
Sowe hawe and rie with them, the better to prove:
If cattel or conie maie enter to crop,
Yong oke is in danger of loosing his top.

32 Who pescods delighteth, to have with the furst,
If now he do sow them, I thinke it not wurst:
The greener thy peason, and warmer thy roome,
More lustie the laier, more plentie they come.

33 Go plow up or delve up, advised with skill,
The bredth of a ridge, and in length as ye will;
Where speedie quickset, for a fence ye will draw,
To sow in the seed of the bremble and haw.

A disease in fat hogs.

34 Though plentie of acorns, the porkling to fat,
Not taken in season, may perish by that:
If ratling or swelling, get once in the throat,
Thou loseth thy porkling, a crowne to a groat.

35 What ever thing fat is, againe if it fall,
Thou ventrest the thing, and the fatnes withall:
The fatter the better, to sell or to kill,
But not to continue, make proofe if ye will.

36 What ever thing dieth, go burie or burne,
For tainting of ground, or a worser ill turne:
Such pestilent smell, of a carrenlie thing,
To cattell and people great perill may bring.

Burieng of dead cattell.

37 Thy measeled bacon, hog, sow, or thy bore,
Shut up for to heale, for infecting thy store;
Or kill it for bacon, or souse it to sell,
For Flemming that loves it so daintily well.

38 With straw-whisp and peasebolt, with ferne and the brake,
For sparing of fewell, some brew and doo bake:
And heateth their copper, for seething of graines,
Good servant rewarded, refuseth no paines.

39 Good bread corne and drink corne, ful xx weeks kept,
Is better than new, that at harvest is rept:
But foistie the bread corne, and bowdeaten malt,
For health or for profit, find noisome thou shalt.

Old wheat better than new.

40 By the end of October, go gather up sloes,
Have thou in a readines plentie of those:
And keepe them in bedstraw, or still on the bow,
To stay both the flix of thyselfe and thy cow.

41 Seeth water, and plumpe therein plenty of sloes,
Mixe chalke that is dried, in powder with those:
Which so if ye give, with the water and chalke,
Thou makest the lax, fro thy cow away walke.

A medicine for the cow flix.

42 Be sure of vergis, (a gallon at the least,)
So good for the kitchen, so needful for beast:
It helpeth thy cattell, so feeble and faint,
If timelie such cattell with it thou acquaint.

Thus endeth Octobers Husbandry.

Novembers Abstract.

CHAP XVIII.

1 Let hog once fat,
Loose nothing of that.
When mast is gon,
Hog falleth anon;
Still fat up some,
Till Shrovetide come.
Now porke and souse,
Beares tacke in house.

2 Put barlie to malting,
Laie flitches a salting.
Through follie too beastlie,
Much bacon is reastie.

3 Some winnow, some fan,
Some cast that can.
In casting provide,
For seed laie aside.

4 Thresh barlie thou shalt,
For chapman to malt.
Else thresh no more,
But for thy store.

5 Til March thresh wheat,
But as ye do eat;
Least baker forsake it,
If foistines take it.

6 No chaffe in bin,
Makes horse looke thin.

7 Sowe hastings now,
That hastings allow.

8 They buie it full deere,
In winter that reare.

9 Few fowles, lesse swine,
Reere now friend mine.

10 What losse, what sturs,
Through ravening curs.

11 Make Martilmas beefe,
Deere meat is a theefe.

12 Set garlike and pease,
Saint Edmond to please.

13 When raine takes place,
To threshing apace.

14 Mad braine too rough,
Mars all at plough.
With flaile and whips,
Fat hen short skips.

15 Some threshing by taske,
Will steale and not aske.
Such threshers at night,
Walkes seldome home light.
Some corne away lag,
In bottle and bag.
Some steales for a jest,
Egs out of the nest.

16 Laie stouer up drie,
In order to lie.
Poore bullocke doth crave,
Fresh straw to have.

17 Make weekelie up flower,
Though threshers do lower.
Laie graine in loft,
And turne it oft.

18 For mucke regard,
Make cleane foule yard.
Lay straw to rot,
In watrie plot.

19 Hedlond up plow,
For compas inow.

20 For herbes good store,
Trench garden more.

21 At midnight trie,
Foule privies to fie.

22 Rid chimney of soot,
From top to the foot.

23 In stable put now,
Thy horses for plow.

24 Good horsekeeper will
Laie mucke upon hill.

25 Cut molehils that stand,
So thicke upon land.

Thus endeth Novembers Abstract, agreeing with Novembers Husbandry.

Other short Remembrances.

GET pole boy mine,
Beat hawes to swine.
Drive hog to the wood,
Brake roots be good.
For mischeefe that fals,
Looke well to marsh wals.
Drie laier get neat,
And plentie of meat.

Curst cattel that nurteth,
Poore vennell soone hurteth.

Good neighbour mine,
Ring well thy swine.

Such winter may serve,
Hog ringled will sterve.

In frost keepe dog,
From hunting of hog.

Heere ends Novembers short Remembrances.

Novembers Husbandry.

CHAP. XIX.

November take flaile,
Let ship no more saile.

Forgotten month past,
Doo now at the last.

1 At Hallontide, slaughter time entereth in,
And then doth the husbandmans feasting begin,
From thence unto Shroftide, kil now and then some,
Their offal for houshold the better wil come.

2 Thy dredge and thy barlie, go thresh out to malt,
Let maltster be cunning, else lose it thou shalt:
The increase of a seame, is a bushel for store,
Bad else is the barlie, or huswife much more.

3 Some useth to winnow, some useth to fan,
Some useth to cast it as cleane as they can:
For seed go and cast it, for malting not so,
But get out the cockle, and then let it go.

4 Thresh barlie as yet, but as need shall require, Threshing of barlie.
Fresh threshed for stour, thy cattel desire:
And therefore that threshing, forbeare as ye may,
Till Candlemas comming, for sparing of hay.

5 Such wheat as ye keepe, for the baker to buie, Threshing of wheat.
Unthreshed til March, in the sheafe let it lie:
Least foistines take it, if sooner ye thresh it,
Although by oft turning ye seeme to refresh it.

6 Save chaffe of the barlie, of wheat and of rie, Chaffe of corne.
From fethers and foistines, where it doth lie:
Which mixed with corne, being sifted of dust,
Go give to thy cattel, when serve them ye must.

7 Greene peason or hastings, at Hollantide sowe,
In hartie good soile, he requireth to grow:
Gray peason or runcivals, cheerely to stand,
At Candlemas sow, with a plentifull hand.

8 Leave latewardly rearing, keepe now no more swine,
But such as thou maist, with the offal of thine;

Except ye have wherewith to fat them away,
The fewer thou keepest, keepe better thou may.

9 To reare up much pultrie, and want the barne doore,
Is naught for the pulter, and worse for the poore:
So now to keepe hogs, and to sterve them for meat,
Is as to keepe dogs for to baule in the streat.

10 As cat a good mouser, is needfull in house,
Because for her commons she killeth the mouse:
So ravening curs, as a meany do keepe,
Makes maister want meat, and his dog to kill sheepe.

Martillmas beefe.

11 For Easter at Martilmas, hang up a beefe,
For stall fed and pease fed, play pickpurse the theefe:
With that and the like, yer grasse beefe come in,
Thy folk shall looke cheerely when others looke thin.

Set garlike and beanes.

12 Set garlike and beanes, at S. Edmond the king,
The moone in the wane, thereon hangeth a thing:
The increase of a pottle, (wel proved of some,)
Shall pleasure thy houshold yer pescod time come.

13 When rain is a let, to thy doings abrode,
Set threshers a threshing, to lay on good lode:
Thresh cleane ye must bid them, though lesser they yarne,
And looking to thrive, have an eie to thy barne.

14 Take heed to thy man in his fury and heat,
With ploughstaffe and whipstocke, for maiming thy neat,
To thresher for hurting of cow with his flaile,
Or making thy hen to play tapple up taile.[z]

Corne steale.

15 Some pilfering thresher wil walke with a staffe,
Wil carry home corne as it is in the chaffe;
And some in his bottle of leather so great,
Wil carry home daily, both barly and wheat.

16 If houseroome will serve thee, lay stouer up drie,
And every sort by it selfe for to lie:
Or stacke it for litter, if roome be too poore,
And thatch out the residue, noieng the doore.

17 Cause weekelie thy thresher to make up his flower,
Though slothful and pilferer thereat do lower:
Take tub for a season, take sacke for a shift;
Yet garner for graine is the better for thrift.

[z] From these cautions it would seem, that the cattle and poultry were kept in or near the barn.

18 All maner of straw that is scattered in yard,
Good husbandly husbands have daily regard,
In pit full of water the same to bestow,
Where lying to rot, thereof profit may grow.

19 Now plough up thy headlond, or delve it with spade,
Where otherwise, profit but little is made;
And cast it up high, upon hillockes to stand,
That winter may rot it, to compasse thy land.

20 If garden require it now trench it ye may,
One trench not a yard, from another go laie;
Which being wel filled with mucke by and by,
Go cover with mould, for a season to lie.

Trenching of gardens.

21 Foule privies are now to be clensed and fide,
Let night be appointed, such baggage to hide;
Which buried in garden, in trenches alowe,
Shall make verie many things better to growe.

22 The chimney all sooty, would now be made cleane,
For feare of mischances, too oftentimes seene:
Old chimney and sooty, if fier once take,
By burning and breaking, soone mischiefe may make.

23 When ploughing is ended, and pasture not great,
Then stable thy horsses, and tend them with meat;
Let season be drie when ye take them to house,
For danger of nits, or for feare of a louse.

24 Lay compasse up handsomlie, round on a hill,
To walke in thy yard at thy pleasure and will:
More compasse it maketh, and handsome the plot,
If horsekeeper daily forgetteth it not.

Saving of doong.

25 Make hillocks of molehils, in field throughout,
And so to remaine, till the yeere go about:
Make also the like, whereas plots be too hie,
Al winter a rotting, for compas to lie.

Thus endeth Novembers Husbandrie.

Decembers Abstract.

CHAP. XX.

1 No season to hedge,
Get beetle and wedge.
Cleave logs now all,
For kitchen and hall.

2 Dul working tooles,
Soone courage cooles.

3 Leave off tittle tattle,
Go serve your cattle.
Serve yong poore elves,
Alone by themselves.

4 Warme harth for neat,
Worth halfe their meat.
The elder that nurtuth,
The yonger soone hurteth.

5 House cow that is old,
While winter doth hold.

6 But once in a daie,
To drinke and to plaie.

7 Get trustie to serve,
Least cattel do sterve,
And such as indeed,
May helpe at an need.

8 Observe this lawe,
In serving out strawe.

9 In walking about,
Good forke spie out.

10 At ful and at change,
Spring tides are strange.
If doubt ye fray,
Drive cattel away.

11 Danke ling forgot,
Will quickly rot.

12 Here learne and try,
To turne it and drie.

13 Now stocks remove,
That orchards love.

14 Set stocks to growe,
Too thicke nor too low.
Set now as they come,
Both cheerie and plome.

15 Sheepe, hog, and ill beast
Bids stocke to ill feast.

16 At Christmas is good,
To let thy horse blood.

17 Marke here what rable,
Of evils in stable.

18 Mixe wel (old gaffe)
Horse corne with chaffe.
Let Jacke nor Bill
Fetch corne at will.

19 Some countries gift,
To make hard shift.
Some cattle wel fare,
With fitches and tare.
Fitches and tares,
Be Norfolk wares.

20 Tares threshed with skill,
Bestow as ye will.

21 Hide straberies, wife,
To save their life.

22 Knot border at all,
Now cover ye shall.

23 Helpe bees sweet conie,
With liquor and honie.

24 Get campers a ball,
To campe there withall.

Thus endeth Decembers Abstract, agreeing with Decembers Husbandrie.

Other short Remembrances.

Let Christmas spie,
Yeard cleane to lie.
No labour no sweat,
Go labour for heat.

Feed, doves but kill not,
If stroie them ye will not.
Fat hog (yer ye kill it)
Or else ye do spill it.

Put oxe in stall,
Yer oxe do fall.

Who seetheth hir graines,
Hath profit for paines.

Rid garden of mallow,
Plant willow and sallow.

Let bore life render,
See brawne sod tender.

For wife fruit bie,
For Christmas pie.

Il bread and ill drinke,
Makes many ill thinke.

Both meat and cost,
Ill dressed halfe lost.

Who hath therewithall,
May cheere when he shall,
But charged man
Must cheere as he can.

Thus endeth Decembers short Remembrances.

Decembers husbandry.

CHAP. XXI.

O dirtie December, Forgotten month past,
For Christmas remember, Doo now at the last.

1 When frost will not suffer, to dike and to hedge, Beetle and wedges.
Then get thee a heat with thy beetle and wedge
Once Hallomas come, and a fire in the hall,
Such slivers do well, for to lie by the wall,

2 Get grindstone and whetstone, for toole that is dull, Grinding stone and whetstone.
Or often be letted, and fret bellie full:
A wheelebarrow also, be readie to have,
At hand of thy servant, thy compasse to save.[1]

3 Give cattel their fodder, in plot drie and warme,
And count them for miring, or other like harme:
Yong coltes with thy vennels, together go serve,
Least lurched by others, they happen to sterve.

4 The racke is commended, for saving of dong,
To set as the old cannot mischiefe the yong:
In tempest (the wind being northly or east,)
Warme harth under hedge, is a succour to beast.

5 The housing of cattell, while winter doth hold, Housing of cattel.
Is good for al such as are feeble and old:
It saveth much compass, and many a sleepe,
And spareth the pasture for walke of thy sheepe.

6 For charges so little, much quiet is won,
If strongly and handsomely al things be don:
But use to untackle them, once in a daie,
To rub and to licke them, to drinke and to plaie.

[1] Compost.

7 Get trustie to tend them, not lubberlie squire,
That al the day long hath his nose at the fire:
Nor trust unto children, poore cattell to feed,
But such as be able to helpe at a need.

8 Serve riestrawe out first, then wheat strawe and pease,
Then ote strawe and barlie, then haie if ye please:
But serve them with haie, while the straw stouer last,
Then love they no straw, they had rather to fast.

Forks and yokes.

9 Yokes, forkes, and such other, let bailie spie out,
And gather the same as he walketh about:
And after at leasure, let this be his hier,
To beath them and trim them, at home by the fier.

10 As wel at the ful of the moone as the change,
Sea rages in winter, be sudenly strange:
Then looke to thy marshes, if doubt be to fray,
For feare of *(ne forte)* have cattel awaie.

11 Both salt-fish and ling-fish (if any ye have)
Through shifting and drying, from rotting go save:
Least winter with moistnes do make it relent,
And put it in hazard before it be spent.

How to use ling and haderbin.

12 Broome fagot is best, to drie haberdin on,
Laie boord upon ladder, if faggots be gon:
For breaking (in turning) have verie good eie,
And blame not the wind, so the weather be drie.

13 Good fruit and good plentie, doth well in the loft,
Then make thee an orchard, and cherish it oft,
For plant or for stocke, laie aforehand to cast,
But set or remove it yer Christmasse be past.

An orchard point.

14 Set one fro another, ful fortie foote wide,
To stand as he stood, is a part of his pride:
More faire, more worthie, of cost to remove,
More steadie ye set it, more likelie to prove.

15 To teach and unteach, in a schoole is unmeet,
To doo and undoo, to the pursse is unsweet:
Then orchard or hopyard, so trimmed with cost,
Should not thorough follie, be spoiled and lost.

Letting horse blood.

16 Yer Christmas be passed, let horse be let blood,
For many a purpose it dooth them much good;
The day of S. Steven, old fathers did use,
If that do mislike thee, some other day chuse.

17 Looke wel to thy horses, in stable thou must,
That haie be not foistie, nor chaffe full of dust:
Nor stone in their provender, feather nor clots,
Nor fed with green peason, for breeding of bots.

Breeding of the bots.

18 Some horsekeeper lasheth out provender so,
Some Gillian spendall, so often doth go:
For hogs meat, and hens meat, for that and for this,
That corne loft is emptied, yer chapman hath his.

19 Some countries are pinched, of medowes for hay,
Yet ease it with fitches, as well as they may:
Which inned and threshed, and husbandly dight,
Keepes labouring cattle in verie good plight.

20 In threshing out fitches, one point I wil shew,
First thresh out for seed, of the fitches a few:
Thresh few for thy plow horse, thresh cleane for thy cow,
This order in Norfolke, good husbands allow.

21 If frost doo continue, take this for a law,
The strawberries looke, to be covered with straw:
Layd overlie trim, uppon crotches and bowes,
And after uncovered as weather allowes.

22 The gilliflower also, the skilfull do know,
Doth looke to be covered, in frost and in snow:
The knot and the border, and rosemary ga,
Do crave the like succour, for dying away.

23 Go looke to thy bees, if thy hive be too light,
Set water and honie, with rosemary dight:
Which set in a dish, full of sticks in the hive,
From danger of famine, ye save them alive.

How to preserve bees.

24 In medow or pasture (to grow the more fine)
Let campers be camping, in any of thine:
Which if ye do suffer, when low is the spring,
You gaine to your selfe a commodious thing.

Thus endeth Decembers Husbandrie.

A Digression to Hospitality.

CHAP. XXII.

Leave husbandry sleeping, a while ye must do,
To learne of housekeeping a lesson or two.
What ever is sent thee, by labour and paine,
A time there is lent thee, to rendrit againe.

Although ye defend it, unspent for to be,
Another shall spend it, no thanke unto thee,
However we clime, to accomplish the mind,
We have but a time, thereof profit to find.

A Description of Time, and the Yeare.[*]

CHAP. XXIII.

Of God to thy doings, a time there is sent,
Which endeth with time, that in dooing is spent:

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[*] The Shepherd's Kalender gives us the Commodities of the xii monethes in the yeare, with the xii ages of man.

JANUARY.

The first moneth is January. The child is without might, untill he be six yeares old he cannot help himselfe.

FEBRUARY.

The sixt yeare, that is, as the first yeare of the springing of al floweres, and so the child till xii year groweth in knowledge and learning, and to do as he is taught.

MARCH.

March is the budding time, and in that six years of March, the child waxeth big, and apt to do service, and learn science from twelve to sixteen, such as is shewn him.

APRIL.

April is the springing time of flowers, and in that six yeares he groweth to mans estate in height and bredth, and waxeth wise and bold, but then beware of sensuality, for he is xxiii.

MAIE.

Maie is the season, that flowers bin spread, and bie then in their vertue with sweet odours. In these six yeares he is in his most strength, but then let him gather good maners be time, for if he tarry past that age, it is a hap, if ever he take them, for then he is xxx yeares.

JUNE.

In June, he beginneth to close his minde, then waxeth he ripe, for then he is xxxiv yeares.

JULY.

In July he is xlii, and begins a little to decline, and feeleth himself not so prosperous as he was.

AUGUST.

In August he is xlviii, and then he goeth not so hestely as he did, but studies how to gather, to find him in his old age, to live more easily.

SEPTEMBER.

In September he is liii yeares, he then purveyeth against winter, to cherishe himselfe withal, and keepe neere together the goods he got in his youth.

OCTOBER.

Then is a man lx years ful; if he have ought he gladdeth, and if he have nought he weepeth.

NOVEMBER.

Then is a man lxvi; he stoopeth, and goeth softly, and looseth al his beauty and fairenesse.

DECEMBER.

In December is a man lxxii years; he had rather have a warm fire than a faire lady; and after this age he goeth into decrepit, to waxe a child again, and cannot welde himselfe, and then yong folkes be weary of his company; and but if he have much goodes, he beth full evil taken heed of.

For time is it selfe, but a time for a time,
Forgotten ful soone, as a tune of a chime.

In spring time we reare, we sow and we plant,
In summer get vittels, least after we want:
In harvest we carry in corne, and the fruit,
In winter to spend, as we need of ech suit.

The yeare I compare, as I find for a truth,
The spring unto childhood, the summer to youth:
The harvest to manhood, the winter to age,
Al quickly forgot, as a plaie on the stage.

Time past is forgotten, yer men be aware,
Time present is thought on with wonderfull care,
Time comming is feared, and therefore we save,
Yet oft yer it come, we be gone to the grave.

A Description of Life and Riches.

CHAP. XXIV.

Who living, but dailie descerne it he may,
How life as a shadow, doth vanish away:
And nothing to count on, so sure to trust,
As sure of death, and to turne to dust.

The lands and the riches, that here we possesse,
Be none of our owne, if a God we professe:
But lent us of him: as his talent of gold,
Which being demanded, who can it withold?

God maketh no writing, that justly doth say,
How long we shal have it, a yeare or a day:
But leave it we must (how soever we leeve,)
When Atrop shal plucke us from hence by the sleeve. Atrop or Death.

To death we must stoope, be we hie be we low,
But how and how suddenly, few be that know:
What carrie we then, but a sheet to the grave,
To cover this carcase, of al that we have?

A Description of Housekeeping.

CHAP. XXV.

What then of this talent, while here we remaine,
But study to yeeld it, to God with a gaine,
And that shall we doo, if we doo it not hid,
But use and bestow it, as Christ doth us bid.

What good to get riches, by breaking of sleepe,
But having the same, a good house for to keepe,
Not only to bring a good fame to thy doore,
But also the praier to win of the poore.

Of all other doings, house-keeping is cheefe,
For daily it helpeth the poore with reliefe:
The neighbor, the stranger, and all that have need,
Which causeth thy doings the better to speed.

Though harken to this, we should ever among,
Yet cheefely at Christmas, of al the yeare long:
Good cause of that use, may appeare by the name,
Though niggardly niggards do kicke at the same.

A Description of the Feast of the Birth of Christ, commonly called Christmasse.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of Christ cometh Christmas, the name with the feast,
A time ful of joy to the greatest and least:
At Christmas was Christ our Saviour borne,
The world through sinne, altogether forlorne.

At Christmas the daies do begin to take length,
Of Christ doth religion chiefely take strength:
As Christmas is onely a figure or trope,
So onely is Christ the strength of our hope.

At Christmas we banket, the rich with the poore,
Who then but the miser, but openeth his doore:
At Christmas of Christ, many carols we sing,
And give many gifts, in the joy of that king.

At Christmas in Christ, we rejoice and be glad,
As onely of whome, our comfort is had:
At Christmas we joy, altogether with mirth
For his sake that joyed us al with his birth.

A Description of apt Time to spend.

CHAP. XXVII.

Let such (so fantasticall) liking not this,
Nor any thing honest, that ancient is:
Give place to the time, that so meet w do seee,
Appointed of God, as it seemeth to be.

At Christmas good husbands, have corne on the ground,
In barne and in soller, worth many a pound:
With plenty of other things, cattel and sheepe,
Al sent them no doubt, good houses to keepe.

At Christmas the hardnes of winter doth rage,
A griper of all things, and specially age:
Then lightly poore people, the yong with the old,
Be sorest oppressed with hunger and cold.

At Christmas by labor, is little to get:
That wanting, the poorest in danger are set,
What season then better, of all the whole yeare,
Thy needy poore neighbor to comfort and cheere?

Against fantasticall Scruplenesse.

CHAP. XXVIII.

At this time and that time, some make a great matter:
Some help not but hinder, the poore with their clatter,
Take custome from feasting, what commeth then last:
Where one hath a dinner, a hundred shall fast.

To dog in the manger, some liken I could,
That hay will eate none, nor let other that would:
Some scarse in a yeare, give a dinner or two,
Nor well can abide, any other to do.

Play thou the good fellow, seeke none to misdeeme,
Disdaine not the honest, though merry they seeme;
For oftentimes seene, no more very a knave,
Then he that doth counterfet, most to be grave.

Christmas husbandly Fare.

CHAP. XXIX.

Good husband and huswife, now chiefly be glad,
Things handsome to have, as they ought to be had:
They both provide, against Christmas do come,
To welcome good neighbor, good cheere to have some.

Good bread and good drinke, a good fier in the hal,
Brawne pudding and souse, and good mustard withall:
Beefe, mutton and porke, shread pies of the best,
Pig, veale, goose and capon, and turkey well drest,
Cheese, apples and nuts, jollie carols to heare,
As then in the country is counted good cheere.

What cost to good husband, is any of this?
Good houshould provision, onely it is:
Of other the like, I leave out a menie,
That costeth the husbandman never a penie.

A Christmas Carol of the Birth of Christ, upon the Tune of King Salomon.

CHAP. XXX.

1 Was not Christ our Saviour,
Sent to us from God above,
Not for our good behaviour,
But only of his mercie and love.
If this be true as true it is,
Truly indeed:
Great thanks to God to yeeld for this,
Then had weneed.

2 This did our God for very troth,
To traine to him the soule of man,
And justly to performe the oth:
ToSara and to Abraham than,
That through his seed all nations should,
Most blessed be:
As in due time performe he would,
As now we see.

3 Which wondrously is brought to pass,
And in our sight already done,
By sending as his promise was
To comfort us his onely sonne,
Even Christ (I meane) that virgins child,
In Bethlem borne:
That lambe of God, that prophet mild,
With crowned thorne.

4 Such was his love to save us all,
From danger of the curse of God,
That we stood in by Adams fall,
And by our owne deserved rod,
That through his bloud and holy name,
Who so beleeves,
And flie from sinne and abhor the same,
Free mercie he gives.

5 For these glad newes this feast doth bring
To God the Sonne and Holy Ghost,
Let man give thanks, rejoice and sing:
From world to world, from coast to coast,

For all good gifts so many waies,
That God doth send:
Let us in Christ give God the praise,
Til life shall end.

T. TUSSER.

At Christmas be merrie, and thankfull withall,
And feast thy poore neighbours the great with the small:
Yea al the yeare long, to the poore let us give,
Gods blessing to follow us whiles we do live.

Januaries Abstract.

CHAP. XXXI.

1 BID Christmas adew,
Thy stocke nowe renewe.

2 Who killeth a neat,
Hath cheaper his meat.
Fat home-fed souse,
Is good in a house.

3 Who dainties love,
A beggar shall prove.
Who alwaie sels,
In hunger dwels.

4 Who nothing save,
Shall nothing have.

5 Laie durt upon heapes,
Some profit it reaps,
When weather is hard,
Get mucke out of yard.
A fallowe bestowe,
Where pease shall growe.
Good peason and white,
A fallow will quite.

6 Go gather quickset,
The yongest to get.
Dig garden, stroy mallow,
Set willow and sallow.
Greene willow for stake,
In banke will take.

7 Let dow go to bucke,
With conie good lucke.
Spare labour for monie,
Store borough with conie,
Get warrener bound,
To vermine thy ground.
Feed doves but kill not;
If lose them ye will not.
Dove house repaire,
Make dove hole faire,
For hop ground cold,
Dove doong worth gold.

8 Good gardiner mine,
Make garden fine.
Set garden pease,
And beanes if ye please.
Set respis and rose,
Yong roots of those.

9 The timelie buier,
Hath cheaper his fier.

10 Some burns without wit,
Some fierlesse sit:

11 Nowe season is good,
To lop or fell wood.
Prune trees some allowes,
For cattel to brows.

12 Give sheep to their fees,
The mistle of trees.

13 Let lop be shorne,
That hinder corne.
Save edder and stake,
Strong hedge to make.

14 For sap as ye knowe,
Let one bough grow.
Next yeare ye may
That bough cut awaie.

15 A lesson good,
To increase more wood.

16 Save crotches of wood.
Save spars and stud.
Save hop for his dole,
The strong long pole.

17 How ever ye Scotch,
Save pole and crotch.

18 From Christmas to May,
Weake cattel decay.

19 With vergis acquaint;
Poore bullock so faint:
This medicine approved
Is for to be loved.

20 Let plaister lie,
Three days to trie.
Too long if ye staie,
Taile rots awaie.

21 Ewes readie to yeane,
Craves ground rid cleane.
Keepe sheepe out of briers,
Keepe beast out of miers.

22 Keepe bushes from bill,
Till hedge ye will.
Best had for thy turne,
Their roots go and burne.

23 No bushes of mine,
If fence be thine.

24 In stubbed plot,
Fill hole with clot.

25 Rid grass of bones,
Of stickes and stones.

26 Warme barthe give lambs,
Good food to their dams.
Looke dailie well to them,
Least dogs undoo them.

27 Yong lambe well sold,
Fat lamb worth gold.

28 Keep twins for breed,
As ewes have need.

29 One calfe, if it please ye,
Nowe reared shall ease ye.
Calves likely reare,
At rising of yeare.
Calfe large and leane,
Is best to weane.

30 Calfe lickt take awaie,
And house it ye maie.
This point I allow,
For servant and cowe.

31 Calves yonger than other,
Learnes one of another.

32 No danger at all,
To geld as they fall;
Yet Mitchell cries,
Please butchers eies.

33 Sow readie to fare,
Craves houswives care.

34 Leave sow but five,
The better to thrive.

35 Weane such for store,
As sucks before.
Weane onelie but three,
Large breeders to bee.

36 Lam bulchin and pig,
Geld under the big.

37 Learne wit sir dolt,
In gelding of colt.

38 Geld yong thy fillie,
Else perish will ginnie.
Let gelding alone,
So large of bone.
By breathlie tits,
Few profit hits.

39 Breed ever the best,
And do off the rest.

Of long and large,
Take huswife a charge.

40 Good cow and good ground,
Yeelds yeerelie a pound.
Good faring sow,
Holds profit with cow.

41 Who keepes but twaine,
The more may gaine.

42 Tieth justlie good garson,
Else drive will the parson.

43 Thy garden twifallow,
Stroie, hemlocke, and mallow.

44 Like practise they prove,
That hops do love.

45 Now make and wand in,
Trim bower to stand in:
Leave wadling about,
Till arbor be out.

46 Who now sowes otes,
Gets gold and grotes.
Who sowes in Maie,
Gets little that waie.

47 Go breake up land,
Get mattocke in hand.
Stub root so tough,
For breaking of plough.

48 What greater crime,
Than losse of time.

49 Laie land for lease,
Breake up if ye please,
But fallow not yet,
That hast anie wit.

50 Where drinke ye sowe,
Good tilth bestow.

51 Small profit is found,
By peeling of ground.

52 Land past the best,
Cast up the rest.

Thus endeth Januaries Abstract, agreeing with Januaries Husbandrie.

Other short Remembrances.

GET pulling hooke sirs,
For broome and firs.
Plucke broome, broome still,
Cut broome, broome kill.

Broome pluckt by and by,
Breake up for rie.
Friend, ringle thy hog,
Or look for a dog.

In casting provide,
For seed laie aside.
Get doong, friend, mine,
For stocke and vine.

If earth be not soft,
Go dig it aloft.
For quamire get boots,
Stub alders and roots.

Hop poles war scant,
For poles mo plant.
Set chestnut and walnut,
Set filberd and smalnut.

Peach, plumtree, and cherie,
Young baie and his berrie.
Or set their stone,
Unset leave out none.

Soe kernels to bear,
Of apple and peare.
All trees that beare gum,
Set now as they cum.

Now set or remove,
Such stocks as ye love.

Here ends Januaries short Remembrances.

Of Trees or Roots to be set or removed.

1 APPLES trees of all sorts.

2 Apricocks.
3 Barberies.
4 Buliesse, black and white.
5 Cheries, red and black.
6 Chestnuts.
7 Cornet plums.
8 Damsens, white and blacke.
9 Filberds, red and white.
10 Goosberies.
11 Grapes, white and red.
12 Green or grasse plums.
13 Hurtleberies.
14 Medlers or Marles.
15 Mulberies.
16 Peaches, white and red.
17 Peares of all sorts.
18 Pearplums, black and yellow.
19 Quince trees.
20 Respis.
21 Reisons.
22 Small nuts.
23 Strawberies, red and white.
24 Service trees.
25 Walnuts.
26 Wardens, white and red.
27 Wheat plums.

Now set ye may,
The box and baie,
Haithorne and prim,
For clothes trim.

Januaries Husbandry.

CHAP. XXXII.

A kindlie good Janiueere,
Freeseth pot by the feere.

Forgotten month past,
Doo now at the last.

Husbandly lessons.

1 When Christmas is ended, bid feasting adue,
Go plaie the good husband, thy stocke to renue;
Be mindful of rearing, in hope of a gain,
Dame profit shall give thee reward for thy paine.

2 Who both by his calfe, and his lambe will be known,
May well kill a neat, and a sheepe of his owne;
And he that can rear up a pig in his house,
Hath cheaper his bacon, and sweeter his souse.

3 Who eateth his veale, pig and lambe being froth,
Shall twise in a week go to bed without broth;
Unskilfull that passe not, but sell awaie sell,
Shall never have plentie, where ever they dwell.

4 Be greedie in spending, and carles to save,
And shortly be needie and readie to crave;
Be wilfull to kill, and unskilfull to store,
And looke for no foizen, I tell thee before.

5 Laie dirt upon heapes, faire yarde to be seene,
If frost wil abide it, to field with it cleene.
In winter a fallow some love to bestowe,
Where pease for the pot they intend for to sowe.

6 In making or mending, as needeth thy ditch,
Get set to quickeset it learne cunningly which.

In hedging (where claie is) get stake as ye know:
Of popler and willow, for fewel to grow.

7 Leave killing of conie, let doe go to buck,
And vermine thy borrow, for feare of ill lucke:
Feed dove (no more killing) old dove-house repair,
Save dove doong for hop yard, when house ye make faire.

8 Dig garden, stroy mallow, now may ye at ease, Runcival peason.
And set (as a dentie) thy runcifall pease;
Go cut and set roses, choose aptly the plot,
The rootes of the yongest are best to be got.

9 In time go and bargaine, least worser ye fall,
For fewell for making, for cariage and all;
To buie at the stub, is the best for the buier,
More timely provision, the cheaper is fier.

10 Some burneth a load at a time in his hall,
Some never leave burning, til burnt they have al;
Some making of havocke, without any wit,
Make a many poore soules without fire to sit.

11 If frost do continue, this lesson doth well,
For comfort of cattel, the fewel to fell;
From everie tree, the superfluous bowes,
Now prune for thy neat, thereupon to goe browse.

12 In pruning and trimming, al maner of trees,
Reserve to ech cattel their properlie fees;
If snowe do continue, sheepe hardly that fare,
Crave mistle and ivie for them for to spare.

13 Now lop for thy fewel, old pollenger grown,
That hinder the corne, or the grasse to be mown;
In lopping and felling, save edder and stake,
Thine hedges as needeth, to mend or to make.

14 In lopping old jocham, for feare of mishap,
One bough staie unlopped, to cherish the sap;
The second yeare after, then boldly ye may,
For dripping his fellows, that bough cut awaie.

15 Lop popler and sallow, elme, maple, and prie, The property of soft wood.
Well saved from cattel, til summer to lie;
So far as in lopping, their tops ye do fling,
So far without planting, yoong copie will spring.

16 Such fewel as standing, alate ye have bought,
Now fell it and make it, and do as ye ought;
Give charge to the hewers (that many things mars)
To hew out for crotches, for poles and for spars.

17 If hopyard or orchard, ye mind for to have,
For hop poles and crotches, in lopping go save;
Which husbandly saved, may serve at a push,
And stop by so having, two gaps with a bush.

18 From Christmas til May, be wel entered in,
Some cattel wax faint, and looke poorely and thin,
And cheefelie when prime grasse, at first doth appeere,
Then most is the danger of all the whole yeere.

A medicine for faint cattel.

19 Take vergis and heat it, a pint for a cow,
Bay salt a handful, to rub toong ye wot how;
That done with the salt, let hir drinke of the rest,
This many times raiseth the feeble up best.

To fasten loose teeth in a bullocke.

20 Poore bullocke with browling, and naughtily fed,
Scarce feedeth, hir teeth be so loose in hir hed;
Then slice ye the taile, where ye feele it so soft,
With soot and with garlicke, bound to it aloft.

21 By brembles and bushes, in pasture too full,
Poore sheepe be in danger, and looseth their wool;
Now therefore thine ewe, upon lamming so neere,
Desireth in pasture, that all may be cleere.

Ewes upon eaning.

22 Leave grubbing or pulling, of bushes (my sonne)
Till timelie thy fences, require to be done;
Then take of the best, for to furnish thy turne,
And home with the rest, for the fier to burne.

23 In everie greene, if the fence be not thine,
Now stub up the bushes, the grasse to be fine;
Least neighbor do daily, so backe them belive,
That neither thy bushes, nor pasture can thrive.

24 In ridding of pasture, with turfes that lie by,
Fil everie hole up, as close as a die;
The labour is little, the profit is gay,
Whatever the loitering labourers say.

25 The sticks and the stones, go and gather up cleene,
For hurting of sieth, or for harming of greene;
For fear of hew prowler, get home with the rest,
When frost is at hardest, then cariage is best.

Yoong lams.

26 Yong broome or good pasture thy ewes do require,
Warme barth and in safety their lambs do desire;
Looke often wel to them, for foxes and dogs,
For pits and for brambles, for vermin and hogs.

27 More dainty the lambe, more worth to be sold,
The sooner the better, for ewe that is old;

But if ye do mind, to have milk of the dame,
Til May do not sever the lambe from the same.

28 Ewes yeerely by twinning, rich maisters do make,
The lambe for such twinners, for breeders go take.
For twinlings be twiggers, increase for to bring,
Though some for their twigging peccavi may sing.

29 Calves likely that come, betweene Christmas and Lent,
Take huswife to reare, or else after repent;
Of such as do fall, between change and the prime,
No rearing but sel, or go kill them in time.

Rearing of calves.

30 House calfe, and go suckle it twise in a day,
And after a while, set it water and hay;
Stake ragged to rub on, no such as will bend,
Then weane it wel tended, at fifty daies end.

31 The senior weaned, his yonger shal teach;
How both to drinke water, and hay for to reach;
More stroken and made of, when ought it doth aile,
More gentle ye make it, for yoke or the paile.

32 Geld bul, calfe, and ram lamb, as soon as they fal,
For therein is lightly no danger at al;
Some spareth the tone for to pleasure the eie,
To have him shew greater, when butchers shal bie.

Of gelding.

33 Sowes ready to farrow this time of the yeere,
Are for to made of, and counted full deere;
For now is the losse, of the far of the sow,
More great then the losse, of two calves of thy cow.

34 Of one sow togither, reare few above five;
And those of the fairest, and likeliest to thrive;
Ungelt of the best, keepe a couple for store;
One bore pig and sow pig, that sucketh before.

Rearing of pigs.

35 Who hath a desire, to have store very large;
At Whitsuntide, let him give huswife a charge,
To reare of a sow at once, only but three,
And one of them also a bore for to be.

A way to have a large breed of hogs.

36 Geld under the dam, within fortnight at least,
And save both thy mony, and life of the beast;
Geld later with gelders, as many one do,
And looke of a dosen, to geld away two.

Gelding time.

37 Thy colts for the saddle, geld yong to be light,
For cart do not so, if thou judgest aright;
Nor geld not, but when they are lusty and fat,
For there is a point to be learned in that.

38 Geld fillies (but tits) yer a nine daies of age,
They die else of gelding, (or gelders do rage;)
Yong fillies so likelie, of bulke and of bone,
Keepe such to be breeders, let gelding alone.

Rear the fairest of al things.

39 For gaining a trifle, sel over thy store,
What joy to acquaintance, what pleasureth more?
The larger of body the better for breed,
More forward of growing, more better they speed.

Of cow and sow.

40 Good milchcow wel fed, that is faire and sound,
Is yeerely for profit, as good as a pound;
And yet by the yeere, I have proved yer now,
As good to the purse, is a sow as a cow.

41 Keepe one and keepe both, with as little a cost,
Then all shall be saved, and nothing be lost;
Both having together, what profit is caught,
Good huswives (I warrant ye) need not be taught.

42 For lambe, pig, and calfe, and for other the like,
Tithe so as thy cattel, the Lord do not strike;
Or if ye deale guilefully, parson wil dreve,
And so to your selfe a worse turn ye may geve.

43 Thy garden plot lately, wel trenched and muckt,
Would now be twifallowd, the mallows out pluckt;
Wel clensed and purged, of root and of stone,
That fault therein afterward found may be none:

Weeding of hopyard.

44 Remember thy hopyard, if season be drie,
Now dig it and weed it, and so let it lie;
More fenny the laier, the better his lust,
More apt to beare hops, when it crumbles like dust.

45 To arbor begun, and quick setted about,
No powling nor wadling, til set be far out;
For rotten and aged, may stand for a shew,
But hold to their takling, there do but a few.

Sowing of otes.

46 In January husband, that pucheth the grotes,
Wil breake up his lay, or be sowing of otes;
Otes sowne in January, lay by thy wheat,
In May by the hay, for the cattel to eat.

47 Let servant be ready with mattocke in hand,
To stub out the bushes, that noieth the land;
And cumbersome rootes, so annoying the plough,
Turne upward their arses, with furrow inough.

Breaking up lay in some country.

48 Who breaketh up timely, his fallow or lay,
Sets forward his husbandry many a way;

This trimly wel ended, doth forwardly bring,
Not only thy tillage but all other thing.

49 Though lay land ye break up, when Christmas is gon
For sowing of barly, or otes thereupon;
Yet haste not to fallow, til March be begun,
Least afterward wishing, it had bin undun.

50 Such land as ye breake up, for barly to sow,
Two earths at the least, yer ye sow it bestow;
If land be thereafter, set oting apart,
And follow this lesson, to comfort thine hart.

51 Some breaking up laie, soweth otes to begin,
To sucke out the moisture, so sower therein,
Get otes with her sucking, a peeler is found,
Both ill to the maister, and worse to some ground.

52 Land arable, driven or worne to the proofe,
It craveth some rest, for thy profits behoofe;
With otes ye may sow it, the sooner to grasse,
More soone to be pasture, to bring it to passe.

Thus ends the Januaries Husbandry.

Februaries Abstract.

CHAP. XXXIII.

1 Lay compas inow,
Yer ever ye plow.

2 Place doong heaps alowe,
More barlie to grow.

3 Eat etch or ye plow,
With hog, sheep, and cow.
Sow lintals ye may,
And peason gray.
Keepe white unsowne,
Till more be knowne.

4 Sowe pease good trull,
The moone past full.
Fine seeds then sow,
Whilst moone doth grow.

5 Boy follow the plough,
And harrow inough,
So harrow ye shall,
Till covered be all.

6 Sow pease not too thin,
Yer plough ye set in.

7 Late sowen sore noieth,
Late ripe hog st oieth.

8 Some provender save,
For plough horse to have:
To oxen that draw,
Give haie and not straw.
To steeres ye may,
Mixe straw with haie.

9 Much carting, ill tillage,
Make some to flie village.

10 Use cattel aright,
To keepe them in plight.

11 Good quickset buie,
Old gathered will die.

12 Sticke bowes a row,
Where runcivals grow.

13 Sow kirnals and haw,
Where redge ye did draw.

14 Sow mustard seed,
And help to kill weed.
Where sets do grow,
See nothing ye sow.

15 Get vines and osier,
Plash hedge of inclosure.
Feed highlie thy swan,
To love her good man,
Nest hie I advise,
Least floud do arise.

16 Land medow spare,
There doung is good ware.

17 Go strike off the nowles,
Of delving mowles,
Such hillocks in vaine
Laie levelled plaine.

18 To wet the land,
Let mowle hil stand.

19 Poore cattel crave,
Some shift to have.

20 Cow little giveth,
That hardlie liveth.

21 Kid barlie all now,
Cleane forth thy mow.
Choice seed out draw,
Save cattell for straw.

22 To coast man ride,
Lent stuffe to provide.

Thus endeth Februaries Abstract, agreeing with Februaries Husbandrie.

Other short Remembrances.

TRENCH medow and redge,
Dike quickset and hedge.
To plots not full,
Ad bremble and hull.

Let wheat and the rie,
For thresher still lie.
Such straw some save,
For thacker to have.

Poore cunnie so bagged,
Is soone overlagged
Plash burrow, set clapper,
For dog is a snapper.

Good flight who loves,
Must feed their doves.
Bid hawking adew,
Cast hawke into mew.

Keepe sheep out of briers,
Keepe beasts out of miers.
Keep lambs from fox,
Else shepheard go box.

Good neighbor mine,
Now yoke thy swine.
Now everie daie,
Set hops ye maie.

Now set for thy pot,
Best hearbs to be got.
For flowers go set,
All sorts ye can get.

As winter doth prove,
So may ye remove.
Now all things reare,
For all the yeare.

Watch ponds, go looke
To weeles and brooke.
Knaves seld repent,
To steale in Lent.

Alls fish they get,
That commeth to net.

Who mucke regards,
Makes hillocks in yards.

Here endes Februaries short Remembrances.

Februaries Husbandrie.

CHAP. XXXIV.

February fill the dike,
With that thou doost like.

Forgotten month past,
Doo now at the last.

1 WHO laieth on doong, yer he laieth on plow,
Such husbandry useth, as thrift doth allow:
One month yer ye spread it, so still let it stand,
Yer ever to plow it, ye take it in hand.

2 Place doong heap alow, by the furrow along,
Where water all winter time, did it such wrong:
So make ye the land, to be lusty and fat,
And corne thereon sowne, to be better for that.

3 Go plough in the stubble, for now is the season,
For sowing of fitches, of beanes and of peason:
Sowe runcivals timely, and al that be gray,
But sowe not the white til S. Gregories day.

4 Sowe peason and beanes, in the wane of the moone,
Who soweth them sooner, he soweth too soone:
That they with the planet, may rest and arise,
And flourish with bearing most plentiful wise.

5 Friend harrow in time, by some maner of meanes;
Not onely thy peason, but also thy beanes
Unharrowed die, being buried in clay,
Where harrowed flourish, as flowers in May.

6 Both peason and beanes, sowe afore ye do plow,
The sooner ye harrow, the better for you:
White peason so good, for the purse and the pot,
Let them be wel used, else wel do ye not.

7 Have eie unto harvest, whatsoever ye sowe,
For feare of mischaunces, by riping too slow,
Least corne be destroied, contrary to right,
By hogs or by cattel, by day or by night:

8 Good provender, labouring horses would have,
Good haie and good plenty, plow oxen do crave:
To hale out thy mucke, and to plow out thy ground,
Or else it may hinder thee many a pound.

9 Who slacketh his tillage, a carter to be,
For groat got abroad, at home shal loose three:
And so by his doing, he brings out of hart,
Both land for the corne, and horse for the cart.

10 Who abuseth his cattel, and starves them for meat,*
By carting or plowing, his gaine is not great,
Where he that with labour can use them aright.
Hath gaine to his comfort, and cattle in plight.

11 Buy quickset at market, new gathered and small,
Buy bushes or willow, to fense it withall:
Set willows to grow, in the stead of a stake,
For cattell in summer, a shadow to make.

Runcival peason.

12 Sticke plenty of bowes, among runcival pease,
To climber thereon, and to branch at their ease:
So doing, more tender and greater they wex,
If peacocke and turkey, leave jobbing their bex.

13 Now sow and goe harrow, where redge ye did drawe,
The seed of the bremble, with kirnell and hawe:
Which covered overlie, soone to shut out,
Go see it be ditched, and fensed about.

14 Where bankes be amended, and newly up cast,
Some mustard seed, after a shower be past:
Where plots ful of nettles, be noisome to eie,
Sowe thereupon hempseed, and nettles wil die.

15 The vines and the osiers, cut and go set,
If grape be unpleasant, a better go get:
Feed swan, and go make hir up strongly a nest,
For feare of a floud, good and hie is the best.

16 Land medow that yeerely, is spared for hay,
Now fense it and spare it, and doong it ye may:
Get moule-catcher cunninly, moule for to kill,
And harrow, and cast abroad every hill.

Catching of moules.

17 Where medow or pasture, to mow ye do lay,
Let moule be dispatched, some maner of waie:
Then cast abroad moulhil, as flat as ye can,
For many commodities, following than.

18 If pasture by nature, is given to be wet,
Then beare with the molehil, though thicke it be set:
That lambe may sit on it, and so to sit drie,
Or else to lie by it, the warmer to lie.

19 Friend alway let this be, a part of thy care,
For shift of good pasture, lay pasture to spare:
So have you good feeding, in bushets and lease,
And quickly safe finding, of cattel at ease.

20 Where cattel may run about, roving at wil,
From pasture to pasture, poore belly to fill:
There pasture and cattel, both hungry and bare,
For want of good husbandry, worser do fare.

21 Now thresh out thy barly, for malt or for seed,
For bread-corne (if need be) to serve as shal need:
If worke for the thresher, ye mind for to have,
Of wheat and of mestlin, unthreshed go save.

22 Now timely for Lent stuffe, thy money disburse,
The longer ye tarrie, for profit the wursse:
If one pennie vantage, be therein to save,
Of coastman or Fleming, be sure to have.

Thus endeth Februaries Husbandry.

Marches Abstract.

CHAP. XXXV

1 WHITE peason sow,
Scare hungry crow.

2 Spare medow for haie,
Spare marshes at Maie.

3 Keepe sheepe from dog,
Keepe lams from hog,
If foxes mowse them,
Then watch or howse them.

4 March drie or wet,
Hop grounds go set,
Yoong roots wel drest,
Proove ever best.
Grant hop great hil,
To grow at wil.
From hop long gut,
Awaie go cut.

5 Here learne the waie,
Hop roots to laie.

6 Roots best to prove,
Thus set I love.

7 Leave space and room,
To hillock to come.

8 Of hedge and willow,
Hop makes his pillow.
Good bearing hop,
Climes up to the top.
Keepe hop from sun,
And hop is undun.

9 Hop tooles procure,
That may indure,
Iron crow like a stake,
Deepe hole to make.
A scraper to pare,
The earth about bare.
A bone to raise root,
Like sole of a boot.
Sharp knife to cut,
Superfluous gut.

10 Who graffing loves
Now graffing proves.
Of everie suit,
Graffe daintie fruit.

Graffe good fruit all,
Or graffe not at all.

11 Graffe soone may be lost,
Both graffing and cost.
Learne here take heed,
What counsel doth breed.

12 Sowe barlie that can,
To soone ye shall ban.
Let horse keep his owne,
Till barlie be sowne.
Sowe even thy land,
With plentiful hand.
Sowe over and under,
In clay is no wonder.

13 By sowing in wet,
Is little to get.

14 Straight follow the plow,
And harrow inow.
With sling go throwe,
Go scare away crowe.

15 Rowle after a deaw,
When barlie doth shew.
More handsome to make it,
To mow and to rake it.

16 Learne heere you may,
Best harrowing waie.

17 Now rowle thy wheat,
Where clots be too great.

18 Make readie a plot,
For seeds for the pot.

19 Best searching minds,
The best waie finds.

20 For garden best,
Is south south-west.

21 Good tilth brings seeds,
Evil tilture weeds.

22 For summer sowe now,
For winter see how.

23 Learne time to know,
To set or sowe.

24 Yong plants soone die,
That grows too drie.

25 In countrie doth rest,
What season is best.

26 Good peason and leekes.
Make pottage for creekes.

27 Have spoonemeat inough,
For cart and the plough.
Good poore mans fare,
Is poore mans care.
And not to boast,
Of sod and roast.

28 Cause rooke and raven,
To seeke a new haven.

Thus endeth Marches Abstract, agreeing with Marches Husbandrie.

Other short Remembrances.

Geld lambs now all,
Straight as they fall.
Looke twise a daie,
Least lambs decaie.

Where horse did harrow,
Put stones in barrow.

And laie them bie,
In heaps on hie.

Let Moxe once fat,
Loose nothing of that.

Now hunt with thy dog,
Unyoked hog.

With doves good lucke,
Reare goose and duck.
To spare aright,
Spare March his flight.

Seeds and Hearbs for the Kitchen.

Awens.
Betonie.
Bleetes or beetes, white or yellow.
Bloodwort.
Buglos.
Burnet.
Burrage.
Cabage remove in June.
Clarie.
Coleworts.
Cressese.
Endive.
Fennell.
French malows.
French safferon sette in August.
Langdebeefe.
Leekes remove in June.
Lettis remove in May.
Longwort.
Liverwort.
Marigolds often cut.
Mercurie.
Mints at all times.
Nep.
Onions from December to March.
Orach or arach, red and white.
Patience.
Parcelie.
Penyriall.
Primrose.
Poret.
Rosemarie in the spring time to growe, southe or west.
Sage red and white.
English saffron set in August.
Summer savorie.
Sorell.
Spinage.
Suckerie.
Seithes.
Tansie.
Time.
Violets of all sorts.
Winter savory.

Hearbs and Roots for Sallets and Sauce.

1 Alexanders at all times.
2 Artichokes.
3 Blessed Thistle, or Carduus benedictus.
4 Cucumbers in April and May.
5 Cressus, sowe with lettis in the spring.
6 Endive.
7 Mustard seede, sowe in the spring and at Michelmas.
8 Muske million, in Aprill and May.
9 Mints.
10 Purslane.
11 Raddish, after remove them.
12 Rampions.
13 Rokat in April.
14 Sage.
15 Sorell.
16 Spinage for the summer.
17 Sea holie.
18 Sparage, let growe twoe yeeres, and then remove.
19 Skirets, set these plants in March.
20 Suckerie.
21 Tarragon, sette in slippes in March.
22 Violets of all colours.

These buie with the peny,
Or looke not for any.

1 Capers.
2 Lemmans.
3 Olives.
4 Orenges.
5 Rise.
6 Sampire.

Hearbs and roots, to boile or to butter.

1 Beans, set in winter.
2 Cabbages, sowe in Marche and after remove.
3 Carets.
4 Citrons, sowe in Maie.
5 Gourds in Maie.
6 Navews sown in June.
7 Pompions in Maie.
8 Persneps in winter.
9 Runcivall pease set in winter.
10 Rapes sowe in June.
11 Turneps in March and Aprill.

Strowing Hearbs of all Sorts.

1 Basill fine and bushi sowe in Maie.
2 Baulme in March.

3 Camomill
4 Costmarie.
5 Cowslips and pagles.
6 Daisies of all sorts.
7 Sweet fenell.
8 Germander.
9 Isop set in February.
16 Lavender.
11 Lavender spike.
12 Lavender cotton.
13 Mariorum knotted, sowe or set at the spring.
14 Maudeline.
15 Penieriall.
16 Roses of all sorts in Januarie and September.
17 Red mints.
18 Sage.
19 Tansie.
20 Violets.
21 Winter savorie.

Herbs, Branches, and Flowers, for Windows and Pots.

1 Baies sowe or set in plantes in Januarie.
2 Batchelers buttons.
3 Bottles, blewe, red and tawnie.
4 Columbines.
5 Campions.
6 Cowslips.
7 Daffadowndilies.
8 Eglantine or sweet brier.
9 Fetherfew.
Flower amour sowe in May.
Flower deluce.
Flower gentle, white and red.
Flower nice.
Gilleflowers, redde, white, and carnation, set in the springe, and at the harvest in pottes, pailes, or tubbes, or for summer in beds.
Hollihokes, white, red, and carnation.
Indian eie, sowne in May, or set in slips in March.
Lavender of all sorts.
Larks foot.
Laus tibi.
Lilium convallium.
Lilles, red and white, sowe or set in March and September.
Marigold double.
Nigella Romana.
Paoncies or hartsease.
Pagles, greene and yellow.
Pinks of all sorts.
Queenes gilleflowers.
Rosemarie.
Roses of all sorts.
Snag-dragons.
Sops in Wine.
Sweet Williams.
Sweet Johns.
Star of Bethelem.
Star of Jerusalem.
Stocke gilleflowers of all sorts.
Tuft gilleflowers.
Velvet flowers, or French marigold.
Violets, yellow and white.
Wall gilleflowers of all sorts.

Herbs to still in Summer.

Blessed thistle.
Betonie.
Dill.
Endine.
Elebright.
Fennell.
Fumetorie.
Isop.
Mints.
Plantine.
Roses, red and damaske.
Respies.
Saxifrage.
Strawberies.
Sorell.
Suckerie
Woodroffe for sweet waters and cakes.

Necessarie Herbs to grow in the Garden for Physicke, not rehersed before.

1 Annis.
2 Archangel.
3 Betonie.
4 Charvile.
5 Cinquile.
6 Cummin.
7 Dragons.

8 Dittaine, or garden ginger.
9 Gromell seed for the stone.
10 Hartstoong.
11 Horehound.
12 Lovage for the stone.
13 Licoras.
14 Mandrake.
15 Mugwort.
16 Pionees.
17 Poppie.
18 Rew.
19 Rubarb.
20 Smalach for swellings.
21 Saxifrage for the stone.
22 Savine for the bots.
23 Switchwort.
24 Valerian.
25 Woodbin.

Thus ends in breefe,
Of hearbs the chiefe.
To get more skil,
Read whom ye wil.
Such mo to have,
Of field go crave.[1]

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[1] To this enumeration of herbs and flowers, which argues Tusser to have been a skilful gardener, may be added the rules given in *The Shepherd's Kalender for Diet and avoiding Contagious Sickness.*

Who will be whole, and keepe himselfe from sicknesse,
And resist the stroke of pestilence,
Let him be glad, and voide all heavinesse,
Flee wicked ayres, eschew the presence
Of infect places, causing the violence,
Drinking good wines, of holesome meates take,
Smell sweete things, and for thy defence,
Walke in cleane ayre, and eschew the mists blake.

With voyde stomacke, outward thee not dresse,
Rising up early, with fire have sustaine,
Delight in gardens, for the great sweetnesse,
To be well clad, do thy diligence,
Keepe well thyselfe from inconvenience,
In stewes ne bathes, no sojorne thou make,
Opening of the pores, this doth great offence,
Walke in cleane ayre, and eschew the mists blake.

Eate no raw flesh for no greedinesse,
And from fruite keepe thy abstenence,
Pullets and chickens for their tendernesse,
Eate thou with sauce, spare for no expence,
Vergious, vineger, and the influence
Of holesome spices, I do undertake,
The morrow's sleepe called golden in sentence,
Great helpeth against the mists so blake.

For health of body, cover from cold thy head,
Eate no raw meates, take good heede heereto,
Drink holesome wine, feed thee on light bread,
With an appetite rise from thy meate also,
With women aged fleshly have not to do,
Upon thy sleepe, drinke not of the cuppe.
Glad toward bed, at morrow both two,
And use never late for to suppe.

And if it so be, that leaches to thee falle,
Then take good heed, to use things three,
Temporate diet, temporate travaill,
Not malicious, for none adversity,
Meek in trouble, glad in poverty,
Rich with little, content with sufficiance.
Never grudging, merry like thy degree.
If physicke lake, make this thy governance.

Marches Husbandry.

CHAP. XXXVI.

March dust to be sold,
Worth ransom of gold.

Forgotten month past,
Doo now at the last.

1 WHITE peason, both good for the pot and the purse,
By sowing too timely, prove often the worse;
Because they be tender, and hateth the cold,
Prove March yer ye sow them, for being too bold:

To every tale shew thou no credence,
Be not too hasty, ne sodainly vengeable.
To poore folke do thou no violence,
Curtsie of language, of feeding measureable,
On sundry meate not greedy at the table,
In feeding gentle, prudent in daliance,
Close of tongue, of word not deceivable,
To say the best set alway thy pleasance.

Have in hate mouths that bin double,
Suffer at thy table no detraction,
Have despight of folke that make trouble,
Of false ravinours and adulation.
Within thy place suffer no division,
With thy houshold, it shall cause increase
Of all welfare, prosperity and foyson,
With thy neighbors live in rest and peace.

Be cleanly clad after thy estate,
Passe not thy bonds, keepe thy promise blive,
With thee folke be not at debate,
First with thy better, beware for to strive;
Against thy fellow no quarrel to contrive,
With thy subject to strive it were shame,
Wherefore I counsell, pursue all thy life,
To live in peace, and get thee a good name.

Fire at morrow, and toward bed at eve,
Against mists blake, and ayre of pestilence,
Betimes at service, thou shalt the better cheeve,
First at thy rising, to God to reverence,
Visit the poore with entire diligence,
On all needy have compassion,
And God shall send grace and influence,
Thee to encrease, and thy possession.

Suffer no surfeters in thy house at night,
Ware of suppers, and great excesse,
Of nodding heads, and candle light,
Of slouth at morrow, and slumbering idlenesse,
Which of all vices is cheefe protectresse,
Voide of all drunkennesse, lyars and lecherous,
Of all unthrifty exile the mistresse,
That is to say, dice playes, and hazardours.

After meate beware, make not too long sleepe,
Head, foot, and stomacke, preserve aye from cold,
Be not too pensine, of thought take no keepe.
After thy rent governe thy houshold,

2 Spare meadow at Gregory, marshes at Paske,
For feare of dry summer, no longer time aske;
When hedge them and ditch them, bestow thereon pence,
Corne, meadow, and pasture, aske alway good sense.

3 Of mastives and mungrels, that many we see,
A number of thousands, too many there be;
Watch therefore in Lent, to thy sheepe go and looke,
For dogs will have vittles, by hook and by crooke.

In Lent have an eie to sheep biters.

4 In March at the furthest, drie season or wet,
Hop roots so well chosen, let skilful go set;
The goeler and yonger, the better I love.
Well gutted and pared, the better they prove.

Setting of hops. Hop tooles.

5 Some laieth them crossewise, along in the ground,
As high as the knee, they do cover up round;
Some pricke up a sticke, in the mids of the same,
That little round hillocke, the better to frame.

6 Some maketh a hallownes, halfe a foot deepe,
With foure sets in it, set slantwise asteepe;
One foot from another, in order to lie,
And thereon a hillock as round as a pie.

7 Five foot from another, ech hillock would stand,
As straight as a levelled line with the hand;
Let every hillocke, be foure foot wide,
The better to come to, on every side.

8 By willowes that groweth, thy hop yard without,
And also by hedges, thy meadows about;

Suffer in time, in thy right hand be bold,
Swearc none other man to beguile,
In youth be lusty, and sad when thou art old,
No worldly joy lasteth but a while.

Dine not at morrow before thine appetite,
Cleare ayre and walking maketh good digestion,
Between meals drink not for no forward delight,
But thirst or travell give the occasion,
Over salt meat doth great oppression
To feeble stomackes when they cannot refraine,
For nothing contrarie to their complexion,
Of greedie hands the stomacke hath great paine.

Thus in two things standeth all thy wealth,
Of soule and bodie, who list them sue,
Moderate foode giveth to man his health,
And all surfets then he doth eschew,
And charity to soule is due.
This receipt bought is of no pothicarie,
Of Maister Anthony, not of Maister Hue,
To all indifferent riches dictary.

Good hop hath a pleasure, to clime and to spread,
If sunne May have passage, to comfort hir head.

9 Get crow made of iron, deepe hole for to make,
With crosse overthwart it, as sharpe as a stake;
A bone and a parer, like fole of a boat,
To pare away grasse, and to raise up the root.

Grafting.

10 In March is good grassing, the skilful do know,
So long as the wind, in the east do not blow;
From moone being changed, till past be the prime,
For graffing and cropping, is very good time.

11 Things graffed or planted, the greatest and least,
Defend against tempest, the bird and the beast
Defended shal prosper, the tother is lost,
The thing with the labour, the time and the cost.

12 Sow barly in March, in April and May,
The later in land, the sooner in claie;
What worser for barly, than wetnes and cold?
What better to skilful, than time to be bold.

13 Who soweth his barly too soone or in raine,
Of otes and of thistles, shal after complaine;
I speake not of May weed, cockle and such,
That noieth the barly, so often and much.

14 Let barly be harrowed finely as dust,
Then workmanly trench it, and fence it ye must.
This season wel plied, set sowing an end,
And praise and praise God, a good harvest to send.

Rowling of barlie.

15 Some rowleth their barlie, strait after a raine,
When first it appeareth, to level it plaine;
The barley so used, the better doth grow,
And handsome ye make it, at harvest to mow.

16 Otes, barly, and pease, harrow after ye sow,
For rie harrow first, as already ye know;
Leave wheat little clod, for to cover the head,
That after a frost, it may out and go spread.

17 If clod in thy wheat, wil not breake with the frost,
If now ye do rowle it, it quiteth the cost;
But see when ye rowle it, the weather be drie,
Or else it were better, unrolled to lie.

Gardening.

18 In March and in April, from morning to night,
In sowing and setting, good huswives delight;
To have in a garden or other like plot,
To trim up their house, and to furnish their pot.

19 The nature of flowers, dame phisicke doth show,
She teacheth them al, to be known to a few;
To set or to sow, or else sowne to remoove,
How that should be practised, learne if ye love.

20 Land falling or lying, ful south or southwest, To know good land.
For profit by tillage, is lightly the best;
So garden with orchard, and hop yard I find,
That want the like benefit grow out of kind.

21 If field to bear corne, a good tillage doth crave,
What think ye of garden, what garden would have?
In field without cost, be assured of weedes;
In garden be sure, thou losest thy seeds.

22 At spring for the summer, sowe garden ye shal,
At harvest for winter, or sowe not at al;
Oft digging, remooving, and weeding ye see,
Makes hearbe the more holsome, and greater to be.

23 Time faire to sowe, or to gather be bold,
But set or remove, when the weather is cold;
Cut al thing or gather, the moone in the wane,
But sowe in increasing, or give it his bane.

24 Now sets do aske watering, with pot or with dish,
New sowne do not so, if ye do as I wish;
Through cunning with dibble, rake, mattocke, and spade,
By line and by level, trim garden is made.

25 Who soweth too lateward, hath sildome good seed,
Who soweth too soon, little better shal speed;
Apt time and the season, so divers to hit,
Let aier and laier, helpe practise and wit.

26 Now leekes are in season, for pottage full good,
And spareth the milchcow, and purgeth the blood;
These having with peason, for pottage in Lent,
Thou sparest both otemel, and bread to be spent.

27 Though never so much, a good huswife doth care,
That such as do labour, have husbandly fare;
Yet feed them and cram them, til purse do lacke chinke,
No spoon meate, no bellyful, labourers thinke.

Destroy pies, rookes, and ravens neasts, &c.

28 Kill crow, pie and cadow, rooke, buzzard, and raven,
Or else go desire them, to seek a new haven;
In scaling the youngest, to plucke off his becke,
Be ware how ye climber, for breaking your necke.

Thus endeth Marches husbandry.

Aprils Abstract.

CHAP. XXXVII.

1 Some champions lay,
To fallow in Maie.

2 When tilth plowes breake,
Poor cattell cries creake.

3 One day yer ye plough,
Spread compas inow.

4 Some fodder buieth,
In fen where it lieth.

5 Thou champion wight
Have cow meat for night.

6 Set hop his pole,
Make deep his hole.

7 First barke go sell,
Yer timber ye fell.

8 Fense copie in,
Yer hewers begin.

9 The straightest ye know,
For staddles let grow.

10 Crabtree preserve,
For plough to serve.

11 Get timber out,
Yer yeere about,

12 Som cuntry lack plowmeat
And some do lacke cowmeat.

13 Small commons and bare,
Yeelds cattel ill fare.

14 Some common with geese,
And sheepe without fleese,
Some tits thither bring,
And hogs without ring.

15 Some champions agree,
As waspe doth with bee.

16 Get swineheard for hog,
But kill not with dog,
Where swinheard doth lack,
Corne goeth to wrack.

17 Al goes to the divell,
Where shepheard is evill.

18 Come home from land,
With stone in hand.

19 Man cow provides,
Wife dairie guides.

20 Slut Cisley untaught,
Hath whitmeat naught.

21 Some bringeth in gaines,
Some lose beside paines.

22 Run Cisse, fault known,
With more than thine own.
Such mistris, such Nan,
Such maister such man.

Thus endeth Aprils Abstract, agreeing with Aprils Husbandry.

Aprils Husbandry.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Sweet April showers,
Do spring May flowers,
Forgotten month past,
Doo now at the last.

1 In Cambridgeshire forward, to Lincolnshire way,
The champion maketh his fallow in Maie;

Then thinking so doing, one tillage worth twaine,
By forcing of weed, by that meanes to refraine.

2 If April be dripping, then do I not hate,
For him that hath little, his fallowing late;
Else otherwise fallowing, timely is best,
For saving of cattel, of plough and the rest.

3 Be sure of plough to be ready at hand,
Yer compas ye spread, that on hillocks did stand;
Least drying so lying, do make it decaie,
Yer ever much water do wash it awaie.

4 Looke now to provide ye, of medow for hay,
If fens be undrowned, there cheapest ye may stand;
In fen for the bullocke, for horse not so wel,
Count best the best cheap, wheresoever ye dwel.

5 Provide ye of cowmeat, for cattel at night,
And chiefly where commons lie far out of sight;
Where cattel be tied without any meat,
That profit by dairy, can never be great.

6 Get into thy hop yard, with plenty of poles,
Amongst the same hillocks, divide them by doles;
Three poles to a hillock, (I passe not how long)
Shall yeeld thee more profit, set deepely and strong.

Put poles to your hops.

7 Sell bark to the tanner, yer timber ye fel,
Cut low by the ground, or else do ye not wel.
In breaking save crooked, for mill and for ships:
And ever in hewing, save carpenters chips.

8 First see it well fenced, yer hewers begin,
Then see it well stadled, without and within;
Thus being preserved, and husbandly don,
Shall sooner raise profit, to thee or thy soone.

9 Leave growing for staddles, the likest and best,
Though seller and buier, dispatched the rest;
In bushes, in hedgerow, in grove, and in wood,
This lesson observed, is needful and good.

Stadling of woods.

10 Save elm, ash, and crabtree, for cart and for plough,
Save step for a stile, of the crotch of the bough;
Save hazel for forks, save sallow for rake,
Save hulver and thorne, thereof flaile for to make.

11 Make riddance of carriage, yer yeere go about,
For spoiling of plant, that is newly come out;
Go carter with oxen, this message I bring,
Leave not oxe abroad, for annoying the spring.

12 Allowance of fodder, some countries do yeeld,
As good for the cattel as haie in the field;
Some mowe up their bedlonds, and plots among corne,
And driven to leave nothing, unmown or unshorn.

13 Some commons are barren, the nature is such,
And some overlaieth the commons too much.
The pestered commons, smal profit doth give,
And profit as little, some reape I beleeve.

14 Some pester the commons, with jades and with geese,
With hog without ring, and with sheepe without fleese:
Some lose a daies labour, with seeking their own,
Some meet with a bootie they would not have known.

15 Great troubles and losses, the champion sees,
And ever in brawling, as wasps amongst bees:
As charity that way, appeareth but smal,
So lesse be their winnings, or nothing at all.

16 Where champion wanteth, a swinheard for hog,
There many complaineth, of naughty mans dog:
Where each his own keeper, appoints without care,
There corne is destroied, yer men be aware.

17 The land is wel harted, with helpe of the fold,
For one or two crops, if so long it wil hold:
If shepard would keepe them, from stroying of corne,
The walke of his sheepe might the better be borne.

18 Where stones bee too many, annoying thy land,
Make servant come home, with a stone in his hand:
By daily so doing, have plenty ye shal,
Both handsome for paving, and good for a wal.

Dairy matters.

19 From April beginning, til Andrew be past,
So long with good huswife, hir dairy doth last,
Good milchcow and pasture, good husbands provide,
The residue good huswifes, know best how to guide.

20 Ill huswife unskilful, to make her own cheese,
Through trusting of others, hath this for fees,
Hir milkepan and creampot, so slabberd and sost,
That butter is wanting, and cheese is halfe lost.

21 Where some of a cow, do raise yeerely a pound,
With such silly huswifes, no penny is found.
Then dairy maid Cisly, hir fault being known,
Apace away trudgeth, with more than hir own.

Ill huswifes sayings.

22 Then neighbour, for Gods sake, if any you see,
Good servant for dairy house, waine hir to me:

Such maister such man, such mistrisse such maid,
Such husband and huswife, such houses araid.

Topping Ghests.

As wife that will,
Good husband please,
Must shun with skil,
Such ghests as these.

So Cisse that serves,
Must marke this note:
What fault deserves,
A brushed cote.

Ten topping ghests unsent for.

Gehezie, Lots wife, and Argus his eies,
Tom piper, poore cobler, and Lazarus thies.
Rough Esau, with Maudlin, and gentiles that scral,
With bushop that burneth, thus know ye them all.

These toppingly ghests, be in number but ten,
As welcome in dairie, as beares among men:
Which being described, take heed of ye shall,
For danger of afterclaps, after that fall.

1 Gehezie his sicknesse, was whitish anddrie,
Such cheeses, good Cisley, ye flotted to nie:
White and drie.
2 Leave Lot with hir pillar, good Cisley, alone,
Much saltnesse in whitemeat, is il for the stone.
Too salt.

3 If cheeses in dairy, have Argus his eies,
Ful of eies.
Tel Cisley the fault in her huswiffery lies.
4 Tom piper hath hoven, and puffed up cheekes:
Hoven.
If cheese be so hoven, make Cisse to seeke creeks.

5 Poore cobler he tuggeth his leatherly trash:
Tough.
If cheese abide tugging, tug Cisley a crash.
6 If Lazer so lothsome, in cheese be espide,
Ful of spots.
Let baies amend Cisley, or shift her aside.

7 Rough Esau was hairie, from top to the fut,
Ful of haires.
If cheese so appeareth, call Cisley a slut.
8 As Maudlen wept, so would Cisley be drest,
Ful of whey.
For whey in her cheeses, not halfe inough prest.

9 If gentiles be scrawling, cal maggot the pie,
Ful of gentils.
If cheeses have gentiles, at Cisse by and by.
10 Blesse Cisley (good mistris) that bushop doth ban,
Burnt to the pan.
For burning the milke of her cheese to the pan.

If thou (so oft beaten)
Amendest by this:
I wil no more threaten,
I promise thee Cis.

Thus dairy maide Cisley, rehearsed ye see,
What faults with good huswife, in dairy house be,

Of market abhorred, to houshold a griefe,
To maister and mistresse, as ill as a theefe.

Thus endeth Aprils Husbandry.

Mays Abstract.

CHAP. XXXIX.

1 Put lambe fro ewe,
To milke a fewe.

2 Be not too bold,
To milke and to fold.

3 Five ewes allow,
To everie cow.

4 Sheepe wriggling taile,
Hath mads without faile.

5 Beat hard in the reed,
Where house hath need.

6 Leave cropping from Maie,
To Michelmas daie.
Let ivie be killed,
Else tree will be spilled.

7 Now threshers warne,
To rid the barne.

8 Be sure of haie,
Till the end of Maie.

9 Let sheepe fill flanke,
Where corne is too ranke.
In woodland lever,
In champion never.

10 To weeding awaie,
As soone as ye may.

11 For corne here read,
What naughty weed.

12 Who weeding slacketh,
Good husbandrie lacketh.

13 Sowe bucke or branke,
That smels so ranke.

14 Thy branke go and sowe,
Where barlie did growe.
The next crop wheat,
Is husbandrie neat.

15 Sowe pescods some,
For harvest to come.

16 Sowe hempe and flax,
That spining lacks.

17 Teach hop to clime,
For now it is time.

18 Through foules and weedes
Poore hop ill speeds.
Cut off or crop,
Superfluous hop.
The titters or tine,
Makes hop to pine.

19 Some raketh their wheate,
With rake that is great,
So titters and tine,
Be gotten out fine.

20 Now sets do crave,
Some weeding to have.

21 Now draine as ye like,
Both fen and dike.

22 Watch bees in Maie,
For swarming awaie.
Both now and in June,
Marke maister bees tune.

23 Twifallow thy land,
Least plough else stand.

24 No longer tarrie,
Out compas carrie.

25 Where need doth praie it,
There see ye laie it.

26 Set Jacke and Jone,
To gather up stone.

27 To grasse with thy calves,
Take nothing to halves.

28 Be sure thy neat,
Have water and meat.

29 By tainting of ground,
Destruction is found.

Helens day, Aug. 30 Now carriage get,
Home fewell to fet.
Tel fagot and billet,
For filching gillet.

31 In summer for firing,
Let citie be buying.
Marke colliers packing,
Least coles be lacking,
See opened sacke,
For two in a packe.

32 Let nodding patch,
Go sleepe a snatch.

33 Wife as you will,
Now plie you stil.

34 Fine basil sowe,
In a pot to grow;
Fine seeds sowe now,
Before ye saw how.

35 Keepe oxe from cowe
For causes enow.

Thus endeth Maies Abstract argeeing with Maies Husbandrie.

Other short Remembrances.

From bull cow fast,
Till Crowchmas be past,
From heifer bul hid thee,
Till Lammas bid thee.

Here endes Maies short Remembrances.

Mayes Husbandry.

CHAP. XL.

Cold May and windy,
Barne filleth up finely.

Forgotten month past,
Doo now at the last.

1 At Philip and Jacob, away with the lambs,
That thinkest to have any milke of their dams:
At Lammas leave milking, for feare of a thing,
Least *requiem eternam* in winter they sng.

2 To milke and to fold them, is much to require,
Except ye have pasture to fill their desire:
Yet many by milking, such heed they do take,
Not hurting their bodies, much profit do make.

3 Five ewes to a cow, make proofe by a score,
Shal double thy dairy, else trust me no more.
Yet may a good huswife, that knoweth the skil,
Havemixtand unmixt at hir pleasure and wil.

4 If sheepe or thy lambe, fal a wrigling with taile,
Go by and by search it, whiles helpe may prevaile:
That barbarlie handled, I dare thee assure,
Cast dust in her arse, thou hast finisht the cure.

5 Where houses be reeded (as houses have need)
Now pare off the mosse, and go beat in thee reed:
The juster ye drive it, the smoother and plaine,
More handsome ye make it, to shut off the raine.

6 From May til October, leave cropping, for why?
In wood seere, whatsoever thou croppest shall die:
Where ivie imbraceth the tree very sore,
Kil ivie, else tree will addle no more.

7 Keepe threshing for thresher, til May be come in,
To have to be sure, fresh chaffe in the bin:
And somewhat to scramble, for hog and for hen,
And worke when it raineth, for loitering men.

Count store no sore.

8 Be sure of haie, and of provender some,
For labouring cattel, till pasture be come:
And if ye do mind, to have nothing to sterve,
Have one thing or other, for all things to serve.

9 Ground compassed wel, a following yeare,
If wheat or thy barley too ranke do appeare:
Now eat it with sheepe, or else mow it you may,
For ledging, and so, to the birds for a pray.

10 In May get a weedhooke, a crotch and a glove,
And weed out such weedes, as the corne doth not love:
For weeding of wintercorne, now it is best,
But June is the better for weeding the rest.

Weeding.

11 The Maie weed doth burne, and the thistle doth freat,
The fitches pul downward, both rie and the wheat:
The brake and the cockle, be noisome too much,
Yet like unto boddle, no weed there be such.

12 Slacke never thy weeding, for dearth nor for cheape,
The corne shal reward it yer ever ye reape:
And specially where ye do trust for to seed,
Let that be well used, the better to speed.

13 In May is good sowing, thy bucke or thy branke,
That blacke is as pepper, and smelleth so ranke:
It is to thy land, as a comfort or mucke,
And al things it maketh as fat as a bucke.

14 Sowe bucke after barlie, or after thy wheat,
A pecke to a rood, if the measure be great;

Three earths see ye give it, and sow it above,
And harrow it finely, if bucke ye do love.

15 Who pescods would gather, to have with the last,
To serve for his houshold, till harvest be past:
Must sowe them in Maie, in a corner ye shal,
Where through so late growing no hindrance may fal.

16 Good flaxe and good hempe, for to have of her own,
In Maie a good huswife, will see it be sowne,
And afterward trim it, to serve at a need,
The fimble to spin, and the carle for her seed.

Sowing of flaxe and hemp.

17 Get into thy hopyard, for now it is time,
To teach Robin-hop, on his pole how to clime:
To follow the sunne, as his property is,
And weed him and trim him, if ought go amis.

18 Grasse, thistle, and mustard seed, hemlocke and bur,
Time, mallow, and nettle, that keepe such a stur:
With peacocke and turkie, that nibbles off top,
Are very ill neighbors, to seely poore hop.

19 From wheat go and rake out, the titters or tine,
If eare be not forth, it wil rise againe fine:
Use now in thy rie, little raking or none,
Breake tine from his root, and so let it alone.

20 Banks newly quicksetted, some weeding do crave,
The kindlier nourishment thereby for to have:
Then after a shewer, to weeding a snatch,
More easily weed, with the roote to dispatch.

Weeding of quickset.

21 The fen and the quamire, so marish by kind,
And are to be drained, now win thy mind:
Which yeerely undrained, and suffered uncut
Annoieth the medowes that thereon do but.

22 Take heed to thy bees, that are ready to swarme,
The losse thereof now, is a crownes worth of harme:
Let skilful be ready, and diligence seene,
Least, being too carelesse, thou loosest thy beene.

Swarming of Bees.

23 In Maie at the furthest, twifallow thy land,
Much drout may else after, cause plough for to stand:
This tilth being done, ye have passed the worst,
Then after who plougheth, plow thou with the furst.

24 Twifallow once ended, get tumbrel and man,
And compas that fallow, as soone as ye can:
Let skilful bestow it, where need is upon,
More profit the sooner, to follow thereon.

25 Hide hedlonds with mucke, if ye will to the knees,
So dripped and shadowed with bushes and trees:
Bare plots ful of galles, if ye plow over athwart,
And compas it then, is a husbandly part.

26 Let children be hired to lay to their bones,
From fallow as needeth to gather up stones:
What wisdom for profit, adviseth unto,
That husband and huswife, must willingly do.

27 To grasse with thy calves, in some medow plot neere,
Where neither their mothers, may see them nor heere:
Where water is plenty, and barth to sit warme,
And looke well unto them, for taking of harme.

Let not cattell want water.

28 Pinch never thy wennels of water or meat,
If ever ye hope, for to have them good neat:
In summer time daily, in winter in frost,
If cattell lacke drinke, they be utterly lost.

29 For coveting much, overlaie not thy ground,
And then shall thy cattell be lusty and sound:
But pinch them of pasture, while summer doth last,
And lift at their tailes yer a winter be past.

30 Get home with thy fewel, made ready to fet,
The sooner the easier, carriage to get:
Or otherwise linger, the carriage thereon,
Til (where as ye left it) a quarter begon.

Husbandry for citizens.

31 His firing in summer, let cittizen buie,
Least buying in winter make purse for to crie:
For carman and collier harps both on a string,
In winter they cast, to be with thee to bring.

32 From Maie to mid August, an howre or two
Let patch sleepe a snatch, howsoever ye doo:
Though sleeping one houre refresheth his song,
Yet trust not Hob grouthed, for sleeping too long.

33 The knowledge of stilling is one prety feat,
The waters be holsome, the charges not great:
What timely thou gettest, while summer doth last,
Think Winter will help thee to spend it as fast.

34 Fine basil desireth, it may be hir lot,
To grow as a gilloflower, trim in a pot:
That ladies and gentils, for whom ye do serve,
May helpe hir as needeth, poore life to preserve.

35 Keepe oxe from thy cow, that to profit would go,
Least cow be deceived, by oxe doing so:

And thou recompensed, for suffering the same,
With want of a calfe, and cow to wax lame.

Thus endeth Maies Husbandry.

Junes Abstract.

CHAP. XLI.

1 WASH sheepe for to share
As sheepe may go bare.

2 Though fleece ye take,
No patches make.

3 Share lambs no whit,
Or share not yet.

4 If medow be grown,
Let medow be mown.

5 Plow earlie ye may,
And then carry haie.

6 Tis good to be known,
To have all thine own.
Who goeth a borrowing,
Goeth a sorrowing.

7 See cart in plight,
And all thing right.

8 Make drie over-hed,
Both hovel and shed.

9 Of hovell make stacke,
For pease on his backe.

10 In champion some,
Wants elbow roome.

11 Let wheat and rie,
In house lie drie.

12 Buie turfe and sedge,
Or else breake hedge.

13 Good storehouse needfull,
Well ordered speedfull.

14 Thy barnes repaire,
Make floore faire.

15 Such shrubs as noy,
In summer destroy.

16 Swing brembles and brakes,
Get forks and rakes.

17 Spare hedlonds some,
Til harvest come.

18 Cast ditch and pond,
To laie upon lond.

A Lesson of Hop-yard.

19 Where hops will grow,
Here learne to know.
Hops many will come,
In a rood of roome.

20 Hops hate the land,
With gravell and sand.

21 The rotten mould,
For hop is worth gold.

22 The sun south-west,
For hop-yard is best.

23 Hop plot once found,
Now dig the ground.

24 Hops favoreth malt,
Hops thrift doth exalt.
Of hops more reed,
As time shall need.

Thus endeth Junes Abstract, agreeing with Junes Husbandry.

Junes Husbandry.

CHAP. XLII.

Calme weather in June, Corne sets in tune.
Forgotten month past. Doo now at the last.

1 WASH sheepe for the better, where water doth runne,
And let him go clenly, and drie in the sunne:
Then share him and spare not, at two daies an end,
The sooner, the better his corps will amend.

2 Reward not thy sheepe, when ye take off his cote,
With twitches and patches, as broad as a groat:
Let not such ungentlenes happen to thine,
Least flie with hir gentils, do make it to pine.

3 Let lambs go unclipped, til June be halfe worne,
The better the fleeces, will grow to be shorne:
The pie wil discharge thee, for pulling the rest,
The lighter the sheepe is, then feedeth it best.

4 If medow be forward, be mowing of some,
But mow as the makers may well overcome:
Take heed to the weather, the wind and the skie,
If danger approcheth, then cocke apace crie.

5 Plough early till ten a clocke, then to thy haie,
In plowing and carting so profit ye may:
By little and little, thus doing ye win,
That plough shal not hinder, when harvest comes in.

6 Provide of thine own, to have al things at hand,
Least worke and the workeman unoccupied stand:
Love seldome to borrow, that thinkest to save,
For he that once lendeth, twise looketh to have.

7 Let cart be well searched, without and within,
Wel clowted and greased, yer hay-time begin:
Thy haie being caried, though carter had sworne:
Carts border wel boorded, is saving of corne.

8 Good husbands that laie, to save all things upright,
For tumbrels and cart, have a shed readie dight:
Where under the hog may in winter lie warme,
To stand so inclosed, and wind do no harme.

A hovel is set upon crotches and covered with poles and straw.

9 So likewise a hovel wil serve for a roome,
To stacke on the pease, when harvest shall come:
And serve thee in winter, moreover than that,
To shut up thy porklings, thou meanest to fat.

10 Some barneroom have little, and yardroom as much,
Yet corne in the field appertaineth to such
Then hovels and rikes they are forced to make,
Abroad or at home, for necessities sake.

11 Make sure of bread-corne, of all other graine,
Like drie and wel looked too, for mouse and for raine:
Though fitches and pease, and such other as they,
For pestering too much, on a hovel ye lay.

12 With wins or with furzes, thy hovel renew,
For turfe and for sedge, for to bake and to brew:
For charcole and seacole, as also for thacke,
For tall wood and billit, as yeerely ye lacke.

The husband-lie storehouse.

13 What husbandly husbands except they be fooles,
But handsome have storehouse, for trinkets and tooles:
And al in good order, fast locked to lie,
Whatever is needful, to find by and by.

14 Thy houses and barnes would be looked upon,
And al things amended, yer harvest come on:
Things thus set in order, in quiet and rest,
Shal further thy harvest, and pleasure thee best.

15 The bushes and thorn, with the shrubs that do noy,
In woodsere or summer, cut down to destroy,
But where as decaie, to the tree ye will none,
For danger in woodsere, let hacking alone.

16 At Midsummer down with the brembles and brakes,
And after abroad, with thy forkes and thy rakes:
Set mowers a mowing, where medow is grown,
The longer now standing the worse to be mown.

17 Now down with the grasse, upon hedlonds about,
That groweth in shadow so ranke and so stout:
But grasse upon hedlond of barly and pease,
When harvest is ended, go mowe if ye please.

18 Such muddy deepe ditches, and pits in the field,
That al a drie summer, no water will yeeld:
By fieng and casting, that mud upon heapes,
Commodities many the husbandman reapes.

A Lesson when and where to plant good Hopyard.

19 Whom fansie perswadeth, among other crops,
To have for his spending, sufficient of hops,
Must willingly follow, of choises to choose,
Such lessons approved, as skilful do use.

Naught for hops.

20 Ground gravelly, sandy, and mixed with claie,
Is naughty for hops, any manner of waie:
Or if it be mingled with rubbish and stone,
For drinesse and barrenesse let it alone.

Good for hops.

21 Choose soile for the hop, of the rottenest mould,
Wel doonged and wrought, as a garden plot should:
Not far from the water (but not overflowne,)
This lesson well noted, is meet to be knowne.

22 The sun in the south, or else southly and west,
Is joy to the hop, as a welcommed ghest:
But wind in the north, or else northerly east,
To hop is as ill as a fray in a feast.

23 Meet plot for a hopyard, once found as is told,
Make thereof account, as of jewel of gold:
Now dig it and leave it, the sun for to burne,
And afterward fense it, to serve for that turne.

The praise of hops.

24 The hop for his profit, I thus do exalt,
It strengthneth drinke, and it favoreth malt:
And being well brued, long kept it will last,
And drawing abide, if ye draw not too fast.

Julies Abstract.

CHAP. XLIII.

1 Go sirs and awaie,
To ted and make haie.
If stormes draw nie,
Then cocke apace crie.

2 Let haie still abide,
Til well it be dride.
Hais made, awaie carrie,
No longer than tarrie.

3 Who best way titheth,
He best way thriveth.

4 Two good haymakers,
Worth twentie crakers.

5 Let dallops about,
Be mown and had out.
See hay doo looke greene,
See field ye rake cleen.

6 Thry fallow I pray thee,
Least thistles bewraie thee.

7 Cut off, good wife,
Ripe beane with a knife.

8 Ripe hempe out cull,
From carle to pull,
Let seed hemp grow,
Till more ye know.

9 Drie flax get in,
For spinners to spin.
Now mow or pluck,
Thy branke or buck.

10 Some worme seed save,
For March to have.

11 Marke physike true,
Of wormewood and rue:
Get griste to the mill,
For wanting at will.

Thusendeth Julies Abstract, agreeing with Julies Husbandrie.

Julies Husbandry.

CHAP. XXXII.

No tempest good July
Least corne looks ruly.

Forgotten month past,
Doo now at the last.

1 Go muster thy servants, be captaine thyselfe,
Providing them weapon and other like pelfe:
Get bottles and wallets, keepe field in the heat,
The feare is as much as the danger is great.

Hay harvest.

2 With tossing and raking, and setting on cox,
Grasse lately in swathes, is meat for an oxe:
That done go and cart it, and have it away,
The battell is fought, ye have gotten the day.

Pay thy tithes

3 Paie justly thy tithes, whatsoever thou be,
That God may in blessing, send foizen to thee:
Though vicar be bad, or the parson evil,
Go not for thy tithing thyselfe to the divel.

4 Let haie be wel made, or avise else avous,
For mouldering in mow, or of firing thy house;
Lay coursest aside, for thy oxe and the cow,
The finest for sheepe, and thy gelding allow.

5 Then downe with thy hedlonds, that groweth about,
Leave never a dallop, unmown and had out:
Though grasse be but thin, about barly and pease,
Yet picked up clean, ye shal find therein ease.

Thryfallowing.

6 Thry fallow betime, for destroying of weed,
Least thistle and docke, fall a blooming and seed:
Such season may chance, it shall stand thee upon,
To till it againe yer a summer be gon.

7 Not rent off but cut off, ripe beane with a knife,
For hindering stalke, of her vegetive life:
So gather the lowest, and leaving the top,
Shall teach thee a tricke, for to double thy crop.

Gathering of garden beanes.

8 Wife plucke fro thy seed hemp, the fimble hempe cleen,
This looketh more yellow, the other more green:
Use tone for thy spinning, leave Michel the tother,
For shoo thread and halter, for rope and such other.

9 Now pluck up thy flaxe, for thy maidens to spin,
First see it dried, and timely got in:
And mow up thy branke, and away with it drie,
And house it up close, out of danger to lie.

10 While wormwood hath seed, get a handful or twaine,
To save against March, to make flea to refraine:
Where chambers is sweeped, and wormwood is strown,
No flea for his life, dare abide to be known.

11 What savor is better, if phisicke be true,
For places infected, than wormwood and rue:
It is as a comfort for hart and the braine,
And therefore to have it, it is not in vaine.

12 Get grist to the mill, to have plenty in store,
Least miller lacke water, as many do more:
The meale the more yeeldeth, if servant be true,
And miller that tolleth, take none but his due.

Thus endeth Julies Husbandry.

Augustes Abstract.

CHAP. XLV.

1 THRY fallow woon,
Get compasse doon.

2 In June and in Awe,
Swing brakes for a law.

3 Pare saffron plot,
Forget it not.
His dwelling made trim,
Looke shortly for him.
When harvest is gon,
Then saffron comes on.

4 A little of ground,
Brings saffron a pound:
The pleasure is fine,
The profit is thine.
Keepe colour in drieng,
Wel used worth buieng.

5 Maids mustard seed reape,
And laie on a heape.

6 Good neighbor indeed,
Change seed for seed.

7 Now strike up drum,
Come harvest man come:
Take paine for gaine,
One knave mars twaine.

8 Reape corne by the daie,
Least corne do decaie.
By great is the cheaper,
If trustie were reaper.

9 Blow horne for sleapers,
And cheare up thy reapers.

10 Wel doing who loveth,
These harvest points prooveth.

11 Pay Gods part furst,
And not of the wurst.

12 Now parson (I saie)
Tith carieth awaie.

13 Keepe cart gap weele,
Scare hog from wheele.

14 Nowe hawme to burne,
To serve thy turne.
To bake thy bread,
To burne under lead.

15 Mowne hawme being drie,
No longer let lie.
Get home thy hawme,
Whilst weather is cawme.

16 Mowne barlie lesse cost,
Ill mowne much lost.

17 Reape barlie with sickle,
That lies in pickle.
Let greenest stand,
For making of band.
Bands made without dew,
Wil hold but a few.

18 Laie bands to find her,
Two rakes to a binder.

19 Rake after sith,
And paie thy tith.
Corne caried all,
Then rake it ye shall.

20 Let shocke take wheat,
Least gofe take heat.
Yet it is best reason,
To take it in season.

21 More often ye turne,
More pease ye out spurne,
Yet winnow them in,
Yer cariage begin.

22 Thy carting plie,
While weather is drie.

23 Bid gouing clim,
Goue just and trim.
Laie wheat for seed,
To come by at need.
Seed barlie cast,
To thresh out last.

24 Laie pease upon stacke,
If hovell ye lacke.
And cover it straight,
From doves that waight.

25 Let gleaners gleane,
(The poore I meane)
Which ever ye sowe,
That first eat lowe,
The other forbeare,
For rowen to spare.

26 Come home lord singing,
Come home corne bringing.
Tis merie in hall,
When beards wag all.

27 Once had thy desire,
Paie workeman his hier.
Let none be begilde,
Man, waman, or child.

28 Thanke God ye shall,
And adew for all.

Works after Harvest.

29 Get tumbrel in hand,
For thy barlie land,

30 The better the mucke,
The better good lucke.

31 Still cariage is good,
For timber and wood.
No longer delaies,
To mend the high waies.

32 Some love as a jewell,
Well placing of fewell.

33 In piling of logs,
Make hovell for hogs.

34 Wife plow doth crie,
To picking of rie.

35 Such seed as ye sowe,
Such reape or else mow.

36 Take shipping or ride,
Lent stuffe to provide.

37 Let haberdine lie,
In pease straw drie.

38 When out ye ride,
Leave a good guide.

39 Some profit spie out,
By riding about.

Marke now through yeare.
What cheap, what deare.

40 Some skil doth well,
To buie and to sell.
Of theefe who buieth,
In danger lieth.

41 Commoditie knowne.
Abroad is blowne.

42 At first hand buie,
At third let lie.

43 Have money prest,
To buie at the best.

44 Some cattel home bring,
For Michelmas spring.
By hauke and hound,
Small profit is found.

45 Dispatch looke home,
To loitering mome.
Provide or repent,
Milchcow for lent,

46 Now erone your sheepe,
Fat those ye keepe.
Leave milking old cow,
Fat aged up now.

47 Sel butter and cheese,
Good faires fewe leese,
At faires go buie,
Home wants to supplie.

48 If hops looke brown,
Go gather them down.
But now in the dew,
For pidling with few.

49 Of hops this knacke,
A meanie do lack.
Once had thy will,
Go cover his hill.

50 Take hope to thy dole,
But breake not his pole.

51 Learne here (thou stranger)
To frame hop manger.

52 Hop poles preserve,
Againe to serve.
Hop poles by and by,
Long safe up to drie.
Least poles wax scant,
New poles go plant.

53 The hop wel dride,
Will best abide.
Hops dried in loft,
Aske tendance oft,
And shed their seeds,
Much more than weeds.

54 Hops dride small cost,
Ill kept halfe lost.
Hops quickly be spilt,
Take heed if thou wilt.

55 Some come, some go,
This life is so.

Thus endeth Augustes Abstract, agreeing with Augustes Husbandrie.

Augusts Husbandry.

CHAP. XLVI.

Dry August and warm,
Doth harvest no harme.
Forgotten month past,
Doo now at the last.

1 THRY fallow once ended, go strike by and by,
Both wheatland and barly, and so let it lie;
And as ye have leisure, go compasse the same,
When up ye do laie it, more fruitful to frame.

2 Get downe with thy brakes, yer any shewers do come,
That cattel the better, may pasture have some,
In June and in August, as well doth appeare,
Is best to mow brakes, of al times in the yeere.

3 Pare saffron between the two S. Maries daies, Paring of saffron.
Or set or go shift it, that knowest the waies;
What yeere shal I do it (more profit to yeeld)
The fourth in the garden, the third in the field.

4 In having but forty foot, workmanly dight, Huswifery.
Take saffron inough for a lord and a knight;
Al winter time after, as practise doth teach,
What plot have ye better for linnen to bleach.

5 Maids mustard seed gather, for being too ripe,
And weather it well, yer ye give it a stripe;
Then dresse it, and lay it in soller up sweet,
Least foistines make it for table unmeet.

6 Good huswives in summer will save their own seeds,
Against the next yeare, as occasion needs;
One seed for another to make an exchange,
With fellowly neighbourhood, seemeth not strange.

7 Make sure of reapers, get harvest in hand,
The corne that is ripe, doth but shed as it stand;
Be thankful to God, for his benefit sent,
And willing to save it, with earnest content.

8 To let out thy harvest, by great or by day, Champion by great, the other by day.
Let this by experience, lead thee the way;
By great will deceive thee, with lingring it out,
By day will dispatch, and put all out of dout.

9 Grant harvest lord more, by a penny or two, Good harvest points.
To call on his fellowes the better to doo:
Give gloves to the reapers, a larges to crie,
And daily to loiterers have a good eie.

10 Reape wel, scatter not, gather cleane that is shorne,
Bind fast, shocke apace, have an eie to thy corne;
Lode safe, carry home, follow time being faire,
Gove just in the barne, it is out of dispaire.

11 Tith truly and duly, with harty good will,
That God and his blessing may dwel with thee stil;
Though parson neglecteth, his duty for this,
Thanke thou thy Lord God, and give every man his.

12 Corne tithed (Sir Parson) to gather go get,
And cause it on shocks to be by and by set;

Not leaving it scattering abroad on the ground,
Nor long in the field, but away with it round.

13 To cart gap and barne, set a guide to looke weele,
And hoy out sir carter, the hog fro thy wheele;
Least gready of feeding, in following cart,
It noyeth or perisheth, spight of thy hart.

14 In champion countrey a pleasure they take,
To mow up their hawme, for to brew and to bake;
And also it stands them instead of their thacke,
Which being well inned, they cannot wel lacke.

15 The hawme is the straw, of the wheat or the rie,
Which once being reaped, they mow by and by;
For feare of destroying, with cattel or raine,
The sooner ye load it, more profit ye gaine.

16 The mowing of barly, if barly do stand,
Is the cheapest and best, for to rid out of hand;
Some mow it, and rake it, and sets it on cocks,
Some mow it and binds it, and sets it on shocks.

17 Of barly the longest and greenest ye find,
Leave standing by dallops, til time ye do bind;
Then earlie in morning (while dew is thereon)
To making of bands, til the deaw be all gone.

Spreding of barly bands.

18 One spreadeth those hands, so in order to lie,
As barly (in swatches[1]) may fil it thereby;
Which gathered up, with the rake and the hand,
The follower after them, bindeth in band.

Tith of rakings.

19 Where barly is raked (if dealing be true)
The tenth of such raking to parson is due;
Where scattering of barlie is seene to be much,
There custome nor conscience tything should grutch.

20 Corne being had downe (any way ye allow)
Should wither as needeth, for burning in mow;
Such skil appertaineth to harvest mans art,
And taken in time is a husbandly part.

21 No turning of peason, til carriage ye make,
Nor turn in no more then ye mind for to take,
Least beaten with shewers, so turned to drie,
By turning and tossing, they shed as they lie.

22 If weather be faire, and tidie thy graine,
Make speedilie carriage, for feare of a raine;

[1] *Swatches*, patches. The word in Scottish is still applied to a taylor's pattern of cloth. *Dallop*, used in the preceding verse, seems a provincial expression.

For tempest and shewers deceiveth a menie,
And lingring lubbers loose many a penie.

23 In gouing at harvest, learne skilfully how,
Each graine for to laie by itselfe on a mow;
Seed barly the purest, goue out of the way,
Al other nigh hand, goue as just as ye may.

24 Stacke pease upon hovel, abroad in the yard,
To cover it quickly, let owner regard;
Least dove and the cadow there finding a smacke,
With ill stormy weather, do perish thy stacke.

25 Corn carried, let such as be poore go and gleane,
And after thy cattel, to mouth it up cleane;
Then spare it for rowen, til Michel be past,
To lengthen thy dairy no better thou hast.

26 I nharvest time harvest folke, servants and all,
Should make altogether good cheere in the hal;
And fill out the blacke bol, of bleith to their song,
And let them be merry al harvest time long.

27 Once ended thy harvest, let none be begilde,
Please such as did please thee, man, woman, and child; Paie truly harvest folke.
This doing, with alway such helpe as they can,
Thou winnest the praise of the labouring man.

28 Now looke up to Godward, let toong never cease, Thank God for all.
In thanking of him for his mighty increase:
Accept my good wil, for a proofe go and trie,
The better thou thrivest, the gladder am I.

Workes after Harvest.

29 Now carry out compas, when harvest is done,
Where barlie thou sowest, my champion sonne;
Or lay it on heape, in the field as ye may,
Til carriage be faire, to have it away.

30 Whose compas is rotten, and carried in time,
And spread as it should be, thrifts ladder may clime;
Whose compas is paltry, and carried too late,
Such husbandry useth, that many do hate.

31 Yer winter preventeth, while weather is good,
For galling of pasture, get home with thy wood;
And carry out gravel to fil up a hole,
Both timber and furzin, the turfe and the cole.

32 House charcole and sedge, chip, and cole of the land,
Pile tal wood and billet, stacke al that hath band;
Blocks, roots, pole, and bough, set upright to the thetch,
The neerer more handsome in winter to fetch.

33 In stacking of baven, and piling of logs,
Make under the baven, a hovel for hogs;
And warmely inclose it, al saving the mouth,
And that to stand open, and ful to the south.

34 Once harvest dispatched, get wenches and boies,
And into thy barne, before al other toies;
Choised seed to be picked, and trimly wel fide,
For seed may no longer from threshing abide.

35 Get seed aforehand, in a readines had,
Or better provided, if thine owne be too bad;
Be careful of seed, or else such as ye sowe,
Be sure at harvest, to reap or to mow.

Provision for Lent.

36 When harvest is ended, take shipping or ride,
Ling, salt fish, and herring, for Lent to provide;
Go buie it at first, as it cometh to rode,
Shal pay for thy charges, thou spendest abroad.

37 Choose skilfully saltfish, not burnt at the stone,
Buy such as be good, or else let it alone;
Get home that is bought, and go stacke it up drie,
With pease straw betweene it, the safer to lie.

38 Yer ever ye journey, cause servant with speed,
To compas thy barly land, where it is need;
One aker wel compassed, passeth some three,
Thy barne shal at harvest declare it to thee.

39 This lesson is learned, by riding about,
The prises of vittels, the yeare throughout;
Both what to be selling, and what to refraine,
And what to be buying, and bring in a gaine.

40 Though buying and selling doth wonderful wel,
To such as have skil how to buy and to sel;
Yet chopping and changing I cannot commend,
With theefe of his marrow, for feare of ill end.

41 The rich in his bargaining needs not to be taught,
Of buier and seller, ful far is he sought;
Yet herein consisteth a part of my text,
Who buieth at first hand, and who at the next.

Buying at first hand.

42 At first hand he buieth, that paieth al downe,
At second that hath not so much in the towne;

At third hand he buieth, that buieth of trust,
At his hand who buieth, shal paie for his lust.

43 As oft as ye bargaine, for better or worse,
To buie it the cheaper, have chinks in thy purse;
Touch kept is commended, yet credit to keepe,
Is paie and dispatch him, yer ever ye sleep.

Ready money buyeth best cheape.

44 Be mindful abroad of a Michelmas spring,
For thereon dependeth a husbandly thing;
Though some have a pleasure, with hauke upon hand,
Good husbands get treasure, to purchase their land.

45 Thy market dispatched, turne home againe round,
Least gaping for peny, thou loosest a pound;
Provide for thy wife, or else looke to be shent,
Good milchcow for winter, another for Lent.

46 In travelling homeward, buie forty good crones,
And fat up the bodies of such seely bones;
Leave milking, and dry up old mully thy cow,
The crooked and aged, to fatting put now.

47 At Bartelmewtide, or at Sturbidge faire,
Buie that as is needful, thy house to repaire;
Then sell to thy profit, both butter and cheese,
Who buieth it sooner, the more he shal leese.

48 If hops do looke brownish, then are ye too slow,
If longer ye suffer, those hops for to grow;
Now sooner ye gather, more profit is found,
If weather be faire, and the dew of the ground.

Hops gathering.

49 Not breake off, but cut off, from hop the hop string,
Leave growing a little, againe for to spring;
Whose hil about pared, and therewith new clad,
Shal nourish more sets, against March to be had.

50 Hop hillock discharged of every let,
See then without breaking, ech pole ye out get;
Which being entangled above in the tops,
Go carry to such, as are plucking of hops.

The order of hops gathering.

51 Take soutage or haire, (that covers the kel)
Set like to a manger, and fastened wel;
With poles upon crotches as hie as the breast,
For saving and riddance is husbandry best.

52 Hops had, the hop poles that are likely preserve,
(From breaking and rotting) againe for to serve;
And plant ye with alders, or willows a plot,
Where yeerely as needeth, mo poles may be got.

53 Some skilfully drieth, their hops on a kel,
And some on a soller, oft turning them wel;
Kel-dride will abide, foule weather and faire,
Where drying and lying, in loft do despaire.

Keeping of hops.

54 Some close them up drie, in a hogshed or fat,
Yet canvas or soutage, is better than that;
By drying and lying, they quickly be spilt,
Thus much have I shewed, do now as thou wilt.

55 Old farmer is forced, long August to make,
His goods at more leisure, away for to take;
New farmer thinketh each hower a day,
Until the old farmer be packing away.

Thus endeth and holdeth out Augusts Husbandry, til Milchelmas eve.

THO. TUSSER.

Corne Harvest equally divided into Ten Parts.

CHAP. XLVII.

1 ONE part cast forth, for rent due out of hand,
2 One other part, for seed to sow thy land,
3 Another part, leave parson for his tith,
4 Another part, for harvest, sickle, and sith,
5 One part for ploughwrite, cartwrite, knacker, and smith,
6 One part to uphold thy teems that draw therewith,
7 Another part for servant and workmans wages laie,
8 One part likewise for filbellie daie by daie,
9 One part thy wife for needfull things doth crave,*
10 Thy selfe and thy child the last part would have.

* For naperie, sope and candy, salt and sawce, tinker and cooper, brasse and pewter.

WHO mindes to quote,
Upon this note,
May easly find inough,
What charge and paine,
To little gaine,
Doth follow toiling plough.

Yet farmer may
Thanke God and say,
For yeerely such good hap,
Wel fare the plough,
That sends inough,
To stop so great a gap.

A briefe Conclusion, where you may see,
Each Word in the Verse, to begin with a T.

CHAP. XLVIII.

THE thriftie that teacheth the thriving to thrive,
Teach timelie to traverse the thing that thou trive,
Transferring thy toiling, to timelines taught,
This teacheth thee temperance, to temper thy thought.

Trive for contrive.

Take trustie (to trust to) that thinkest to thrive,
That trustilie thriftinesse, trowleth to thee,
Then temper thy travell to tarrie the tide,
This teacheth thee thriftinesse twentie times tride.
Take thankful thy talent, thanke thankefully those,
That thriftilie teacheth, thy time to transpose.
Troth twise to thee teached, teach twentie times ten,
This trade that thou takest, take thrift to thee then.

Mans Age divided here you have,
By Prentiship from Birth to Grave.

CHAP. XLIX.

7 The first seaven yeeres bring up as a child,
14 The next to learning, for waxing too wild,
21 The next keepe under, Sir Hobbard de Hoy,
28 The next a man, no longer a boy,
3 The next, let lusty lay wisely to wive,
42 The next, laie now or else never to thrive,
49 The next, make sure for tearme of thy life,
56 The next, save somewhat for children and wife,
63 The next, be staid, give over thy lust,
70 The next, thinke hourely whither thou must,
77 The next, get chaire and crotches to stay,
84 The next, to heaven God send us the way.
Who loseth their youth, shal rue it in age,
Who hateth the truth, in sorrow shal rage.

Another Division of the Nature of Mans Age.

CHAP. L.

The ape, the lion, the fox, the asse,
Thus sets forth man as in a glasse.

Ape. Like apes we be toying, til twenty and one,
Lion. Then hasty as lions, til forty be gone:
Foxe. Then wilie as foxes, til threescore and three,
Asse. Then after for asses, accounted we be.[1]

Who plaies with his better, this lesson must know,
What humblenes fox to the lion doth shew:
For Ape with his toieng and rudenesse of asse,
Brings (out of good houre) displeasure to passe.

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[1] These verses were long preserved as a popular catch. And as Tusser relieved his more serious precepts with a sonnet or riddle, his predecessor, the author of the Shepherds Kalendar, has the following *jeu d'esprit*:—

OF AN ASSAULT AGAINST A SNAIL.

The Woman speaketh with a hardy courage.

Go out of this place thou ugly beast,
Which of the vines the burgennings do eat,

Comparing good husband with unthrift his brother,
The beeter discerneth the tone from the tother.

CHAP. LI.

1 Il Husbandry braggeth
To go with the best:
Good husbandry baggeth,
Up gold in his chest.

2 Ill husbandry trudgeth,
With unthrifts about:
Good husbandry snudgeth,
For feare of a dout.

3 Il Husbandry spendeth,
Abroad like a mome:
Good husbandry tendeth,
His charges at home.

4 Ill husbandry selleth,
His corne on the ground:
Good husbandry smelleth,
No gaine that way found.

5 Il husbandry looseth,
For lacke of good fense:
Good husbandry closeth,
And gaineth the pense.

6 Il husbandry trusteth,
To him and to hir:
Good husbandry lusteth,
Himselfe for to stur.

7 Ill husbandry eateth
Himselfe out of doore:
Good husbandry meateth
Himselfe and the poore.

8 Il husbandry daieth,
Or letteth it lie:
Good husbandry worketh,
The cheaper to buie.

And buds of trees both more and least,
In dewy mornings against the weat,
Out of this place least I thee sore beat
With my distaffe between thy hornes twaine,
That it shall sound unto the realm of Spaine.

The men at arms with their fierce countenance.

Horrible snail, lightly thy horns down lay,
And from this place out fast look that thou r
Or with sharpe weapons we willie thee fray,
And take the castle that thou liest in,
We shal flay thee out of thy foul skin,
And in a dish with onions and pepper,
We wil thee dress and with strong vinegar.

There never yet was any Lumbard,
That did thee eat in such manner of wise,
And break we shall thy house strong and
Wherefore get thee hence by our advise,
Out of the place of this rich edifice,
We thee require, if it be thy will,
And let us have this towne that we come til.

The snail speaketh.

I am a beast of right great mervaile,
Upon my back my horns raised I beare,
I am neither flesh ner bone to availe,
As wel as an oxe two hornes I weare,
If that these armed men approach me neare,
I shall them soon vanquish everie one,
But they dare not for feare of me alone.

9 Ill husbandry lurketh,
And stealeth a sleepe:
Good husbandry worketh,
His houshold to keepe.

10 Ill husbandry liveth,
By that and by this:
Good husbandry giveth
To erie man his.

11 Ill husbandry taketh,
And spendeth up al:
Good husbandry maketh
Good shift with a smal.

12 Ill husbandry praieth,
His wife to make shift:
Good husbandry saith,
Take this of my gift.

13 Ill husbandry drowseth,
At fortune so auke:
Good husbandry rowseth,
Himselfe as a hauke.

14 Il husbandry lieth,
In prison for debt:
Good husbandry spieth
Where profit to get.

15 Il husbandry waies,
Hath to fraud what ye can:
Good husbandry praise
Hath of every man.

16 Il husbandry never,
Hath welth to keepe touch:
Good husbandry ever,
Hath peny in pouch.

Good husband his boone,
Or request hath afar:
Ill husband assoon,
Hath a tode with an R.[1]

A Comparison betweenChampion Country and Several.

CHAP. LII.[2]

1 The country inclosed I praise,
The tother delighteth not me,
For nothing the wealth it doth raise,
To such as inferiour be.
How both of them partly I know,
Here somewhat I mind for to show.

2 There swineheard that keepeth the hog,
There neatheard with cur and his horne,
There shepheard with whistle and dog,
Be fense to the medow and corne.
There horse being tide on a balke,
Is ready with theefe for to walke.

3 Where al thing in common do rest,
Corne feeld with the pasture and mead,
Though common ye do for the best,
Yet what doth it stand you in stead?
There common as commoners use,
For otherwise shalt thou not choose.

[1] *i. e.* The *toder*, other, or opposite of his request, namely, a refusal.

[2] In this chapter, Tusser enters at length into discussion of the benefit of inclosures, and disadvantages of commons; and, in pointing them out, anticipates the experience of more than two centuries.

4 What laier much better than there,
Or cheaper (thereon to do wel?)
What drudgery more any where,
Lesse good thereof where can ye tel:
What gotten by summer is seene:
In winter is eaten up cleene.

5 Example by Leicester shire,
What soile can be better then that,
For any thing hart can desire,
And yet doth it want ye see what.
Mast, covert, close, pasture and wood,
And other things needfull as good.

Inclosure.

6 All these do inclosure bring,
Experience teacheth no lesse,
I speake not to boast of the thing,
But only a troth to expresse.
Example (if doubt ye do make,)
By Suffolke and Essex go take.

Severall.

7 More plenty of mutton and beefe,
Corne, butter and cheese of the best,
More wealth any where (to be breefe)
More people, more handsome and prest,
Where find ye? (go search any coast,)
Than there where enclosure is most.

8 More worke for the labouring man,
As wel in the towne as the field,
Or therefore devise (if ye can)
More profit what countries do yeeld?
More sildome where see ye the poore,
Go begging from dore unto dore?

Champion country.

9 In Norffolke behold the dispaire,
Of tillage too much to be borne,
By drovers from faire unto faire,
And others destroying the corne,
By custome and covetous pates,
By gaps and opening of gates.

10 What speake I of commoners by,
With drawing al after a line,
So noying the corne as it lie,
With cattel, with connies and swine?
When thou hast bestowed thy cost,
Looke halfe of the same to be lost.

11 The flocks of the lords of the soile,
Do yeerely the winter corne wrong;

The same in a manner they spoile,
With feeding so low and so long.
And therefore that champion field,
Doth seldome good winter corne yeeld.

12 By Cambridge a towne I do know,
Where many good husbands do dwel,
Whose losses by lossels doth shew,
More heere then is needfull to tel.
Determine at court what they shal,
Performed is nothing at al.

Champion annoiances.

13 The champion robbeth by night,
And prowleth and filcheth by daie,
Himselfe and his beast out of sight,
Both spoileth and maketh away.
Not only thy grasse but thy corne:
Both after and yer it be shorne.

14 Pease bolt with thy pease he wil have,
His houshold to feed and his hog:
Now stealeth he, now wil he crave,
And now will be cosen and cog.
In bridewel a number be stript,
Lesse worthy then theefe to be whipt.

15 The oxe boy as ill is as he,
Or worser if worse may be found,
For spoiling from thine and from thee,
Of grasse and of corne on the ground,
Lay never so well for to save it,
By night or by day he wil have it.

16 What orchard unrobbed escapes?
Or pullet dare walke in their jet?
But homeward or outward (like apes)
They count it their own they can get.
Lord, if ye do take them, what sturs,
How hold they together like burs?

17 For commons these commoners crie,
Inclosing they may not abide,
Yet some be not able to buie,
A cow with a calfe by her side.
Nor lay not to live by their worke,
But theevishly loiter and lurke.

18 The lord of the towne is to blame,
For these and for many faults mo,
For that he doth know of the same,
Yet lets it unpunished go.

Such Lords ill example do give:
Where varlets and drabs so may live.

19 What footpaths are made, and how broad,
Annoiance too much to be borne;
With horse and with cattell what rode,
Is made through every mans corne?
Where champions ruleth the rost,
There daily disorder is most.

20 Their sheepe when they drive for to wash,
How careles such sheepe they do guide?
The farmer they leave in the lash,
With losses on every side.
Though any mans corne they do bite,
They will not allow him a mite.

21 What hunting and hawking is there?
Corne looking for sickle at hand,
Acts lawles to do without feare,
How yeerely togither they band:
More harme to another wil do,
Then they would be done so unto.

22 More profit is quieter found,
(Where pastures in several be,)
Of one silie aker of ground,
Then champion maketh of three.
Againe what a joy it is knowne,
When men may be bold with their owne?

Champion. Severall.

23 The tone is commended for graine,
Yet bread made of beanes they do eate,
The tother for one lofe hath twaine,
Of mastlin, of rie, or of wheat.
The champion liveth ful bare:
When woodland ful mery do fare.

Champion. Several.

24 Tone giveth his corne in a dearth,
To horsse, sheepe, and hog erie day,
The tother give cattell warme barth,
And feed them with straw and with hay,
Corne spent of the tone so in vaine:
The tother doth sell to his gaine.

25 Tone barefoot and ragged do go,
And ready in winter to sterve,
When tother ye see do not so,
But hath that is needful to serve.
Tone paine in a cottage doth take,
When tother trim bowers do make.

26 Tone laieth for turfe and for sedge, Champion.
And hath it with wonderfull suit,
When tother in every hedge,
Hath plenty of fewel and fruit. Severall.
Evils twenty times worser then these,
Enclosure quickly would ease.

27 In woodland the poore men that have, Severall.
Scarce fully two akers of land,
More merily live and do save,
Than tother with twenty in hand.
Yet pay they as much for the two,
As tother for twenty must doo.

28 The labourer comming from thence,
In woodland to worke any where,
(I warrant you) goeth not hence,
To worke any more againe there.
If this same be true (as it is)
Why gather they nothing of this?

29 The poore at enclosure, doth grutch,
Because of abuses that fal,
Least some man should have but too much,
And some againe nothing at all.

If order might therein be found,
What were to the several ground.

The Description of an envious and naughty Neighbour.

CHAP. LIV.

An envious neighbour is easie to find,
His cumbersome fetches, are seldome behind.
His hatred procureth, from naughty to wursse,
His friendship like Judas, that caried the purse.
His head is a storehouse, with quarrels ful fraught,
His braine is unquiet, til al come to naught.
His memory pregnant, old ils to recite,
His mind ever fixed, ech ill to requite.
His mouth ful of venim, his lips out of frame,
His toong a false witnes, his friend to defame.
His eies be promooters, some trespas to spie,
His eares be as spials, alarum to crie.
His hands be as tyrants, revenging each thing,
His feet at thine elbow, as serpent to sting.
His breast ful of rancor, like canker to freat,
His hart like a lion, his neighbor to eate.

His gate like a sheepbiter, fleering aside,
His looke like a coxcomb, up puffed with pride.
His face made of brasse, like a vice in a game,
His gesture like Dauus, whō Terēce doth name,
His brag as Thersites, with elbowes abroad,
His cheekes in his fury, shal swel like a tode.
His colour like ashes, his cap in his eies,
His nose in the ayre, his snout in the skies.
His promise to trust to, as slippery as ice,
His credit much like to the chance of the dice.
His knowledge or skil, is in prating too much,
His company shunned, and so be al such.
His friendship is counterfet, seldome to trust,
His dooings unlucky, and ever unjust.
His fetch is to flatter, to get what he can,
His purpose once gotten a pin for thee than.

A Sonet against a slanderous Toong.

CHAP. LIV.

Doth darnel good, among the flowrie wheat?
Doo thistles good, so thicke in fallow spide?
Do taint wormes good, that lurke where ox should eate?
Or sucking drones, in hive where bees abide?
Do hornets good, or these same biting gnats?
Foule swelling todes, what good by them is seene?
In house wel deckt, what good do gnawing rats?
Or casting mowles, among the medows green?
Doth heavy newes make glad the hart of man?
Or noisome smels, what good doth that to health?
Now once for al, what good (shew who so can)
Do stinging snakes, to this our common wealth?
No more good doth a peevish slanderous toong,
Buthurts itselfe, and noies both old and yong.

A Sonnet upon the Authors first seven Yeeres Service.[1]

CHAP. LV.

Seven times hath Janus tane new yeare by hand,
Seven times hath blustering March blown forth his powre,
To drive out April buds, by sea and land,
For minion May, to decke most trim with flowre.
Seven times hath temperate Ver, like pageant plaid,
And pleasant Aestas eke, hir flowers told:
Seven times Autumnus heat hath been delaid,

[1] This sonnet seems to have been addressed to Mrs Amy Moone, afterwards our author's loving wife.

With Hyems boisterous blasts and bitter cold.
Seven times the thirteene moones have changed hew,
Seven times the sun his course hath gone about:
Seven times ech bird hir nest hath built anew,
Since first time you to serve I choosed out.
Stil yours am I, though thus the time have past,
And trust to be, as long as life shal last.

Man minded for to thrive,
Must wisely lay to wive:
What hap may thereby fall,
Here argued find ye shall.

The Authours Dialogue betweene two Batchelers of wivi thriving by Affirmation and Objection.

CHAP. LVI.

Affirmation.

FRIEND, where we met this other day,
We heard one make his mone and say,
Good lord how might I thrive?
We heard another answere him,
Then make thee handsome, trick and trim,
And laie in time to wive.

Objection.

And what of that say you to me?
Doo you your selfe thinke that to be,
The best way for to thrive:
If truth were truly boolted out,
As touching thrift I stand in doubt,
If men were best to wive.

Affirmation

There is no doubt, for prove I can,
I have but sildome seene that man,
Which could the way to thrive:
Until it was his happy lot,
To stay himselfe in some good plot,
And wisely then to wive.

Objection.

And I am of another mind,
For by no reason can I find,
How that way I should thrive:
For whereas now I spend a peny,
I should not then be quite with meny,
Through bondage for to wive.

Affirmation.

Not so, for now where thou dost spend,
Of this and that to no good end,
Which hindereth thee to thrive:
Such vain expenses thou sholdst save,
And daily then lay more to have,
As others do that wive.

Objection.

Why then do folke this proverbe put,
The blacke ox nere trode on thy fut,
If that way were to thrive?
Here out a man may soone picke forth,
Few feeleth what a peny is worth,
Til such time as they wive.

Affirmation.

It may so chance as thou doost say,
This lesson therefore beare away,
If thereby thou wilt thrive.
Looke yer thou leap, see yer thou go,
It may be for thy profit so,
For thee to laie to wive.

Objection.

It is too much we daily heere,
Go wive and thrive both in a yeere,
As touching now to thrive:
I know not herein what to spie,
But that there doth smal profit lie,
To fansie for to wive.

Affirmation.

Indeed the first yeere oft is such,
That fondly some bestoweth much,
A let to them to thrive:
Yet other mo may soone be found,
Which getteth many a faire pound,
The same day that they wive.

Objection.

I grant some getteth more that day,
Than they can easilie beare away,
How needs then must they thrive?
What gaineth such thinke ye by that?
A little burthen you wot what,
Through fondnesse for to wive.

Affirmation.

Thou seemest blind as mo have bin,
It is not beauty bringeth in,

The thing to make thee thrive:
In womankind see that ye doo,
Require of hir no gift but two,
When as ye mind to wive.

Objection.

But two, say you? I pray you than,
Shew those as briefly as you can,
If that may helpe to thrive:
I weene we must conclude anon,
Of those same twaine to want the ton,
When as ye chance to wive.

Affirmation.

Honesty and Huswifery.

An honest huswife trust to me,
Be those same twaine I say to thee,
That helpe so much to thrive:
As honesty far passeth gold,
So huswifery in young and old,
Do pleasure such as wive.

Objection.

The honesty indeede I grant,
Is one good point the wife should haunt,
To make hir husband thrive:
But now faine would I have you show,
How should a man good huswife know,
If once he hap to wive?

Affirmation.

A huswife good betimes will rise,
And order things in comly wise,
Hir mind is set to thrive:
Upon hir distaffe she will spin,
And with hir needle she will win,
If such ye hap to wive.

Objection.

It is not idle going about,
Nor al day pricking in a clout,
Can make a man to thrive:
Or if there be no other winning,
But that the wife gets by hir spinning
Smal thrift it is to wive.

Affirmation.

Some more than this yet do she shal,
Although thy stocke be very small,
Yet wil she helpe thee thrive:
Laie thou to save as well as she,
And then thou shalt enriched be,
When such thou hapst to wive.

Objection.

If she were mine, I tel thee troth,
Too much to trouble hir I were loth,
For greedinesse to thrive:
Least some should talke, as is the speech,
The goodwifes husband weares no breech,
If such I hap to wive.

Affirmation.

What hurts it thee, what some do say,
If honestlie she take the way,
To helpe thee for to thrive?
For honesty wil make hir prest,
To do the thing that shal be best,
If such ye hap to wive.

Objection.

Why did Diogenes say than,
To one that askt of him time whan,
Were best to wive to thrive?
Not yet (quoth he) if thou be yoong,
If thou wax old then hold thy toong,
It is too late to wive.

Affirmation.

Belike he knew some shrewish wife,
Which with her husband made such strife
That hindred them to thrive:
Who then may blame him for that clause,
Though then he spake as some had cause,
As touching for to wive.

Objection.

Why then I see to take a shrew,
(As seldome other there be few,)
Is not the way to thrive:
So hard a thing I spie it is,
The good to chuse, the shrew to mis,
That feareth me to wive.

Affirmation.

She may in something seeme a shrew,
Yet such a huswife as but few,
To helpe thee for to thrive:
This proverbe looke in mind ye keepe,
As good a shrew is as a sheepe,
For you to take to wive.

Objection.

Now be she lambe or be she eaw,
Give me the sheep, take thou the shrew,

See which of us shal thrive:
If she be shrewish think for troth,
For al hir thrift I would be loath,
To match with such to wive.

Affirmation.

Tush, farewel then, I leave you off.
Such fooles as you that love to scoffe
Shal seldome wive to thrive.
Contrary hir, as you do me,
And then ye shall, I warrant ye,
Repent ye if ye wive.

Objection.

Friend, let us both give justly place,
To wedded man to judge this case,
Which best way is to thrive:
For both our talke, as seemeth plaine,
Is but as happeneth in our braine,
To wil or not to wive.

Wedded Mans Judgement,
Upon the former Argument.

As cocke that wants his mate, goes roving all about,
With crowing earlie and late, to find his lover out.
And as poore sillie hen, long wanting cocke to guide,
Soone droops, and shortly then, begins to peake aside.
Even so it is with man and wife, where government is sound.
The want of tone the others life doth shortly soon confound.

In jest and in earnest here argued ye find,
That husband and huswife togither must dwell,
And there to the judgement of wedded mans mind,
That husbandry otherwise speedeth not wel:
Of huswifery like as of husbandry told,
Now huswifely huswife, helps bring in the gold.

Thus endeth the Booke of Husbandry.

The Pointes of Huswiferie, united to the Comfort of Husbandry, newlie corrected and amplified with divers good Lessons for Housholders to recreate the Reader, as by the Table at the End hereof more plainly may appeare. Set forth by Thomas Tusser, Gentleman.

To the Right Honourable and my especial good Ladie and Mistresse the Ladie Paget.

1 Though danger be mickle,
And favour so fickle,
Yet dutie doth tickle,
My fansie to wright,
Concerning how prettie,
How fine and how nettie,
Good husewife should jettie,
From morning to night.

2 Not mending by writing,
To kindle a spighting,
But shew by indighting,
As afterwards told,
How husbandrie easeth,
To huswifrie pleaseth,
And many purse greaseth,
With silver and gold.

3 For husbandry weepeth,
Where huswifery sleepeth,
And hardlie he creepeth,
Up ladder to thrift:
That wanteth to bold him,
Thrifts ladder to hold him,
Before it be told him,
He fals without shift.

4 Least many should feare me,
And others forsweare me,
Of troth I do beare me,
Upright as ye see:
Ful minded to love all,
And not to reprove all,
But onlie to move all,
Good huswifes to be.

5 For if I should mind some,
Or descant behind some,
And musing to find some,
Displease so I mought:
Or if I should blend them,
And so to offend them,
What stur I should send them,
I stand in a doubt.

6 Though harmles ye make it,
And some do wel take it,
If others forsake it,
What pleasure were that,
Naught else but to paine me,
And nothing to gaine me,
But make them disdaine me,
I wot not for what.

7 Least some make a triall,
As clock by the diall,
Some stand to deniall,
Some murmur and grudge,
Give judgement, I pray you,
For justlie so may you,
So fansie, so saie you,
I make you my judge.

8 In time ye shall trie me,
By troth ye shall spie me,
So find, so set by me,
According to skill:
How ever tree groweth,
The fruit the tree sheweth,
Your ladyship knoweth,
My heart and good will,

9 Though fortune doth measure,
And I do lacke treasure,
Yet if I may pleasure,
Your honour with this:
Then well me to mend it,
Or mend or ye send it,
Or any where lend it,
If ought be amisse.

Your ladiships servant,

THOMAS TUSSER.

To the Reader.

1 Now listen good huswives, what doings are heere,
Set forth for a day, as it should for a yeere?
Both easie to follow, and soone to atchieve,
For such as by huswifery looketh to thrive.

2 The forenoone affaires, til dinner (with some)
Then afternoone dooings, til supper time come:
With breakfast and dinner time, sup and to bed,
Stands orderly placed, to quiet thine hed.

3 The meaning is this, for a day that ye see,
That monthly and yeerely, continued must be:
And hereby to gather (as prove I intend)
That huswifely matters, have never an end.

4 I have not by hearesay, nor reading in booke,
Set out, (per adventure) that some cannot brooke:
Nor yet of a spight, to be doing with enie,
But such as have skared me, many a penie.

5 If widow both huswife and husband may be,
What cause hath a widower, lesser than she?
Tis needful that both of them looke wel about,
To carelesse within, and to lazie without.

6 Now therefore, if ye will consider of this,
What losses and crosses comes daily amis:
Then beare with a widowers pen as ye may,
Though husband of huswifery, somewhat do say.

The Preface to the Booke of Huswiferie.

1 TAKE weapon away, of what force is a man?
Take huswife from husband, and what is he than?

2 As lovers do covet, together to dwel,
So husbandry loveth good huswifery wel.

3 Though husbandry seemeth, to bring in the gaines,
Yet huswifery labours seeme equal in paines.

4 Some respite to husbands, the weather may send,
But huswives affaires have never an end.

As true as thy faith,
Thus huswifery saith.

I SERVE for a day, for a weeke, for a yeere, The praise of huswifery.
For life time, for ever, while man dwelleth here,
For richer, for poorer, from north to the south,
For honest, for hardhead, for daintie of mouth,
For wed and unwedded, in sicknesse and health,
For all that wel liveth, in good common wealth,
For citie, for countrie, for court and for cart,
To quiet the head, and to comfort the heart.

A Description of Huswife and Huswiferie.

1 OF huswife doth huswifery chalenge that name,
Of huswifery huswife, doth likewise the same.

Where husband and husbandry joyneth with these,
There wealthinesse gotten is holden with ease.

2 The name of a huswife what is it to say?
The wife of the house, to the husband a stay:
If huswife doth that, as belongeth to hur,
If husband be godly, there needeth no stur.

3 The huswife is she, that to labour doth fall,
The labour of hir, I do huswifery call:
If thrift by that labour, be honestly got,
Then is it good huswifery, else is it not.

4 The woman, the name of a huswife doth win,
By keeping her house, and her dooings therein:
And she that with husband, wil quietly dwel,
Must think on this lesson, and follow it wel.

Instructions to Huswifery.

Serve God is the furst,
True love is not wurst.

1 A DAILIE good lesson, of huswife indeede,
Is God to remember, the better to speed.

2 Another good lesson, of huswifery thought,
Is huswife and husband to live as they ought.

Wife comely, no griefe,
Man out, huswife chiefe.

3 Though trickly to see to, be gallant to wive,
Yet comly and wise, is the huswife to thrive:

4 When husband is absent, let huswife be cheefe,
And looke to their labour, that eateth hir beefe.

Both out not allow,
Keepe house huswife thou.

5 Where husband and huswife, be both out of place,
There servants do loiter, and reason their case.

6 The huswife so named (of keeping the house)
Must tend on hir profit, as cat on the mouse.

Seeke home for rest,
For home is the best.

7 As huswifes keepe home, and be stirrers about,
So speedeth their winnings, the yeere thorowout.

8 Though home be but homely, yet huswife is taught,
That home hath no fellow, to such as have ought.

Use all with skill,
Aske what ye will.

9 Good usage with knowledge, and quiet withal,
Make huswife to shine, as the sunne on the wal.

10 What husband refuseth, al comly to have,
That hath a good huswife, al willing to save.

Be ready at need,
Al things to feed.

11 The case of good huswives, thus daily doth stand,
What ever shall chance, to be ready at hand.

12 This care hath a huswife, al day in her hed,
That al things in season be huswifely fed.

By practise go muse,
How houshold to use.

13 Dame practise is she, that to huswife doth tell,
Which way for to governe, hir familie well.

14 Use laborers gently, keepe this as a law,
Make child to be civile, keepe servant in awe.

Who carelesse do live,
Offence thereby give.

15 Have every where, a respect to thy waies,
That none of thy life any slander may raise.

16 What many do know, though a time it be hid,
At length wil abroad, when a mischiefe shal bid.

No neighbor reprove,
Do as to have love.

17 The love of thy neighbor shal stand thee in steed,
The poorer the gladder to helpe at a need.

18 Use friendly thy neighbor, else trust him in this,
As he hath thy friendship, so looke to have his.

Strike nothing unknowne,
Take heed to thine owne.

19 Revenge not thy wrath upon any mans beast,
Least thine by like malice he bid to like feast.

20 What husband provideth, with money his drudge,
The huswife must looke to, which way it doth trudge.

A Note of Cock-crowing.

Now out of the matter, this lesson I adde,
Concerning cocke crowing, what profit is had,
Experience teacheth, as true as a clocke,
How winter night passeth, by crowing of cocke.

Cocke croweth at midnight, times few above six,
With pause to his neighbour, to answer betwix:
At three a clocke thicker, and then as ye know,
Like al in to mattins, neere day they do crow.

At midnight, at three, and an houre yer day,
They utter their language, as wel as they may:
Which who so regardeth, what counsel they give,
Wil better love cock crowing, as long as they live.

For being afraid,
Take heed good mayd:
Marke crowing of cocke.
For feare of a knocke.

The first cocke croweth.
Ho, dame, it is midnight: what rumbling is that?

The next cocke croweth.
Take heed to false harlots, and more, ye wot what.

If noise ye heere,
Looke al be cleere:
Least drabs do noy thee,
And theeves destroy thee.

The first cocke croweth.
Maids, three a clocke, knead, lay your bucks, or go brew.

The next cocke croweth.
And cobble and botch, ye that cannot buy new.

Til cocke crow agen,
Both maidens and men:
Amend with speed,
That mending hath need.

The first cocke croweth.
Past five a clocke, holla: maid sleeping beware,

The next cocke croweth.
Least quickly your mistrisse uncover your bare.

Maides, up I beseech ye,
Lest mistresse do breech ye:
To worke and away,
As fast as ye may.

Huswifrie: Morning Works.

No sooner up,
ut nose in cup.

1 GET up in the morning; as soone as thou wilt,
With overlong slugging, good servant is spilt.

2 Some slovens from sleeping, no sooner get up,
But hand is in ambrie, and nose in the cup.

That earlie is doone,
Count huswifely woone.

3 Some worke in the morning may trimly be done,
That all the day after can hardly be wun.

4 Good husband without, it is needful there be,
Good huswife within is as needfull as he.

Cast dust into the yard,
And spin and go card.

5 Sluts corners avoided, shal further thy health,
Much time about trifles shall hinder thy wealth.

6 Set some to peele hempe, or else rishes to twine,
To spin and to card, or to seething of brine.

Grind malt for drinke,
See meate do not stinke.

7 Set some about cattell, some pasture to view,
Some malt to be grinding against ye do brew.

8 Some corneth, some brineth, some will not be taught,
Where meat is attainted there cookery is naught.

Breakfast Dooings.

To breakfast that come,
Give every one some.

1 CAL servant to breakfast, by day star appeere,
A snatch and to worke, fellowes loiter not heere.

2 Let huswife be carver, let pottage be heat,
A messe to each one, with a morsel of meat.

No more tittle tattle,
Go serve your cattle.

3 What tacke in a pudding? saith greedy gut wringer,
Give such ye wot what, yer a pudding he finger.

4 Let servants once served, their cattel go serve,
Least often ill serving make cattel to sterve.

Huswifely Admonitions.

Learne you that wil thee,
This lesson of me.

1 No breakfast of custome provide for to save,
But only for such as deserveth to have.

2 No shewing of servant, what vittels in store,
Shew servant his labour and shew him no more.

Of havocke beware,
Cat nothing wil spare.

3 Where al thing is common, what needed a hutch?
Where wanteth a saver, there havocke is much:

4 Where window is open, cat maketh a fray,
Yet wilde cat with two legs is worse by my fay.

Looke wel unto thine,
Slut slothful must whine.

5 An eie in a corner, who useth to have,
Revealeth a drab, and preventeth a knave:

6 Make maid to be cleanly or make her crie creake,
And teach hir to stir, when hir mistresse doth speake.

Let holliwand threat,
Let fizgig be beat.

7 A wand in thine hand, though ye fight not at all,
Makes youth to their business better to fall.

8 For feare of foole had I wist, cause thee to waile,
Let fizgig be taught, to shut dore after taile.

Too easie the wicket,
Wil still appease clicket.

9 With hir that wil clicket, make danger to cope,
Least quickly hir wicket seeme easie to ope.

10 As rod little mendeth, where manners be spilt,
So naught wil be naught, say and do what thou wilt.

Fight seldome ye shal,
But love not to bral.

11 Much bralling with servant what man can abide,
Paie home when thou fightest, but love not to chide.

12 As order is heavenly, where quiet is had
So error is hel or a mischiefe as bad.

What better a law,
Then servant in awe.

13 Such awe as a warning, wil cause to beware,
Doth make the whole houshold the better to fare.

14 The lesse of thy councell, thy servants do know,
Their duty the better such servants shal show.

Good musicke regard,
Good servants reward.

15 Such servants are oftnest painful and good,
That sing in their labour, like birds in the wood.

16 Good servants hope justly some friendship to feele,
And looke to have favour, what time they do weele.

By once or twise,
Its good to be wise.

17 Take runnagate Robin, to pitty his need,
And looke to be filched, as sure as thy creed.

18 Take warning by once, that a worse do not hap,
Foresight is the stopper of many a gap.

Some change for a shift,
Oft change smal thrift.

19 Make few of thy counsell, to change for the best,
Least one that is trudging, infecteth the rest.

20 The stone that is rolling can gather no mosse,
For maister and servant oft changing is losse.

Both liberal sticketh,
Some provender pricketh.

One liberal.

21 One dog for a hog, and one cat for a mouse,
One ready to give is inough in a house:

22 One gift ill accepted, keepe next in thy purse,
Whom provender pricketh, are often the wurse.

Brewing.

Brew somewhat for thine,
Else bring up no swine.

1 WHERE brewing is needful, be bruer thy selfe,
What filleth thy roofe, wil helpe furnish thy shelfe:

2 In buying of drinke, by the firkin or pot,
The tally ariseth, but hog amends not.

Wel brued, worth cost,
Ill ved halfe lost.

3 One bushel well brued, outlasteth some twaine,
And saveth both malt and expenses in vaine.

4 Too new is no profit, too stale is as bad,
Drinke dead or else sower, makes labourer sad.

Remember good Gill,
Take paine with thy swill.

See thing of graines.

5 Seeth graines in more water, while graines be yet hot,
And stir them in copper, as porredge in pot.

6 Such heating with straw, to have offals good store,
Both pleaseth and easeth, what would ye have more?

Baking.

New bread is a drivel,
Much crust is as evil.

1 NEW bread is a waster, but mouldy is worse,
What that way dog catcheth that loseth the purse.

2 Much dow-bake I praise not much crust is as ill,
The meane is the huswife, say nay if ye wil.

Cookerie.

Good cookery craveth,
Good turnbroch saveth.

1 Good cooke to dresse dinner, to bake and to brew,
Deserves a reward, being honest and true.

2 Good diligent turnebroch and trusty withal,
Is sometime as needful, as some in the hal.

Dairie.

Good dairy doth pleasure,
Ill dairy spends treasure.

1 Good huswife in dairy, that needs not be told,
Deserveth her fee to be paid hir in gold.

2 Ill servant neglecting what huswifery saies,
Deserveth her fee to be paid her with baies.

Good droie[a] worth much,
Marke sluts and such.

3 Good droie to serve hog, to help wash, and to milke,
More needfull is truly than some in their silke.

4 Though homely be milker, let cleanly be cooke,
For a slut and a sloven, be known by their looke.

In dairy no cat,
Lay bane for a rat.

5 Though cat (a good mouser) doth dwel in a house,
Yet ever in dairy have trap for a mouse.

6 Take heed how thou laiest, the bane for the rats, Traps for rats.
For poisoning of servant, thy selfe and thy brats.

Scowring.

No scouring for pride,
Spare kettle whole side.

1 THOUGH scowring bee needefull yet scowring too much,
Is pride without profit and robbeth thine hutch,

[a] *Droie*, a corruption of *dey*, a dairy servant.

2 Keepe kettles from knocks, set tubs out of sun,
For mending is costly, and crackt is soone dun.

Washing.

Take heed when ye wash,
Else run in the lash.

1 MAIDS, wash wel, and wring wel, but beat ye wot how,
If any lacke beating, I feare it be you.

2 In washing by hand have an eie to thy boll,
For launders and millers be quicke of their toll.

Drie sun, drie wind,
Safe bind, safe find.

3 Go wash wel, saith summer, with sun I shal drie;
Go wring well, saith winter, with wind so shall I.

4 To trust without heed, is to venter a joint,
Give tale and take count is a huswifely point.

Where many be packing,
Are many things lacking.

5 Where hens fall a cackling, take heed to their nest,
Where drabs fall a whispering take heed to the rest.

6 Thrugh negligent huswives are may things lacking,
And gillet suspected, wil quickly be packing.

Malting.

Ill malting is theft,
Wood dride hath a weft.

Malting. 1 HOUSE may be so handsome, and skilfulnesse such,
To make thine owne malt, it shal profit thee much,

2 Some drieth with straw, and some drieth with wood,
Wood asketh more charge, and nothing so good.

Take heed to the kel,
Sing out as a bel.*

3 Be sure no chances to fier can draw,
The wood or the furzen, the brake or the straw.

* Tusser, probably from his own education as a musician, in more than one place, intimates a partiality for the servants who sing at their labour.

4 Let gillet be singing, it doth very wel,
To keepe her from sleeping and burning the kel.

Best dried best speeds,
Ill kept bowd breeds.

5 Malt being wel speered the more it wil cast,
Malt being wel dried the longer wil last.

6 Long kept in ill seller (undoubted thou shalt)
Through bowds without number lose quickly thy malt.

Dinner Matters.

For hunger and thirst,
Serve catel well first.

1 By noone see your dinner, be ready and neat, Dinner matters.
Let meat tarry servant, not servant his meat.

2 Plough cattel abayting cal servants to dinner,
The thicker togither, the charges the thinner.

Togither is best,
For hostis and ghest.

3 Due season is best, altogither is gaie,
Dispatch hath no fellow, make short and away.

4 Beware of gill laggoose disordering thy house,
Mo dainties who catcheth thē crafty fed mouse?

Let such have inough,
That follow the plough.

5 Give servant no dainties, but give him inough,
Too many chaps walking do begger the plough.

6 Poore seggons halfe starved, worke faintly and dul,
And lubbers do loiter, their bellies too ful.

Give never too much,
To lazie and such.

7 Feed lazie that thresheth, a flap and a tap,
Like slothfull, that al day be stopping a gap.

8 Some litherlie lubber, more eateth than two,
Yet leaveth undone that another wil doo.

Where nothing will last,
Spare such as thou hast.

9 Some cutteth thy linnen, some spilleth their broth,
Bare table to some, doth as wel as a cloth.

10 Treene dishes be homely, and yet not to lacke,
Where stone is no laster, take tankerd and jacke.

Knap boy on the thums,
And save him the crums.

11 That pewter is never, for mannerly feasts,
Which dayly do serve, so unmannerly beasts.

12 Some gnaweth and leaveth, some crusts and some crums,
Eat such their own leavings, or gnaw their own thums.

Serve God ever first,
Take nothing at worst.

Grace before and after meat.

13 At dinner, at supper, at morning, at night,
Give thanks unto God, for his gifts so in sight.

14 Good husband and huswife, wil some times alone,
Make shift with a morsel, and picke of a bone.

Enough thou art told,
Too much will not hold.

15 Three dishes wel dressed, and welcome withal,
Both pleaseth thy friend, and becommeth thine hal.

16 Enough is a plentie, too much is a pride,
The plough, with il holding, goes quickly aside.

Afternoone workes.

Afternoone Workes.

Make companie breake,
Go cherish the weake.

1 When dinner is ended, set servants to worke,
And follow such fellowes as loveth to lurke.

2 To servant in sicknesse, see nothing ye grutch:
A thing of a trifle shall comfort him much.

Who many do feed,
Save much they had need.

3 Put chippings in drippings, use parings to save,
Fat capons or chickens, that looketh to have.

4 Save droppings and skimmings, however ye doo,
For medicine for cattel, for cart and for shoo.

Leane capon unmeet,
Deere fed is unsweete.

5 Such off-corne as commeth, give wife to her fee,
Feed willingly such as do helpe to feede thee.

6 Though fat fed be daintie, yet I thee this warne,
Be cunning in fatting, for robbing thy barne.

Peece hole to defend,
Things timely amend.

7 Good semsters be sowing, of fine prettie knacks,
Good huswifes be mending and peecing their sacks.

8 Though making and mending, be huswifely waies,
Yet mending in time, is the huswife to praise.

Buy new as is meete,
Marke blancket and sheete.

9 Though ladies may rend, and buy new ery day,
Good huswifes must mend, and buy new as they maie.

10 Call quarterly servants, to court and to leet,
Write every coverlet, blancket and sheet.

Shift, slovinglie elfe,
Be gailer thy selfe.

12 Though shifting too oft, be a theefe in a house,
Yet shift slut and sloven, for feare of a louse.

12 Grant doubtfull no key of his chamber in purse,
Least chamber doore lockt, be to theevery a nurse.

Save feathers for gest,
These other rob chest.

13 Save winge for a thresher, when a gander doth die, Save feathers.
Save feathers of all thing, the softer to lie.

14 Much spice is a theefe, so is candle and fier,
Sweet sause is as craftie as ever was frier.

Wife make thine owne candle,
Spare pennie to handle.

15 Provide for thy tallow, yer frost commeth in,
And make thine owne candle yer winter begin.

Candle-making.

16 If pennie for all thing, be suffred to trudge,
Trust long not to pennie, to have him thy drudge.

Evening Works.

Time drawing to night,
See all things go right.

1 When hens go to roost, go in hand to dresse meat,
Serve hogs and to milking and some to serve neat.

2 Where twaine be inow, be not served with three,
More knaves in a company, worser they be.

Make lackie to trudge,
Make servant thy drudge.

3 For everie tryfle, leave jaunting thy nag,
But rather make lackie of Jack boy thy wag.

4 Make servant at night, lug in wood or a log,
Let none come in emptie, but slut and thy dog.

False knave readie prest,
All safe is the best.

5 Where pullen use nightly, to pearch in the yeard
There two legged foxes keep watches and ward.

6 See cattel wél served, without and within,
And all things at quiet, yer supper begin.

Take heed it is needefull,
True pittie is meedful.

7 No clothes in garden, no trinkets without:
No doore leave unbolted, for feare of a dout.

8 Thou woman whom pittie becommeth thee best,
Grant all that have laboured due time to take rest.

Supper Matters.

Use mirth and good word,
At bed and at boord.

1 PROVIDE for thy husband, to make him good cheere,
Make merrie togither, while time ye be heere.

2 At bed and at boord, howsoever befall,
Whatever God sendeth, be merrie withall.

No bralling make,
No jealousie take.

3 No taunts before servants, for hindring of fame,
No jarring too loud, for avoiding of shame.

4 As fransie and heresie, roveth togither,
So jealousie leadeth, a foole ye wot whither.

Tend such as ye have,
Stop talkative knave.

5 Yong children and chickens would ever be eating,
Good servants look duly, for gentle intreating.

6 No servant at table, use sawslie to talke,
Least toong set at large, out of measure do walke.

No snatching at al,
Sirs harken now al.

7 No lurching, no snatching, no striving at al,
Least one go without, and another have all.

8 Declare after supper, take heed thereunto,
What worke in the morning ech servant shall do.

After Supper Matters.

Thy soule hath a clog,
Forget not thy dog.

1 REMEMBER those children, whose parents be poore; Works after supper.
Which hunger, yet dare not to crave at thy doore.

2 Thy bandog that serveth for divers mishaps,
Forget not to give him thy bones and thy scraps.

Make keyes to be keepers,
To bed ye sleepers.

3 Where mouthes be many, to spend that thou hast,
Set keyes to be keepers, for spending too fast.

4 To bed after supper, let drousie go sleepe,
Least knave in the darke, to his marrow do creepe.

Keepe keies as thy life,
Feare candle good wife.

5 Such keyes laye up safe, yer ye take ye to rest,
Of dairie, of buttrie, of cupboard, and chest.

6 Feare candle in hailoft, in barne, and in shed,
Feare flea smock and mendbreech, for burning their bed.

See doores lockt fast,
Two keies make wast.

7 A doore without locke, is a baite for a knave,
A locke without key, is a fool that will have.

8 One key to two locks, if it breake is a greefe,
Two keys to one locke, in the end is a theefe.

Night works troubles hed,
Locke doores and to bed.

9 The day willeth done, whatsoever ye bid,
The night is a theefe, if ye take not good heed.

Bed time. Time to rise.

10 Wash dishes, lay leavens, save fire and awaie,
Locke doores and to bed, a good huswife will saie.

To bed know thy guise.
To rise do likewise.

11 In winter at nine, and in summer at ten,
To bed after supper, both maides and men.

12 In winter at five a clock, servant arise,
In summer at four, is a very good guise.

Love as ye maie,
Love many a day.

13 Be lowlie not sullen, if ought go amisse,
What wrestling may lose thee, that win with a kisse,

14 Both beare and forbeare, now and then as ye maie,
Then wench God a mercye thy husband wil say.

The Ploughmans Feasting Daies.

This would not be slept,
Old guise must be kept.

1 Good huswifes, whom God hath inricheth ynough,
Forget not the feasts, that belong to the plough:
The meaning is only to joy and be glad, Leicestershire.
For comfort with labour is fit to be had.

Plough Munday.

2 Plough Munday, next after that twelftide is past,
Bids out with the plough, the worst husband is last:
If plowman get hatchet, or whip to the skreene,
Maids loseth their cocke, if no water be seene.[1]

Shroftide.

3 At Shroftide to shroving, go thresh the fat hen,[2] Essex and Suffolke.
If blindfold can kil her, then give it thy men:
Maids, fritters and pancakes, ynow see you make,
Let slut have one pancake, for company sake.

Sheepeshearing.

4 Wife makes us a dinner, spare flesh neither corne, Northamton.
Make wafers and cakes, for our sheepe must be shorne.
At sheepshearing neighbours, none other thing crave,
But good cheere and welcome, like neighbours to have.

The Wake Daie.

5 Fil oven ful of flawnes, Ginnie passe not for sleepe,
To-morrow thy father, his wake day wil keepe:
Then every wanton may dance at hir wil,
Both Tomkin and Tomlin, and Jankin with Gil.

Harvest home.

6 For al this good feasting, yet art thou not loose,
Til ploughman thou givest, his harvest home goose:
Though goose go in stubble, I passe not for that,
Let goose have a goose, be she leane be she fat.

Seed cake.

7 Wife somtime this weeke, if the weather hold cleere, Essex and Suffolke.
An end of wheatsowing, wee make for this yeere:
Remember thou therefore, though I do it not,
The seed cake, the pasties, and furmenty pot.

[1] The editor cannot explain this ancient custom.
[2] The inhuman custom of throwing at cocks on Shrove Tuesday, is now almost entirely abolished.]

Twise a weeke rost.

8 Good ploughmen looke weekely of custome and right,
For rostmeat on Sundaies, and Thursday at night:
This dooing and keeping, such custome and guise,
They cal thee good huswife, they love thee likewise.

Good Huswifely Physicke.

Good huswife provides, yer a sicknesse do come,
Of sundrie good things, in her house to have some,
Good aqua composita, and vineger tart,
Rosewater and treacle, to comfort thine hart.

Cold hearbes in her garden, for agues that burne,
That overstrong heat, to good temper may turne,
White endive and suckerie, with spinage inough,
All such with good potherbs, should follow the plough.

Get water of fumitory, liver to coole,
And others the like, or else lie like a foole.
Conserves of barberie, quinces and such,
With sirrops that easeth the seekely so much.

Physitian. Aske Medicus counsel; yer medicine ye make,
And honour that man for necessities sake.
Though thousands hate phisicke because of the cost,
Yet thousands it helpeth, that else should be lost.

Good diet. Good broth and good keeping, do much now and than,
Good diet with wisdom, best comforteth man.
Thinke on thy soule and have a good hope. In health to be stirring, shall profite thee best,
In sicknes hate trouble, seeke quiet and rest.

Remember thy sou e, let no fansie prevaile,
Make ready to godward, let faith never quaile.
The sooner thy selfe thou submittest to God,
The sooner he ceaseth to scourge with his rod.

Good motherlie Nurserie.

Good huswives take paine, and do count it good luck,
To make their owne breast, their owne child to give sucke.
Though wralling and rocking be noisome so neare,
Yet lost by ill nursing, is worser to heare.

But one thing I warne thee, let huswife be nurse,
Least husband do find thee too franke with his purse.

What hilbacke and filbellie,[1] maketh awaie,
That helpe to make good, or else looke for a fraie.
Give child that is fitlie, give babie the big,
Give hardnesse to youth, and to roperipe a twig.

We find it not spoken so often for naught,
That children were better, unborne then untaught.
Some cocknies with cocking, are made very fooles,
Fit neither for prentise, for plough, nor for schooles.

Each child to aske blessing, serve God, and to church;
Then blesse as a mother, else blesse him with burch.
Thou huswife thus doing, what further shall need?
But all men to call thee, good mother indeed.

Thinke on the Poore.

Remember the poore, that for God sake do call,
For God both rewardeth, and blesseth withal:
Take this in good part, whatsoever thou be,
And wish me no worse, than I wish to thee.

A Comparison betweene good Huswiferie and evil.

Comparing togither, good huswife and bad,
The knowledge of either, the better is had.

1 Il huswifery lieth,
Til nine of the clocke:
Good huswiferie trieth,
To rise with the cocke.

2 Il huswiferie tooteth,
To make hir selfe brave:
Good huswiferie looketh,
What houshold must have.

3 Il huswiferie trusteth,
To him and to hir:
Good huswiefrie lusteth,
Hirselfe for to stir.

4 Il huswiferie careth,
For this nor for that:
Good huswiferie spareth,
For fear ye wot what.

5 Il huswifer e pricketh,
Hirselfe up in pride:
Good huswiferie tricketh,
Hir house as a bride.

6 Il huswiferie othing,
Or other must crave:
Good huswiferie nothing,
But needful will have.

7 Il huswiferie moveth,
With gossip to spend,
Good huswiferie loveth,
Hir houshold to tend.

8 Il huswiferie wanteth,
With spending too fast:
Good huswiferie scanteth,
The longer to last.

9 Il huswiferie easeth,
Hir selfe with unknowne,
Good huswiferie pleaseth
Hir selfe with her owne.

10 Il huswiferie brooketh,
Mad toies in hir hed,
Good huswiferie looketh,
That all things be fed.

[1] *Hilbacke*, i.e. hele-back or cover-back, is expence of cloaths; *fil-bellie*, that of victuals.

11 Il huswiferie bringeth,
A shilling to naught:
Good huswiferie singeth,
Hir coffers full fraught.

12 Il huswiferie rendeth,
And casteth aside:
Good huswifery mendeth,
Else would it go wide.

13 Ill huswifery sweepeth,
Hir linnen to gage:
Good huswifery keepeth,
To serve hir in age.

14 Ill huswifery craveth,
In secret to borrow:
Good huswifery saveth,
To day for to-morrow.

15 Ill husewifery pineth,
Not having to eat:
Good huswifery dineth,
With plenty of meat.

16 Ill huswifery letteth,
The divel take all:
Good huswifery setteth,
Good brag of a small.

Good huswife good fame hath, of best in the towne:
Ill huswife ill name hath, of every clowne.

Thus endeth the Booke of Huswifery.

Instructing of Children.

For men a perfect warning,
How child should come by learning.

1 All you that faine would learne the perfect waie,
To have your child in musicke something seene:
Aske nature first, what thereto she doth saie,
Yer further sute ye make to such a queene.
For doubtlesse *grosum caput* is not he,
Of whom the learned muses seene will be.

2 Once tride that nature trim hath done hir part,
And ladie musicke faire in love with all:
Be wise who first doth teach, the child that arte,
Least homely breaker mar fine ambling Ball.[1]
Not rod in mad braines hand is that can helpe,
But gentle skil doth make the proper whelpe.

3 Where choise is hard, count good for well a fine,
Skil mixt with will is he that teacheth best,
Let this suffice for teaching child of thine,
Choose quickly well for all the lingring rest:
Mistaught at first, how seldome proveth well,
Trim taught, O God, how shortly doth excell.

4 Although as ships must tarrie wind and tide,
And perfect flowers abide their stinted time:
So likewise though of learning dailie tride,
Space must be had, yer wit may thereto clime.

[1] *Ball*, the name of a horse. "Least a bad breaker spoil a fine colt."

Yet easie steps and perfect waie to trust,
Doth cause good speed, confesse of force we must.

5 Thus in the child, though wit inough we find,
And teacher good neere hand or other where,
And time as apt as may be thought with mind,
Nor cause in such thing much to doubt or feare:
Yet cocking mams and shifting dads from schooles,
Makes pregnant wits to prove unlearned fooles.

6 Yer learning come, to have first art thou taught,
Apt learning child, apt time, then thing to frame,
Apt cunning man to teach, else all is naught.
Apt parents glad to bring to passe the same.
On such apt ground the muses love to build,
This lesson learn, adieu else learned child.

The Description of a Womans Age by six Times fourteen Yeares Prentiship, with a Lesson to the same.

14 Two first seven yeares, for a rod they do whine,
28 Two next, as a pearle in the world they do shine,
41 Two next, trim beautie beginning to swerve,
56 Two next, for matrons or drudges they serve,
70 Two next, doth crave a staffe for a staie,
84 Two next, a beere to fetch them awaie.

A lesson. { Then purchase some pelfe, By fifty and three: Or buckle thyselfe, A drudge for to be.

The Inholders Posie.

At meales, my friend, who vitleth here, and sitteth with his host,
Shall both be sure of better cheere, and scape with lesser cost.
But he that will attendance have, a chamber by himselfe,
Must more regard what pains do crave, then pas of worldly pelf.

Let no man looke to purchase linne, with pinching by the waie,
But laie before he takes his inne, to make his purse to paie.
For nothing pay and nothing pray, in inne it is the guise,
Where no point gaine, there no point paine, think this if you be wise.

For tolling much, and spoiling more, great cost smal gain or none,
Soon sets thine host at needams shore, to crave the beggars bone.
Foreseeing this, come day or night, take up what place ye please,
Use mine as thine, let fortune spight, and boldly take thine ease.

Certaine Table Lessons.

1 FRIEND, eat lesse and drink lesse, and buy thee a knife,
Else for a carver not alwaie too rife:
Some knivelesse their daggers for bravery do weare,[1]
That often for surfetting need not to feare.

2 At dinner and supper, the table doth crave,
Good fellowly neighbour, good manners to have:
Advise thee wel therefore, yer toong be too free,
Or slapsauce be noted, too saucy to be.

3 If any thing wanteth, or seemeth amis,
To call for or shew it, good manner it is,
But busie fault-finder, and saucy withall,
Is roisting like ruffin, no maners at all.

4 Some cutteth the napkin, some trenchers will nicke,
Some sheweth like folly in many a trick:
Let such apish bodie, so toying at meat,
Go toie with his noddie, like ape in the streat.

5 Some commeth unsent for, not for the good cheere,
But sent as a spiall, to listen and heere:
Which being once knowne, for a knave let him go,
For knave will be knavish, his nature is so.

Lessons for Waiting Servants.

1 ONE diligent servitor, skilful to weight,
More comlieth thy table, than other some eight,
That stand for to listen, or gazing about,
Not minding their duty within nor without.

2 Such waiter is faulty that standeth so by,
Unmindfull of service, forgetting his eie:
If maister to such, give a bone for to gnaw,[2]
He doth but his office to teach such a daw.

3 Such servitor also deserveth a checke,
That runneth out fizging, with meat in his becke;
Such ravening puttocks, for vittels so trim,
Would have a good maister, to puttoke with him.

4 Who daily can suffer, or else can afford,
His meat so up snatched, that comes from his boord:

[1] The ancient English dagger, like the Highland dirk, had a knife in the same sheath. This fashion was about to fall into disuse among the gallants, which Tusser hints might sometimes cost them their dinner.
[2] *i. e.* Throw at his head.

So tossed with cormorants, heere and there some,
And others to want it, that orderlie come?

5 Good servitor waiteth (once supper begun)
What asketh attendance, and what to be dun:
So purchasing maister, a praise with the best,
Get praise to himselfe, both of maister and ghest.

Husbandly Posies for the Hall.

1 FRIEND, here I dwell, and here I have a little worldlie pelf,[a]
Which on my friend, I keepe to spend, as wel as on myselfe.

2 Whatever fare you hap to find, take welcome for the best;
That having then disdaine thou not, for wanting of the rest.

3 Backbiting talke that flattring blabs, kno wily how to blenge,
The wise doth note, the friend doth hate, the enemie to revenge.

4 The wise will spend, or give or lend, yet keepe to have a store,
If fooles may have from hand to mouth, they passe upon no more.

5 Where ease is sought, at last we see, there plentie waxeth scant,
Who careles lives go borrow must, or else ful often want.

6 The world doth think, the welthie man, is he that least shal need:
But true it is, the goodlie man is he that best shall speed.

Posies for the Parlour.

1 As hatred is the serpents noisome rod,
So friendship is the loving gift of God.

2 The droonken friend is friendship very evill,
The franticke friend is friendship for the devill.

3 The quiet friend all one in word and deed,
Great comfort is, like readie gold at need.

4 With bralling fooles, that wrall for ever wrong,
Firme friendship never can continue longe.

[a] These wholesome scraps of moral and œconomical doctrine were painted in different parts of the house, to remind guests, servants, and masters of their domestic duty. Thus the usurer, in "A Match at Midnight," 'I'll tell you an old saw, for it is over my chimney yonder:

"A poor man seem to him that's poor,
And prays thee for to lend;
But tell the prodigal not quite spent,
Thou wilt procure a friend."

"Many will have virtuous admonitions on their walls, but not a piece in their coffers; give me those witty politic laws, and indeed my house is furnished with no others."

5 In time that man, shal sildome friendship mis,
That waieth what thing, tuch kept in friendship is.

6 Oft times a friend is got with easie cost,
Which used evil, is oft as quickly lost.

7 Hast thou a friend, as hart may wish at will,
Then use him so to have his friendship still.

8 Wouldst have a friend, wouldst know what friend is best,
Have God thy friend, which passeth all the rest.

Posies for the Ghests Chambers.

1 The sloven and the careles man, the roinish nothing nice,
To lodge in chamber comely deckt, be seldome suffred twise.

2 With curten some make scaberd clean, with coverlet their shoe,
All mire and durt some wallow bed,[1] as spaniels use to doo.

3 Though bootes and spurs be nere so foule, what passeth som theron,
What place they foule, or thing they teare by tumbling therupon.

4 Foule male some[1] cast on faire boord, be carpit neere so cleen,
What maners careles maister hath, by knave his man is seene.

5 Some make the chimnie chamber pot, to smel lyke filthy sinke,
Yet who so bold, so soone to say, fough, how these houses stinke.[2]

6 They therefore such as make no force, what comlie thing to spill,
Must have a cabin like themselves, although against their will.

7 But gentlemen will gently do, where gentlenes is shewd,
Observing this, with love abide, or else hence all beshrewd.

Posies for thine owne Bed Chamber.

1 What wisdom more, what better life, than pleaseth God to send,
What worldly goods, what longer use, than pleaseth God to lend.

2 What better fare than wel content, agreeing with thy wealth?
What better ghest, than trustie friend, in sicknes and in health?

3 What better bed than conscience good, to passe the night with sleep,
What better work, then daily care, fro sinne thyselfe to keepe.

4 What better thought, than thinke on God, and dayly him to serve,
What better gift than to the poore, that readie be to sterve.

[1] *Male*, a spot or stain made by rusty iron.
[2] Shakespear's carrier gives another disadvantage of the practice alluded to; it "breeds fleas like a loach."

5 What greater praise of God and man, than mercie for to shew,
Who merciles, shall mercie find, that mercie shews to few.

6 What worse despaire, than loth to die, for feare to go to hel?
What greater faith, than trust in God, through Christ in heaven to dwel?

A Sonnet to the Lady Paget.

SOME pleasures take,
And cannot give,
But only make,
Poore thanks their shift.
Some meaning wel,
In debt to live,
And cannot tel,
How else to shift.

Some knocke and faine,
Would ope the doore,
To learne the vaine,
Good turne to praise:

Some shew good face,
And be but poore,
Yet have a grace,
Good fame to raise.

Some owe and give,
Yet still in debt,
And so must live,
For ought I know:
Some wish to pay,
And cannot get,
But night and day,
Stil more must owe.

Even so must I, for service past,
Stil wish you good, while life doth last.

Principal Points of Religion.

1 To pray to God continually,
To learn to know him rightfully.
2 To honour God in Trinity,
3 The Trinity in Unity,
The Father in his Majesty,
The Sonne in his humanity,
The Holy Ghosts benignity,
Three persons, one in Deity,
4 To serve him alway holily,
5 To aske him all things needfully,
6 To praise him in all company,
7 To love him alway hartily,
8 To dread him alway Christianly,
9 To ask him mercie penitently,
10 To trust him alway faithfully,
11 To obey him alway willinglye,
12 To abide him alway patiently,
13 To thank him alway thankfully,
14 To live here alway vertuously,
15 To use thy neighbour honestly,
16 To looke for death still presently,
17 To helpe the poore in myserie,

18 To hope for heavens felicitie,
19 To have faith, hope, and charitie,
20 To count this life but vanitie,
Be points of Christianity.

The Authors Beleefe. [x]

God the Father.

1 THIS is my stedfast creede, my faith and all my trust,
That in the heavens there is a God, both mightie, mild, and just.
A God above al gods, a King above all kings,
The Lord of lords, chiefe governor of heaven and earthly things.

Maker of heaven.

2 That power hath of life, of death, of heaven and hel,
That all things made as pleaseth him, so wonderful to tel:
That made the hanging skies, sodeckt with divers lights,
Of darkenesse made the chearefull daies, and al our restful nights.

The earth.

3 That clad the earth with herbe, with trees, and sundry fruits,
With beast, with bird, both mild and tame, of strange and sundry suits;
That intermixt the same, with mines like veines of ore,
Of silver, gold, of precious stones, and treasures many more.

[x] In the Shepherd's Kalender, we find some verses which may have suggested this creed.

The Ballad of a Wise Man.

I know that God hath turned me,
And made me to his own likenesse,
I know that he hath given to me truly,
Soule and body, wit, and knowledge gives,
I know that by right wise, true balance,
After my dedes, judged shall I be,
I know much, but I wot not the variance.
To understand whereof cometh my folly.
I know full well that I shall die,
And yet my life amend not I.
I know in what povertie,
Born a child, this earth above,
I know that God hath lent to me,
Abundance of goods for my behove.
I know that riches cannot be save,
And with me I shall bear none away.
I know the more good that I have,
The lother I shall be to die.
I know all this faithfully,
And yet my life amend not I.
I know that I have passed,
Great part of my days with joy and pleasance.
I know that I have gathered
Sinnes, and also do little penance.
I know that by ignorance
To excuse me there is no arte.
I knowe that once shal be,
When my soule shal depart,
That I shall wish I had mended me;
I know there is no remedy,
And therefore my life amend will I.

4 That joined brooks to dales, to hills fresh water springs, — The waters.
With rivers sweet along the meads, to profit many things ; — Frost and snow.
That made the hoarie frosts, the flakie snowes so trim,
The honie dewes, the blustering winds, to serve as pleaseth him.

5 That made the surging seas, in course to ebbe and flo, — The seas.
That skilful man with sealing ship, might travel to and fro ;
And stored so the same, for mans unthankful sake,
That every nation under heaven, might thereby profit take.

6 That gave to man a soule, with reason how to live, — The soule of man.
That doth to him and all things else, his blessing dailly give ;
That is not seen, yet seeth, how man doth run his race,
Whose dailie works both good and bad, are known before his face.

7 That sendeth thundring claps, like terrors out of hel, — Thunder and plagues.
That man may know a God there is, that in the heavens do dwell ;
That sendeth threatening plagues, to keepe our lives in awe,
His benefits if we forget, or do contemne his lawe.

8 That daily hateth sinne, and loveth virtue wel,
And is the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel,
That doth displeasure take, when we his lawes offend,
And yet amids his heavie wrath, his mercie doth extend.

9 This is that Lord of Hosts, the Father of us all, — Christ the Sonne.
The Maker of what ere was made, my God on whom I call ;
Which for the love of man, sent downe his only Sonne,
Begot of him before the worlds were any whit begun.

10 This entred Maries wombe, as faith affirmeth sure, — Christ's birth.
Conceived by the Holy Ghost, borne of the virgin pure ;
This was both God and man, of Jewes the hoped king, — Christ God and man.
And lived here, save only sinne, like man in every thing.

11 This is that virgins child, that same most holy priest, — Christ our Messias.
The lambe of God, the prophet great, who scripture calleth Christ,
This that Messias was, of whom the prophet spake,
That should tread down the serpents head, and our atonement make.

12 This Judas did betray, to fale dissembling Jewes,
Which unto Pilate being judge, did falsly him accuse ;
Who, (through that wicked judge,) and of those Jewes despight, — Christ's passion.
Condemned and tormented was, with al the force they might.

13 To living wight more evil, what could such wretches do?
More piercing wounds, more bitter pains, than they did put him to.
They crowned him with thorne, that was the King of kings ;
That sought to save the soule of man, above all worldly things.

14 That was that paschall lambe, whose love for us so stood, — Christ's death.
That on the mount of Calvarie, for us did shed his blood :

Where hanging on the crosse, no shame he did forsake:
Til death given him by pearcing speare, an end of life did make.

Christs buriall. Christs descension.

15 This Joseph seeing dead, the bodie thence did crave,
And took it forthwith from the crosse, and laid it in his grave,
Downe thence he went to hell, in using there his will,
His power I meane, his stained corps in tombe remaineth stil.

Christs resurrection. Christs ascension.

16 From death to life againe, the third daie he did rise,
And seene on earth to his elect, times oft in sundrie wise;
And after into heaven, ascend he did in sight,
And sitteth on the right hand there, of God the father of might.

Christ shall be our judge.

17 When for us wretches all, his Father he doth praie,
To have respect unto his death, and put our sins awaie;
From thence with sounded trump, which noise all flesh shal dred,
He shal returne with glorie againe, to judge the quick and dead.

The judges sentence.

18 Then shall the voice be heard, come, come, ye good to me,
Hence, hence to hell, ye workers evill, where pain shall ever be
This is that loving Christ, whom I my Saviour call,
And onely put my trust in him, and in none else at all.

God the Holie Ghost.

19 In God the Holie Ghost, I firmelie do beleeve,
Which from the Father and the Son, a blessed life doth geeve;
Which by the prophets spake, which doth all comfort send,
Which I do trust shal be my guide, when this my life shall end.

The catholike church.

20 A holy catholike church, on earth I grant there is,
And those which frame their lives by that, shall never do amis;
The head whereof is Christ, his word the chiefest post,
Preserver of his temple great is God the Holie Ghost.

The communion of saints.

21 I do not doubt there is a multitude of saints,
More good is done resembling them, then telling them our plaints.
Their faith and works in Christ, that glorie did them give,
Which glorie we shal likewise have, if likewise we do live.

Forgivenes of sinnes.

22 At God of heaven there is forgivenes of our sins,
Through Christs death, through faith in it, and through none other gins.
If we repentant here, his mercie dailie crave,
Through stedfast hope and faith in Christ, forgivenes we shall have.

Mans resurrection.

23 I hope and trust upon the rising of the flesh,
This corps of mine that first must die, shal rise againe afresh;
The soule and bodie even then, in one shall joyned be.
As Christ did rise from death to life, even so through Christ shal we.

24 As Christ is glorified, and never more shall die,
As Christ ascended into heaven, through Christ even so shall I;
As Christ I count my head, and I a member of his,
So God I trust for Christs sake, shall settle me in blis.

Thus here we learne of God, that there be persons three,
The Father, Sonne, and Holie Ghost, one God in Trinitie:
In substance all like one, one God, one Lord, one might,
Whose persons yet we do divide, and so we maie by right.

As God the Father is, the maker of us all,
So God the Sonne redeemer is, to whom for help we call,
And God the Holie Ghost, the soule of man doth win,
By moving her to waile for grace, ashamed of her sin.

This is that God of gods, whom every soule should love,
Whom al mens hearts should quake for feare, his wrath on them to move,
That this same mightie God, above all others cheefe,
Shall save my soule from dolefull hell, is al my whole beleefe.

Of the Omnipotencie of God, and Debilitie of Man.

1 O God thou glorious God, what god is like to thee,
What life, what strength is like to thine, as al the world may see;
The heavens, the earth, the seas, and all thy works therein,
Do shew (to who thou wouldst to know) what thou hast ever bin.

2 But all the thoughts of man, are bent to wretched evill,
Man doth commit idolatrie, bewitched of the devill,
What ill is left undone, where man maie have his will,
Man ever was an hypocrite, and so continues still.

3 What dailie watch is made, the soule of man to flea,
By Lucifer, by Belsabub, Mammon, and Asmodea,
In devilish pride, in wrath, in coveting too much,
In fleshly lust the time is spent, the life of man is such.

What these four divels do signifie.

4 The joy that man hath here is as a spark of fire,
His acts be like the smouldering smoke, himselfe like dirt and mire.
His strength even as a reed, his age much like the flower.
His breath or life is but a puffe, uncertaine everie hower.

5 But for the Holie Ghost, and for his gifts of grace,
The death of Christ, thy mercie great, man were in wofull case;
O grant us therefore Lord, to amend that is amisse,
And when from hence we do depart, to rest with thee in blisse.

Eleemosyna prodest homini in vita, in morte, et post mortem. Out of S. Augustine.

For onelie love of God more Christian-like to live,
And for a zeale to helpe the poore, thine almes dailie give;
Let gift no glorie looke, nor ill possesse thy mind,
And for a truth these profits three, through almes shalt thou find.

Of almes deedes.

1 First, here the Holie Ghost, shall dailie through his grace,
Provoke thee to repentant life, Gods mercie to embrace.

2 Of goods and friends (by death) when thou thy leave must take,
Thine almes deeds shall claspe thy soule, and never it forsake.

3 When God shall after death, call soon for thine account,
Thine almes then through thy faith in Christ, shall all things else surmount.

4 But yet for any deed, put thou no trust therein,
But put thy trust in God (through Christ) to pardon thee thy sin.

5 For else as cackling hen, with noise bewraies her nest,
Even so go thou and blase thy deeds, and lose thou all the rest.

Malus Homo. Out of S. Augustine.

Of naughtie man I read, two sundrie things are ment,
The one is man, th'other naught, which oght him to repent,
The man we ought to love, because of much therein,
The ill in him we ought to hate, even as a filthie sin.
So doth thy dailie sins, the heavenlie Lord offend,
But when thou dost repent the same, his wrath is at an end.

Of two Sorts of Men, the one good and the other bad. Out of S. Augustine.

Since first the world began, there was and shall be still,
Of humane kind two sundry sorts, the one good, the other ill:
Which till the judgement daie, shall here togither dwell,
But then the good shall up to heaven, the bad shall downe to hell.

Diabolo cùm resistitur, est ut formica; cùm verò ejus suggestio recipitur, fortis est ut leo. Out of S. Augustine.

When Satan we resist, a pismire shall be he,
But when we seeme to give him place, a lion then is he.

Eight of S. Bernards Verses, both in Latine and English, with one Note to them both.

1 *Cur mundus militat, sub vana gloria,*
Cujus prosperitas, est transitoria,
Tam citò labitur, ejus potentia,
Quàm vasa figuli, quæ sunt fragilia.

1 Why so triumphs the world, in pompe and glorie vaine,
Whose state so happie thought, so fickle doth remaine;

Whose braverie slipperie stands, and doth so soone decay,
As doth the potters pan, compact of brittle claie.

2 *Plus crede literis, scriptis in glacie,*
Quàm mundi fragilis, vanæ fallaciæ,
Fallax in præmijs, virtutis specie,
Quæ nunquam habuit, tempus fiduciæ.

2 More credit see thou give, to letters wrote in ise,
Than unto vaine deceites, of brittle worlds devise,
In gifts to vertue due, beguiling manie one,
Yet those same never have, long time to hope upon.

3 *Magis credendum est, viris fallacibus,*
Quàm mundi miseris prosperitatibus,
Falsis insanijs et voluptatibus,
Falsis quoque studijs et vanitatibus.

3 To false dissembling men, more trust is to be had,
Than to the prosperous state, of wretched world so bad;
What with voluptuousnes, and other maddish toies,
False studies woon with paine, false vanities and joies.

4 *Dic ubi Salomon, olim tam nobilis?*
Vel ubi Samson est, dux invincibilis?
Vel dulcis Ionathas, multùm amabilis?
Vel pulcher Absolon, vultu mirabilis?

4 Tell where is Salomon, that once so noble was;
Or where now Samson is, in strength whom none could pas?
Or worthie Jonathas, that prince so lovelie bold?
Or faire Absolon, so goodlie to behold?

5 *Quo Cæsar abijt, celsus imperio?*
Vel dives splendidus, totus in prandio?
Dic ubi Tullius, clarus eloquio?
Vel Aristoteles, summus ingenio?

5 Shew whither is Cæsar gone, which conquered far and neere,
Or that rich famous carle, so given to bellie cheere;
Shew where is Tullie now, for eloquence so fit;
Or Aristoteles, of such a pregnant wit.

6 *O esca vermium! O massa pulueris!*
O ros! O vanitas! cur sic extolleris?
Ignoras penitus, utrum cras vixeris,
Fac bonum omnibus, quàm diu poteris.

6 O thou fit bait for worms! O thou great heap of dust!
O dew! O vanitie! whie so extolst thou lust?
Thou therefore ignorant, what time thou hast to live,
Do good to erie man, while here thou hast to give.

7 *Quàm breve festum est, hæc mundi gloria?*
Ut umbra hominis, sic ejus gaudia,
Quæ semper subtrahunt, æterna præmia,
Et ducunt hominem, ad dura devia.

How short a feast to count, is this same worlds renowne;
Such as mens shadowes be, such joyes they bring to towne:
Which alwaie plucketh up, from Gods eternall blis,
And leadeth man to hell, a just reward of his.

8 *Hæc mundi gloria, quæ magni penditur,*
Sacris in literis, flos fœni dicitur,
Ut leve folium, quod vento rapitur,
Sic vita hominum, hac vita tollitur.

8 The braverie of this world, esteemed here so much,
In scripture likened is, to flowers of grasse and such;
Like as the leafe so light, through mind abroad is blowne,
So life in this our life, full soone is overthrowne.

Of the Authors linked Verses, departing from the Court to the Countrey.

Muse not, my friend, to find me heere,
Contented with this meane estate:
And seeme to do with willing cheere,
That courtier doth so deadlie hate.

For fortunes looke,
Hath changed her hewe;
And I my booke,
Must learne anewe.

And yet of force to learn anewe,
Would much abash the dulled braine:
I crave to judge and this be true,
The truant child that feels the paine.

But where a spight,
Of force must be;
What is that wight,
May disagree.

No, no, God wot, to disagree,
Is venturing all to make or mar;
If fortune frowne we dailie see,
It is not best to strive too far.

For lordlie bent,
Must learne to spare:
And be content,
With country fare.

From daintie court to country fare,
Too daintie fed is diet straunge:
From cities joy to countrie care,
To skillesse folke is homelie change.

Where need yet can,
None other skill;
Sometime poore man
Must break his will.

If courtlie change so breaketh will,
That country life must serve the turne;
What profit then in striving still,
Against the pricke to seeme to spurne?

If court with cart,
Must be content;
What ease to hart,
Though mind repent.

What gaine I though I do repent,
My crutches all are broke and gone;
My woonted friends are carelesse bent,
They feare no chance I chance upon.

As need doth make,
Old age to trot;
So must I take,
In worth my lot.

Now if I take in worth my lot,
That fatall chance doth force me to,
If ye be friends, upbraid me not,
But use a friend as friends should do.

Behold the horse,
Must trudge for pelfe,
And yet of force,
Content it selfe.

The Authours Life.

Epodium.

1 Now, gentle friend, if thou be kind,
Disdaine thou not although the lot,
Will not with me no better bee,
Than doth appeere:
Nor let it grieve, that thus I live,
But rather gesse, for quietnesse,
As other do, so do I to,
Content me heere.

2 By leave and love, of God above,
I mind to shew in verses few,
How through the breers, my youthfull yeeres,
Have run their race:
And further say, why so I stay,
And mind to live, as bee in hive,
Full bent to spend, my life to an end,
In this same place.

Borne at Rivenhall in Essex.

3 It came to pas, that borne I was,
Of linage good, of gentle bloud,
In Essex laier, in village faier,
That Rivenhall hight:
Which village lide, by Banktree side,
There spend did I my infancie.
There then my name, in honest fame,
Remaind in sight.

4 I yet but yoong, no speech of toong,
Not tears withall, that often fall,
From mothers eies, when child out cries,
To part her fro:
Could pittie make good father take,
But out I must, to song be thrust,
Say what I would, do what I could,
His mind was so.

Set to song schoole.

5 O painfull time for everie crime,
What toosed eares? like baited beares;
What bobbed lips, what yerkes, what nips?
What hellish toies?
What robes so bare: what colledge fare;
What bread how stale, what pennie ale;
Then Wallingford, how wert thou abhord,
Of sillie boies;[1]

Wallingford Colledge.

[1] The discipline of the collegiate chapel at Wallingford, where Tusser was taught the rudiments of music, is here described. The "robes so bare," were the livery of the singing boys.

6 Thence for my voice I must (no choise,)
Away of force like posting horse,
For sundry men, had placards then,
Such childe to take:[1]
The better brest, the lesser rest,
To serve the queere, now there now heere,
For time so spent, I may repent,
And sorrow make.

7 But marke the chance, my selfe to vance,
By friendships lot, to Paules I got,
So found I grace, a certaine space,
Still to remaine.
With Redford[2] there, the like no where,
For cunning such, and vertue much,
By whom some part, of musicks art,
So did I gaine.

John Redford an excellent musitian.

8 From Paules I went, to Eaton sent,
To learne straight waies, the Latin phraies,
Where fiftie three, stripes given to mee,
At once I had:
For fault but small, or none at all,
It came to passe, thus beat I was,
See Udall[3] see, the mercie of thee,
To me poore lad.

Nicholas Udall, schoolmaster at Eaton.

9 From London hence, to Cambridge thence
With thanks to thee, O Trinitie,
That to thy Hall, surpassing all,
I got at last:[4]
Where joy I felt, there trim I dwelt,
There heaven from hell, I shifted well,
With learned men, a number then,
The time I past.

Trinitie hall in Cambridge.

10 Long sickness had, then was I glad,
To leave my booke, to prove and looke,

Quartan ague.

[1] This sort of impress was not uncommon about the period. "Strype has printed an abstract of an instrument, by which it appears, that emissaries were dispatched into various parts of England, with full powers to take boys from any choir, for the use of the chapel of King Edward the Sixth. Under the year 1550, says Strype, there was a grant of a commission to Philip Van Wilder, gentleman of the privy chamber, in anie churches or chapells within England, to take to the king's use, such, and as many singing children and choristers, as he or his deputy shall think good." Sat. April, Strype's *Mem. Eccl.* ii. p. 538. And again, in the following year, the master of the king's chapel, that is, the master of the king's singing-boys, has licence "to take up from time to time, as many children (boys) to serve in the king's chapel as he shall think fit." *Ibid.* p. 539. Under the year 1454 there is a commission of the same sort, from King Henry the Sixth, *de ministrallis propter solatium regis providendis*, for procuring minstrels, even by force, for the solace or entertainment of the king; and it is required, that the minstrels so procured, should be not only skilled *in arte minstrallatus*, in the art of minstrelsy, but, *membris naturalibus elegantes*, handsome and elegantly shaped. *Rym. Foed.* xi. 375."—WARTON iii. p. 301.

[2] John Redford was the organist of St Pauls.

[3] Nicholas Udal was a severe, but excellent teacher. He was a poet, and composed English interludes, quoted in Wilson's Art of Logic, and also verses for the pageants, exhibited before Henry VIII. and Anna Bullen.

[4] This expression does not absolutely contradict Hatcher's assertion, quoted by Warton, that Tusser was first entered of King's College in 1543.

In court what gaine, by taking paine,
Mought well be found:
Lord Paget than, that noble man,
Whose soule I trust is with the just,
That same was he, inriched me,
With many a pound.

L. Paget.

11 When this betide, good parents dide,
One after one, till both were gone,
Whose petigree, who list may see
In harolds booke.
Whose soules in blisse, be long yer this,
For hope we must, as God is just,
So here that crave, shall mercie have,
That mercie looke.

12 By court I spide, and ten yeares tride,
That cards and dice, with Venus vice,
And peevish pride, from vertue wide,
With some so wraught:
That Tiburne play, made them awaie,
Or beggers state, as ill to hate,
By such like evils, I saw such drivels,
To come to naught.

The vices of the court.

13 Yet is it not, to be forgot,
In court that some, to worship come,
And some in time, to honor clime,
And speed ful wel:
Some have such gift, that trim they shift,
Some profit make, by paines they take,
I peril much, though oft are such,
In court that dwel.

14 When court gan frown, and strife in town
And lords and knights, saw heavie sights,
Then tooke I wife, and led my lyfe
In Suffolke soile.
There was I faine my selfe to traine,
To learne too long the farmers song,
For hope of pelfe, like worldly elfe,
To moile and toile.

The nobilitie at variance in Edward the 6. daies.

15 As in this booke, who list to looke,
Of husbandry, and huswiferie,
There may he find more of his mind,
Concerning this.
To carke and care, and ever bare,
With losse and paine, to little gaine,
With shifts to save, to cram sir knave,
What life it is.

At Ratwade in Suffolke this booke first devised.

16 When wife could not, through sicknes got
More toile abide, so neere seaside,
Then thought I best, from toil to rest,
And Ipswich trie:
A towne of price, like paradice,
For quiet then, and honest men,

Ipswich com-

There was I glad, much friendship had,
A time to lie.

17 There left good wife,[1] this present life,
And there left I house charges lie,
For glad was he, might send for me,
Good lucke so stood:
In Suffolke there, were every where,
Men of the best, besides the rest,
That never did their friendship hid,
To doo me good.

New maried in Suffolke.

18 O Suffolke thou, content thee now,
That hadst the praise, in those same daies
For squires and knights, that wel delights,
Good house to keepe.
For Norfolke-wiles, so ful of guiles,
Have caught my toe, by wiving so,
That out to thee, I see for me,
No way to creepe.

Mistris Amy Moone.

19 For lo, through guile, what haps the while,
Through Venus toies, in hope of joies,
I chanced soone, to find a Moone,
Of cheereful hew:
Which wel and fine, me thought did shine,
And never change, a thing most strange,
Yet kept in sight, hir course aright,
And compasse true.

20 Behold of truth, with wife in youth,
For joy at large, what dayly charge,
Through childrens hap, what opened gap,
To more begun;
The child at nurse, to rob the purse,
The same to wed, to trouble hed,
For pleasure rare, such only care,
Had husband wun.

21 Then I did dwel, in Diram cel,
A place for wood, that trimly stood,
With flesh and fish, as hart would wish;
But when I spide,
That lord with lord could not accord,
But now pound he, and now pound we,
Then left I al, because such bral,
I list not bide.

Landlords at variance.

Sir Richard Soothwell.

22 O Southwel what, meanst thou by that,
Thou worthy wight, thou famous knyght,
So me to crave, and to thy grave,
Go by and by?
O death, thou foe, why didst thou so,
Ungently treate, that jewel great,
Which opt his doore, to rich and poore,
So bounteously?

[1] This first marriage has not been noticed by our author's biographers.

23 There thus bestad, when leave I had,
By death of him to sinke or swim,
And ravens I saw, togither draw,
In such a sort:
Then waies I sought, by wisdome taught,
To beare low saile, least stocke should quaile,
Til ship might find, with prosperous wind,
Some safer port.

His seven executors.

24 At length by view, to shore I drew,
Discharging strait, both ship and fraight,
At Norwich fine, for me and mine,
A citie trim.
Where strangers well, may seem to dwel,
That pitch and pay, or keepe their day,
But who that want, shal find it scant
So good for him.

Norwich qualities.

25 But Salisburie how, were kept my vow,
If praise from thee, were kept by me,
Thou gentle deane, mine onely mean,
There then to live:
Though churls such some, to crave can come,
And pray once got, regard thee not,
Yet live or die, so wil not I,
Example give.

Maister Salisburie, deane of Norwich.

26 When learned men, could there nor then,
Devise to swage, the stormie rage,
Nor yet the furie of my dissurie,
That long I had:
From Norwich aire, in great dispaire,
Awaie to flie, or else to die,
To seeke more health, to seeke more wealth,
Then was I glad.

In 138 hours I never made a drop of water.

27 From thence so sent, away I went,
With sicknes worne, as one forlorne,
To house my bed, at Faiersted,
Where whiles I dwelt:
The tithing life, the tithing strife,
Through tithing ill, of Jacke, and Gil,
The daily paies, the miery waies,
Too long I felt.

Faiersted in Essex.

28 When charges grew, stil new and new,
And that I spide, if parson dide,
All hope in vaine, to hope for gaine,
I might go daunce:
Once rid my hand, of parsonage land,
Thence by and by, away went I,
To London straight, to hope and wait,
For better chaunce.

Lease for parsons life.

29 Wel London wel, that bearst the bel,
Of praise about, England throughout,
And doost indeed, to such as need,
Much kindnes shew.

London commended.

Who that with thee, can hardly agree,
Nor can wel praise, thy friendly waies,
Shal friendship find, to please his mind,
In places few.

Unthrifts order.

30 As for such mates, as vertue hates,
Or he or they, that go so gay,
That needs he must, take all of trust,
For him or his:
Though such for woe, by Lothbury go,
For being spide, about Cheapside,
Least Mercer's books, for mony lookes,
Small matter it is.

The plague at London.

31 When gains was gon, and yeeres grew on,
And death did crie, from London flie,
In Cambridge then, I found agen,
A resting plot,
In colledge best, of all the rest,
With thanks to thee, O Trinitee,
Through thee and thine, for me and mine,
Some stay I got:

Youth ill spent makes age repent.

32 Since hap haps so, let toiling go,
Let serving paines, yeeld forth hir gaines,
Let courtly gifts with wedding shifts,
Help now to live:
Let music win, let stocke come in,
Let wisedome carve, let reason serve,
For here I crave such end to have,
As God shall give.

A lesson for yoonger brothers.

33 Friends thus by me, perceive may ye,
That gentrie stands not al by lands,
Nor al so feft, or plenty left,
By parents gift.
But now and then, of gentlemen,
The youngest sonne is driven to run,
And glad to seeke, from creeke to creeke,
To come by thrift.

A true lesson.

34 And more by this, to confer is,
In world is set, enough to get,
But where or whan, that scarsly can,
The wisest tel:
By learning some, to riches come,
By ship and plough, some get inough,
And some so wive, that trim they thrive,
And speed full well.

Hardnes in youth not the worst.

35 To this before, adde one thing more,
Youth hardnes taught, with knowledge wraught,
Most apt do prove, to shift and shove,
Amongst the best:
Where cocking[1] dads, make sawcie lads,
In youth so rage, to beg in age,

[1] Used, as before, for *cockering*, or over-indulgent.

Or else to fetch a Tiburne stretch,
Among the rest.
36 Not rampish toy, of girle and boy,
Nor garment trim, of hir or him,
In childhood spent, to fond intent,
Good end doth frame:
If marke we shal, the summe of all,
The end it is, that noted is,
Which if it bide, with virtue tride,
Deserveth fame.
37 When al is done, learne this, my sonne,
Not friend nor skill, nor wit at wil,
Nor ship nor clod, but onely God,
Doth all in all:
Man taketh paine, God giveth gaine,
Man doth his best, God doth the rest,
Man wel intends, God foizon sends,
Else want he shall.
38 Some seek for wealth, I seeke my health,
Some seeke to please, I seeke mine ease,
Some seeke to save, I seeke to have,
To live upright:
More than to ride, with pompe and pride,
Or for to jet, in others det,
Such is my skil, and shal be stil,
For any wight.
39 Too fond were I, here thus to lie,
Unles that welth, might further health,
And profit some should thereby come,
To helpe with all.
This causeth me, wel pleased to be,
Such drift to make, such life to take,
In forcing mind, remorse to find,
As need, need shall.
40 Friend al thing waid, that here is said,
And being got, that paies the shot,
Me thinke of right have leave I might;
(Death draweth neere:)
To seeke some waies my God to praies,
And mercy crave, in time to have,
And for the rest, what he thinks best
To suffer heere.

Man doth labour, and God doth bless.

A contented mind worth all.

FINIS.

The Schoole of Abuse, containing a pleasant Invective against Poets, Pipers, Players, Jesters, and such like Caterpillers of the Commonwealth, &c. 12*mo.* 1579 *and* 1585, *dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney.*

Stephen Gosson, author of the following curious treatise, was a Kentish man, born and educated at Christ Church, where he took one degree about 1576. He was there distinguished as a poet, with which reputation he went to follow his fortune in London, and was, for a time, a writer for the stage. Being a man of a strict and severe temper, he became gradually addicted to the tenets of the puritans, who were then beginning to acquire proselytes, untill, from a dramatic author, he became a determined enemy to the theatre. Gosson was afterwards tutor to the sons of a gentleman of rank, whose name Anthony Wood has not recorded; but the severity of his principles having offended his patron, he took orders, and became first parson of Great Wigborow, in Essex, and afterwards of St Botolph without Bishopsgate, London. Gosson was alive in 1615. The following treatise is one of the earliest which was written against the stage, and has unintentionally been of service to the drama, by preserving many curious particulars respecting its earlier history. In point of date this "pleasant invective" belongs to the tracts in Queen Elizabeth's reign; but, from its immediate connection with Haywood's apology for authors, it has been reserved for this place.

Gosson also wrote, "Plays confuted in Five Actions, proving, they are not to be suffered in a Christian Commonwealth;" a sermon preached at Paul's Cross, in 1598, and divers pastorals, plays, and poems, which were never published, and are now probably lost. He appears to have been a man of extensive learning, which, according to the pedantic custom of the time, he fails not to exhibit by classic quotation, rather more liberal than well judged.

THE Syracusans used such varietie of dishes in theyr banquets, that when they were sette, and their boordes furnished, they were many times in doubt, which they shoulde touch first, or taste last. And, in my opinion, the world giveth every writer so large a fielde to walke in, that before he set penne to the booke, he shall find him selfe feasted at Syracusa, uncertaine where to begin, or when to end. This caused Pendaries too question with his muse, whether he were better with his art to discifer life of the nimphe Melia, or Cadmus encounter with the dragon, or the warres of Hercules, at the walls of Thebes, or Bacchus cuppes or Venus jugling.

Hee sawe so many twininges layde open at his feete, that he knewe not which way to bende his pace.

Therefore, as I cannot but commende his wisdome, whiche in banquiting feedes most upon that, that doth nowrish best; so must I disprayse his methode in writing, which, following the course of amarous poets, dwelleth longest in those pointes, that profite least; and, like a wanton whelpe, leaveth the game to runne riot. The Scarabe flies over many a sweet flower, and lightes in a cowshard: It is the custome of the flye to leave the sound places of the horse, and suck at the botch; the nature of Colloquintada, to draw the worst humours to it selfe: The maner of swine, to forsake the fayre fieldes, and wallow in the myre: And the whole practise of poets, eyther with fables to shew theyr abuses, or with plaine tearmes to unfold theyr mischiefe, discover theyr shame, discredit themselves, and disperse theyr poyson thorugh all the worlde. Virgill sweates in describing his gnat: Ovid bestirreth him to paint out his flea: The one shewes his art in the lust of Dido, the other his cunning in the inceste of Myrrha, and that trumpet of baudrie, the craft of love.

I must confesse that poets are the whetstones of wit, notwithstanding that wit is dearly bought: Where hony and gall are mixed, it will be hard to sever the one from the other. The deceitful phisition giveth sweete syrropes to make his poyson goe downe the smoother: The juggler casteth a myst to worke the closer: The Syrens song is the saylers wrack: The fowlers whistle, the birds death: The wholesome bayte, the fishes bane: The Harpies have virgins faces, and vultures talentes: Hyena speaks like a friend, and devoures like a foe: The calmest seas hide dangerous rockes: The woolf iectes in weathers felles: Many good sentences are spoken by Dauus, to shadowe his knavery; and written by poets as ornamentes to beautifye their woorkes, and sette their trumperie too safe without suspect.

But if you looke well too Epæus horse, you shall finde in his bowels the destruction of Troy: Open the sepulchre of Semyramis, whose title promiseth such wealth to the kinges of Persia, you shall see nothing but deade bones: Rippe up the golden ball, that Nero consecrated to Jupiter Capitollinus, you shall have it stuffed with the shavinges of his beard: Pul off the visard that poets maske in, you shall disclose their reproch, bewray their vanitie, loathe their wantonnesse, lament their follie, and perceive their sharp sayings to be placed as pearles in dunghills, fresh pictures on rotten walls, chaste matrons apparel on common curtesans. These are the cuppes of Circes, that turne reasonable creatures unto brute beastes; the balles of Hippomenes, that hinder the course of Atalanta; and the blocks of the divel that are cast in our wayes, to cut off the rase of coward wittes. No marveyle though Plato shut them out of his schoole, and banished them quite from his common wealth, as effeminate writers, unprofitable members, and utter enemies to virtue.

The Romans were verie desirous to imitate the Greekes, and yet verie loath to receive their poets: insomuch that Cato layth it in the dishe of Marcus the Noble, as a foule reproche, that in the time of his consulshippe, hee brought Ennius the poet into his province. Tullie accustomed to read them with great diligence in his youth, but when he waxed graver in studie, elder in yeares, riper in judgement, hee accompted them the father of lyes, pipes of vanitie, and schooles of abuse. Maximus Tyrius takèth uppon him to defend the discipline of these doctors, under the name of Homer wresting the rashness of Ajax to valour; the cowardice of Ulisses to policie; the dotage of Nestor, to grave counsell; and the battaile of Troy, too the woonderful conflict of the foure elementes; where Juno, which is counted the ayre, settes in her foot, to take up the strife, and steps boldly betwixt them to part the fray. It is a pageant woorth the sight, to beholde how he labours with mountaines to bring foorth mise; much like to some of those players that come to the scaffold with drum and trumpe- Tusc. 1, 2.
to profer skirmishe, and when they have sounded allarm, off go the peeces to encounter a shadow, or conquere a paper monster. You will smile I am sure if you read it, to see how this morall philosopher toyles to draw the lyons skin upon Æsops asse, Hercules shoes on a childes feete, amplyfying that, which the more it is stirred, the more it stinkes; the lesse it is talked of, the better it is liked; and as waywarde children, the more they bee flattered, the worse they are; or as curst sores with often touching waxe angry, and run the longer without healing. A desperate conflict.

He attributes the beginning of vertue to Minerva, of friendship to Venus, and the roote of all handycrafts to Vulcan; but if he had broke his arme as wel as his legge, when he fel out of heaven into Lemnos, either Apollo must have played the bonesetter, or every occupation beene laide a water. Plato, when he sawe the doctrine of these teachers, neither for profite, necessary, nor to be wished for pleasure, gave them all Drummes[1] entertainment, not suffering them once to shew their faces in a reformed common wealth. And the same Tyrius, that layes such a foundation for poets in the name Poets banished by Plato.

[1] *Jack Drum's* entertainment was proverbial for a bad reception.

of Homer overthrows his whole building in the person of Mithecus, which was an excellent cooke among the Greekes, and as much honored for his confections, as Phidias for his carving. But when he came to Sparta, thinking there for his cunning to be accounted a god, the good lawes of Licurgus, and custom of the country were too hot for his diet; the governors banished him and his art, and al the inhabitants following the steppes of their predecessors, used not with dainties to provoke appetite, but with labour and travell too whette their stomackes to their meate. I may well liken Homer to Mithecus, and poets to cookes; the pleasures of the one winnes the body from labor, and conquereth the sense; the allurement of the other drawes the mind from vertue, and confoundeth wit. As in every perfect commonwealth there ought to be good laws established, right mainteined, wrong repressed, vertue rewarded, vice punished, and all manner of abuses thoroughly purged: So ought there such schooles for the furtherance of the same to be advanced, that young men maye bee taught that in greene yeeres, that becomes them to practise in gray hayres.

Poets and cookes compared together.

Anacharsis beeing demaunded of a Greeke, whether they had not instrumentes of musicke, or schooles of poetrie in Scythia, answered, yes, and that without vice, as though it were either impossible, or incredible, that no abuse should be learned where such lessons are taught, and such schooles mainteined.

Poetrie in Scythia without vice, as the phœnix of Arabia without a fellow.

Salust, in describing the nurture of Sempronia, commendeth her witte in that shee coulde frame her selfe to all companies, too talke discretely with wyse men, and vaynely with wantons, taking a quip ere it came too grounde, and returning it back without a faulte.

She was taught (saith he) both Greek and Latine, she coulde versifie, sing, and daunce, better then became an honest woman. Sappho was skilfull in poetrie, and sung wel, but she was whorish. I set not this downe too condemne the giftes of versifying, dauncing, or singying in women, so they bee ussed with meane, and excercised in due tyme. But to shew you that as by Anacharsis report the Scythians did it without offence; so one swalowe bringes not summer; nor one particular example sufficient proofe for a generall precept. Whyte silver drawes a blacke lyne: Fyre is as hurtfull as healthie: Water as daungerous as it is commodious; and these qualities as harde to bee wel used when we have them, as they are to be learned before wee get them. Hee that goes to sea must smel of the ship; and that sayles into poets wil savour of pitch

Qualities allowed in women.

C. Marius, in the assembly of the whole senate at Rome, in a solemne oration, giveth an account of his bringing up: He sheweth that he hath beene taught to lye on the grounde, to suffer all weathers, to leade men, to strike his foe, to feare nothing but an evil name: and chalengeth praise unto him selfe, in that hee never learned the Greeke tongue; neither ment to be instructed in it heerafter, either that he thought it too farre a jorney to fetche learning beyonde the fielde, or because he doubted the abuses of those schooles, where poets were ever the head maisters. Tiberius the emperor sawe somewhat, when he judged Scaurus to death for writing a tragidie: Augustus, when hee banished Ovid: And Nero when he charged Lucan, to put up his pipes, to stay his penne and write no more.

Salust.

Poets chiefe maisters in Greece.

Poets banished from Rome.

Burrus and Seneca, the schoolmaisters of Nero, are flowted and hated of the people for teaching their scholer the song of Attis. For Dion saith, that the hearing thereof wroonge laughter and teares from most of those that were then about him. Whereby I judge that they scorned the folly of the teachers, and lamented the frenzie of the scholer, who beeing emperour of Rome, and bearing the weight of the whole common wealth uppon his shoulders, was easier to bee drawen to vanitie by wanton poets, then to good government by the fatherly counsell of grave senators. They were condemned to dye by the lawes of the heathens, which inchaunted the graine in other mens grounds; and are not they accursed thinke you by the mouth of God, which having the govern-

Dion in vita Neronis.

ment of young princes, with poetical fantasies draw them to the schooles of their owne abuses, bewitching the graine in the greene blade, that was sowed for the sustenance of many thousands, and poisoning the spring with their amorous layes, whence the whole commonwealth should fetch water: But to leave the scepter to Jupiter, and instructing of princes to Plutarch and Xenophon, I will beare a lowe sayle, and rowe neere the shore, least I chaunce to bee carried beyonde my reache, or runne a grounde in those coasts which I never knewe.

My onely endevour shalbe to shew you, that in a rough cast, which I see in a cloude, loking through my fingers.

And because I have bene matriculated my selfe in the schoole, where so many abuses florish, I wil imitate the dogs of Ægypt, which comming to the bancks of Nylus too quenche their thirste, syp and away, drinke running, least they bee snapte short for a pray too crocodiles. I shoulde tel tales out of the schoole, and bee ferruled for my faulte, or hyssed at for a blab, yf I layde al the orders open before your eyes. You are no sooner entred, but libertie looseth the reynes, geves you head, placing you with poetrie in the lowest forme: when his skill is showne too make his scholer as good as ever twangde, hee preferres you too pyping, from pyping to playing, from play to pleasure, from pleasure to slouth, from slouth too sleepe, from sleepe too sinne, from sinne to death, from death to the divill, if you take your learning apace, and passe through every forme without revolting. Looke not too have mee discourse these at large, the crocodile watcheth to take me tardie. Which soever of them I touche, is a byte: Trype and goe, for I dare not tarry.

Heraclides accounted Amphyon the ringleader of poets and pypers: Delphus Philammones penned the birth of Latona, Diana, and Apollo in verse; and taught the people to pype and daunce rounde about the temple of Delphos; Hesiodus was as cunning in pyping, as in poetrie: so was Terpandrus, and after him Clonas. Apollo, which is honoured of poets as the god of their art, had at the one side of his idol in Delos a bowe, and at the other, the three graces, with three sundrie instruments, of which one was a pype, and some writers affirme that he pyped himselfe now and than.

Poetrie and pyping have allwaies beene so united together, that, til the time of Melanippides, pipers were poets hyerlings. But marke, I pray you, how they are nowe both abused. Plutarch.

The right use of auncient poetrie was too have the notable exploytes of woorthy captaines, the holesome councels of good fathers, and vertuous lives of predecessors, set downe in numbers, and song to the instrument at solemne feasts, that the sound of the one might draw the hearers from kissing the cupp too often; the sense of the other put them in minde of things past, and chaulk out the way to do the like. Vide poets.

After this manner were the Bœotians trained from rudenesse to civilitie, the Lacedemonians instructed by Tyrteæus' verse, the Argives by the melody of Tellesilla, and the Lesbians by Alcæus odes.

To this end are instruments used in battaile, and not to tickle the eare, but too teach every souldier when to strike, when to flye, and when to followe. Chiron, by singing to his instrument, quencheth Achiles furye; Terpandrus with his notes, layeth the tempest, and pacifies the tumult at Lacedæmon: Homer with his musicke cured the sick souldiers in the Grecians campe, and purged every mans tent of the plague.— Thinke you that those miracles coulde bee wrought with playing of daunces, dumpes, pauins, galiardes, measures, fancyes, or new streynes? They never came wher this grewe, nor knew what it ment.' Homer.

This is a very whimsical anticipation of the arguments of the learned Cornelius Scriblerus in favour of ancient music. "Did not Pythagoras stop a company of drunken bullies from storming a civil house, by changing the strain of the pipe to a sober *spondæus*? and yet your modern musicians want art to defend their windows from common nickers. It is well known that, when the Lacedæmonian mob were up, they commonly sent

Pythagoras bequeathes them a clookebagge, and condemnes them for fooles, that judge musicke by sounde and eare. If you will bee good scholers, and profite well in the arte of musicke, shutte your fidels in their cases, and looke up to heaven: the order of the spheres, the infallible motion of the planets, the juste course of the yere, and varietie of seasons, the concorde of the elementes and their qualyties, fyre, water, ayre, earth, heate, coulde, moysture, and drought concurring togeather to the constitution of earthly bodies, and sustenance of every creature.

True musick. The politike lawes, in well governed common wealthes, that treade downe the prowde, and upholde the meeke, the love of the king and his subjects, the father and his childe, the lorde and his slave, the master and his man: the trophees and triumphes of our auncestours, which pursued vertue at the harde heeles, and shunned vyce as a rocke for feare of ship-wracke, are excellent maisters too shewe you that this is right musicke, this perfecte harmony. Chiron, when he appeased the wrath of Achilles, tolde him the duetie of a good souldier, repeated the vertues of his father Peleus, and sang the famous enterprises of noble men.

Terpandrus, when he ended the brabbles at Lacedæmon, neyther pyped Rogero nor Turkelong,[1] but reckoning up the commodities of friendship and fruites of debate, putting them in mind of Lycurgus lawes, taught them too treade a better measure, when Homers musicke drove the pestilence from the Grecians camp, there was no such vertue in his penne, nor in his pipe, but if I might bee umpier, in the sweet harmony of diverse natures and wonderful concord of sundry medicines. For Apolloes cunning extendeth it self as wel to phisick, as musick or poetrie. And Plutarch reporteth, that as Chiron was a wise man, a learned poet, a skilful musicion, so was hee also a teacher of justice, by shewing what princes ought to doe, and a reader of phisick, by opening the natures of manie samples. If you enquire howe manie suche poetes and pipers wee have in our age, I am persuaded that everie one of them may creep through a ring, or daunce the wilde Morice in a needles eye. We have infinite poets and pipers, and suche peevishe cattel among us in Englande, that live by merrie begging, mainteyned by almes, and privily encroch uppon everie mans purse. But if they that are in authoritie, and have the sworde in their handes to cut off abuses, shoulde call an accompt to see how many Chirons, Terpandri, and Homers are heere, they might cast the summe without pen, or counters, and sit downe with Racha, to weepe for her children, because they were not. He that compareth our instruments with those that were used in ancient times, shall see them agree like dogges and cattes, and meete as jump as Germans lippes. Terpandrus and Olimpus used instruments of seven strings. And Plutarch is of opinion, that the instruments of three strings, which were used before their time, passed al that have followed since. It was an old law and long kept, that no man should, according to his owne humour, adde or diminish, in matters concerning that art, but walk in the pathes of their predecessors. But when newfangled Phrynis becam a fidler, being somwhat curious in carping and searching for moats with a pair of blearde eies, thought to amend his maisters, and marred al. Timotheus, a bird of the same broode, and a right hound of the same hare, toke the seven stringed harp, that was altogether used in Terpandrus time, and increased the number of these abuses in the compasse of that countrey: but like unto yll weedes in time spread so far, that they choked the good grayne in every place.[2]

for a Lesbian musician to appease them, and they instantly grew calm as soon as they heard Terpander sing: yet I dont believe that the pope's whole band of music, though the best of this age, could keep his holiness's image from being burned of a fifth of November."—*Mémoirs of Martinus Scriblerus*, chap. vi.

[1] Well-known tunes apparently. *Rogero* seems to have been an old air, and is often alluded to in the ancient drama.

[2] This is another mark-worthy passage. Gosson makes the enormity consist not in the use of the fiddle, but in the number of its strings.

For as poetrie and piping are cosen germans: so piping and playing are of great affinity, and all three chayned in linkes of abuse.

Plutarch complaineth, that ignorant men, not knowing the majestie of auncient musick, abuse both the eares of the people, and the arte itselfe: with bringing sweete consortes into theatres, which rather effeminate the minde, as pricks unto vice, then procure amendment of manners, as spurres to vertue. Ovid, the high martial of Venus fielde, planteth his maine battell in publique assemblies, sendeth out his scoutes too theatres to descry the enemie, and in steede of vaunt-curriers, with instruments of musicke, playing, singing, and dauncing, geves the first charge.

Maximus Tyrius holdeth it for a maxime, that the bringing of instruments to theaters and plaies, was the first cup that poisoned the common wealth. They that are borne in Seriphos, and cockered continually in those islandes, where they see nothing but foxes, and hares, will never be persuaded that there are huger beasts: They that never went out of the champions in Brabant, will hardly conceive what rockes are in Germany. And they that never goe out of their houses, for regard of their credit, nor steppe from the universitye for love of knowledge, seeing but slender offences and small abuses within their owne walles, wil never beleeve that such rockes are abrode, nor such horrible monsters in playing places. But as (I speake the one to my comforte, the other to my shame, and remember both with a sorrowful hart,) I was first instructed in the university; after drawne like a novice to these abuses:[1] so wil I shew you what I see, and informe you what I reade of such affaires. Ovid sayeth, that Romulus builte his theater as a horse-faire for horses, made triumphes, and set out playes to gather the fayre women together, that every one of his souldiers might take where he liked, a snatch for his share, whereuppon the amorous schole-maister bursteth out in these words:

> *Romule, militibus solus dare præmia nosti;*
> *Hæc mihi si dederis commoda, miles ero.*
>
> Thou Romulus alone knowest how thy souldiers to rewarde:
> Graunt me the like, myselfe will be attendant on thy garde.

It should seeme that the abuse of such places was so great, that for any chaste liver to haunt them was a black swan, and a white crowe. Dion so straightly forbiddeth the ancient families of Rome, and gentlewomen that tender their name and honor, to come to theaters, and rebuks them so sharply, when he takes them napping, that, if they be but once seene there, hee judgeth it sufficient cause to speake il of them and think worse. The shadowe of a knave hurts an honest man; the sent of the stewes a sober matron; and the shew of theaters a simple gaser. Clithomachus the Wrestler geven altogether to manly exercise, if hee had hearde any talke of love, in what company soever he had bin, would forsake his seat, and bid them adue.

Lacon, when he sawe the Athenians studie so muche to set playes, sayde they were madde. If men for good exercise, and women for theyr credite, be shut from theaters, whom shal we suffer to goe thither: Little children: Plutarch with a caveat keepeth them out, not so much as admitting the litle crackhalter that carrieth his maisters pantouffles, to set foote within those doores: And alledgeth this reason, that those wanton spectacles of lyght huswives, drawing gods from the heavens, and young men from themselves to shipwracke of honestie, will hurte them more, than if at the epicures ta-

[1] Gosson, according to Anthony a Wood, "was admitted scholar of Christ Church College, 4th April, 1572, aged 16 or thereabouts; took one degree in arts four years after; left the university without completing that degree by determination, and went to the great city, where he was noted for his admirable penning of pastorals, being so excellent therein, that he was ranked with Sir Philip Sidney, Thomas Chaloner, Edmund Spencer, Abraham Fraunce, and Richard Barnefield, noted poets of their time."—*Athenæ. Oxon.* vol. I. col. 295.

ble, they had nigh burst their guts with over feeding. For if the body bee over-charged, it may be holpe; but the surfite of the soule is hardly cured.

Here I doubt not but some arch-player or other, that hath read a little, or stumbled by chance upon Plautus comedies, wil cast me a bone or ii. to pick, saying, that whatsoever these ancient writers have spoken against plaies is to bee applied too the abuses in olde comedies, where gods are broughte in as prisoners too beautie, ravishers of virgins, and servantes by love, too earthly creatures. But the comedies that are exercised in oure daies are better sifted. They shewe no such branne: The first smelte of Plautus, these tast of Menander; the lewdeness of gods is altred and chaunged to the love of young men; force to friendshippe; rapes, too mariage; wooing allowed by assurance of wedding; privie meetings of bachelours and maidens on the stage, not as murderers that devour the good make ech of other in their mindes, but as those that desire to bee made one in hearte. Nowe are the abuses of the worlde revealed, every man in a play may see his owne faultes, and learne by this glasse, to amende his manners.

Curculio may chatte til his heart ake, ere any be offended with his gyrdes. Deformities are checked in jeast, and mated in earnsst. The sweetnesse of musicke, and pleasure of sportes, temper the bitternesse of rebukes, and mitigate the tartenesse of every taunt according to this:

Omne vafer vitium ridenti Flaccus amico
Narrat[1] *et admissus circum præcordia ludit.*

Flaccus among his friends, with fauning muse
Doth nip him necre, that fostereth foule abuse.

Therefore they are either so blinde, that they cannot, or so blunt, that they will not see why this exercise shoulde not be suffered as a profitable recreation.

For my parte I am neither so fonde a phisition, nor so bad a cooke, but I can allowe my patient a cup of wine to meales, although it be hotte; and pleasaunt sauces to drive downe his meate, if his stomake bee queasie. Notwithstanding, if people will bee instructed, (God be thanked) wee have divines enough to discharge that, and more by a great many, then are well harkened to: yet sith these abuses ase growne too head, and sinne so rype, the number is lesse then I would it were.

Euripides holdes not him onely a foole, that being well at home, wil gad abrode, that hath a conduite within doore, and fetched water without: but all suche beside, as have sufficient in themselves, to make themselves merry with pleasaunte talke, tending too good and mixed with ἐντραπιλια, the Grecians glee, yet will they seeke when they neede not, to bee sported a brode at playes and pageauntes. Plutarch likneth the recreation that is gotte by conference, too a pleasaunt banquet; the sweet pappe of the one sustaineth the body, the savery doctrine of the other doth nourish the minde; and, as in banquetting, the wayter standes ready too fill the cuppe: so in all our recreations we shoulde have an instructor at our elbowes to feede the soule. If we gather grapes among thistles, or seeke for this foode at the theaters, we shall have a harde pyttaunce, and come to shorte commons. I cannot thinke that cittie to be safe, that strikes downe her percollices, rammes up her gates, and suffereth the enimie to enter the posterne.—Neyther wil I be perswaded, that he is any way likely to conquer affection, which breaketh his instrumentes, burneth all his poets, abandons his haunt, mufleth his eyes as he passeth the streate, and resortes too theaters too bee assaulted. Cookes did never shewe more crafte in their junckets to vanquish the taste, nor painters in shadowes to allure the eye, then poets in theaters to wounde the concsience.

[1] So Gosson. The text of Perseus reads *tangit*.

There set they abrothe straunge consortes of melody, to tickle the ear; costly apparel, to flatter the sight; effeminate gesture, to ravish the sence; and wanton speache, to whet desire too inordinate lust.

Therefore, of both barrelles, I judge cookes and painters the better hearing, for the one extendeth his art no further then to the tongue, palate, and nose, the other to the eye, and both are ended in outward sense, which is common too us with bruite beastes.

But these, by the privie entries of the eare, slip downe into the hart, and with gunshotte of affection gaule the minde where reasone and vertue should rule the roste. These people in Rome were as pleasant as nectar at the first beginning, and cast out for lees, when their abuses were knowen.

They whome Cæsar upheld were driven out by Octavian; whom Caligula reclaimed, were cast off by Nero; whom Novia exalted, were thrown down by Traian; whom Anthony admitted, were expelled againe, pestred in gallies, and sent into Hellespont by Marcus Aurelius. But when the whole rabble of poets, pipers, players, jugglers, jesters, and dauncers, were received againe, Rome was reported to be fuller of fooles then of wise men. Domitian suffered playing and dauncing so long in theaters, that Paris led the shaking of sheetes with Domitia, and Mnester the trenchmour with Messalina. Caligula made so muche of players and dauncers, that he suffered them openly to kysse his lyppes, when the senators might scarce have a lick at his feete: He gave dauncers great stipends for selling their hopps, and placed Apelles the player by his own sweete side: Besides that, you may see what excellent grave men were ever about him; he loved Prasinus, the cochman, so wel, that, for good wil to the master, he bid his horse to supper, gave him wine to drink in cups of estate, set barly graines of golde before him to eat, and swore by no bugs, that hee would make him a consul; which thing (saith Dion) had bin performed, had he not bin prevented by sudden death. For as his life was abhominable, so was his end miserable. Comming from dancing and playing, he was slaine by Chærea, a just rewarde, and a fit catastrophe. I have heard some players vaunt of the credit they had in Rome, but they are as foolish in that as Vibius Rufus which bosted himself to be an emperor, because he had sit in Cæsar's chaire, and a perfect orator, because he was marryed to Tullie's widow. Better might they say them selves to be murderers, because they have represented the persons of Thyestes and Atreus, Achilles and Hector; or perfect limme lifters, for teaching the trickes of every strumpet.

Domitia was the first wife of Domitian, and Messalina the seconde.

Dion.

Such are the abuses that treade of in Rome: Such are the caterpillers that have devoured and blasted the fruite of Ægypt: Such are the dragons that are hurtful in Affricke: Such are the adders that sting with pleasure, and kil with paine: And such are the basiliskes of the world, that poyson as well with the beame of their sighte, as with the breath of their mouth.[1]

[1] Sir Philip Sidney, to whom this tract is dedicated, did not agree with the author upon the degeneracy of the ancient stage, but wished that of England to be reformed upon the model of Greece and Rome. "Our tragedies and comedies, not without cause cried out against, observing rules neither of honest civilitie, nor skilfull poetry. Excepting Gorboducke (againe I say of those that I have seene) which notwithstanding, as it is full of stately speeches, and well sounding phrases, climbing to the height of Seneca his stile, and as full of notable moralitie, which it doth most delightfullie teach, and so obtaine the very end of poesie: yet, in truth, it is very defectuous in the circumstances, which grieves me, because it might not remaine an exact model of all tragedies. For it is faultie, both in place and time, then so necessarie companions of all corporall actions. For where the stage should alway represent but one place, and the uttermost time presupposed in it should bee, both by Aristotles precept, and common reason, but one day; there are both many days and many places in it artificially imagined. But if it be so in Gorboducke, how much more in all the rest; where you shall have Asia of the one side, and Africke of the other, and so many other under-kingdomes, that the player, when he comes in, must ever begin with telling where hee is, or else the tale will not be conceived. Now shall you have three ladies walke to gather flowers, and then wee must beleeve the stage to be a garden. By and by wee heare newes of shipwracke in the same place, then wee are to blame if wee accept it not for a rocke. Upon the backe of that comes out a

Consider with thy selfe (gentle reader) the olde discipline of Englande, marke what we were before, and what we are now: Leave Rome a while, and cast thine eye backe to thy predecessors, and tell mee howe wonderfully wee have beene chaunged since we were schooled with these abuses. Dion saith, That Englishmen could suffer watching and labor, hunger and thirst, and beare of all stormes with hed and shoulders; they used slender weapons, went naked, and were good soldiours, they fed uppon rootes and barkes of trees; they would stand up to the chin many dayes in marishes without victualles; and they had a kind of sustenaunce in time of neede, of which, if they had taken but the quantitie of a beane, or the weight of a pease, they did neyther gape after meate, nor long for the cuppe a great while after.

Maners of Englande in olde times.

The men in valure not yeelding to Scithia, the women in courage passing the Amazons. The exercise of both was shootying and darting, running and wrestling, and trying such maisteries as eyther consisted in swiftnesse of feete, agilitie of body, strength of armes, or martiall discipline. But the exercise that is now among us, is banqueting, playing, piping, and dauncing, and all such delightes as may win us to pleasure, or rocke us a sleepe.

Olde exercise of Englande.

New Englande.

Oh, what a woonderfull chaunge is this! Our wreastling at armes is turned to wallowyng in ladies laps, our courage to cowardice, our running to ryot, our bowes into bolles, and our darts to dishes. We have robbed Greece of gluttonie, Italy of wantonnesse, Spaine of pride, Fraunce of deceite, and Duchland of quaffing. Compare London to Rome, and England to Italy, you shall finde the theaters of the one, the abuses of the other, to be rife among us: *experto crede*, I have seene somewhat, and therefore, I think, may say the more.

In Rome, when plaies or pageants are showne: Ovid chargeth his pilgrims to crepe close to the saintes whom they serve, and shew their double diligence to lifte the gentlewomens roabes from the grounde for soyling in the duste; to sweepe moates from their kirtles, to keepe their fingers in ure, to lay their hands at their backes for an easy stay, to looke upon those whome they beholde, too praise that which they commende, to lyke everye thinge that pleaseth them; to presente them pomegranates, to picke as they syt, and when all is done, to wait on them mannerly to their houses. In our assemblies at playes, in London, you shall see suche heaving and shooving, suche ytching and shouldering too sitte by women, such care of their garments, that they bee not trode on, such eyes to their lappes that no chippes light in them, such pillowes to their backes, that they take no hurte, such masking in their eares I know not what, such giving them pippins[1] to passe the time, suche playing at foote-saunt without cardes, such ticking, such toying, such smiling, such winking, and such manning[2] them home when the sportes are ended, that it is a right comedie to marke their behaviour, to watche their conceites, as the catte for the mouse, and as good as a course at the game itselfe to dogge them a little, or followe aloofe by the print of their feete, and so discover by slotte where the deare taketh soyle. If this were as well not-

hideous monster, with fire and smoke, and then the miserable beholders are bound to take it for a cave: while, in the meane time, two armies flie in, represented with four swordes and bucklers, and then what hard heart will not receive it for a pitched field? Now of time they are much more liberall. For ordinarie it is, that two young princes fall in love; after many traverses, shee is got with child, delivered of a faire boy; hee is lost, groweth a man, falleth in love, and is ready to get another childe; and all this in two houres space: which how absurd it is in sense, even sense may imagine; and art hath taught, and all auncient examples justified, and at this day, the ordinarie players in Italy, will not erre in."

[1] Prynne, in his Histriomastix, p. 363, quotes this passage, and informs us of the following strange alteration in the refreshments which the gallants presented to the ladies in his time: "Now they offer them the tobacco-pipe, which was then unknown."

[2] This was the phrase of the day for escorting females. Among other advises to his son, Osborne mentions the danger attending those who "are so indiscreet as to man whores in the street, in which every one pretends to have an interest for his money, and is, therefore, unwilling to see them monopolized, especially when they have gotten a pot in their pate."—*Osborne's Works*, 1673. p. 28.

ed as ill seene, or as openly punished as secretly practised, I have no doubte but the cause would be seared to dry up the effect, and these pretty rabbets very cunningly ferretted from their borrowes. For they that lack customers al the weeke, either because their haunt is unknowen, or the constables and officers of their parishe watch them so narrowly that they dare not queatche, to celebrate the sabboth, flock to theaters, and there keep a generall market of bawdrie: Not that any filthynesse in deede is committed within the compasse of that grounde, as was done in Rome, but that every wanton and his paramour, every man and his mistress, every John and his Joan, every knave and his queane, are there first acquainted, and cheapen the merchandise in that place, which they pay for elsewhere as they can agree. These wormes, when they dare not nestle in the pescod at home, finde refuge abrode, and are hidde in the eares of other mens corne; every vauter, in one blinde taverne or other, is tenant at will, to which she tolleth resorte, and plays the stale to utter their victualls, and help them to empty their musty casks There is she so entreated with wordes, and receaved with curtesie, that every back-roome in the house is at her commaundement. Some that have neither land to maintaine them, nor good occupation to get their breade, desirous to strowt it with the best, yet disdayning to live by the sweate of their browes, have found out this cast of ledgerdemayne, to play fast and loose among their neighbours. If any parte of musick have suffered shipwrack, and arived by fortune at their fingers endes, with shewe of gentility they take up faire houses, receive lusty lasses at a price for boorders, and pipe from morning to evening for wood and coale.[1] By the brothers, cosens, uncles, great grandsires, and suche like acquaintaunce of their ghestes, they drinke of the beste, they sit rente free, they have their owne table spread to their handes, without wearing the strings of their pursse, or any thing else, but housholde and honesty. When resorte so increaseth that they grow in suspitione and the pottes, which are sent so often too the taverne, gette such a knock before they come home, that they returne their mayster a crack to his credite, though hee bee called in question of his life, hee hath shiftes inoughe to avoyde the blanke. If their houses bee searched, some instrumente of musick is layde in sighte to dazell the eyes of every officer, and all that are lodged in the house by night, or frequente it by day, come thither as pupilles to be well schoolde. Other ther are, which being so knowen that they are the byeworde of every mans mouth, and pointed at commonly as they passe the streetes, either couch them-selves in allyes, or blind lanes, or take sanctuary in Fryeries,[2] or live a mile from the cittie, like Venus nunnes in a cloyster at Newington, Ratcliffe, Islington, Hogsdon, or some such place, where, like penitents, they deny the worlde, and spende theyr dayes in double devotion.

And when they are weery of contemplation, to comfort themselves, and renew their acquaintaunce, they visit theaters, where they make full account of a pray before they departe. Solon made no lawe for parricides, because he feared that hee should rather put men in minde to commit such offences, then by any straunge punishment give them a bitte to keepe them under. And I intende not to shew you al that I see, nor halfe that I heare of these abuses, lest you judge me more wilful to teach them, then willing to forbid them.

I looke still when players shoulde caste me their gauntlets, and challenge a combate, for entring so far into their possessions, as though I made them lords of this misrule, or the very scholmaisters of these abuses; though the best clarkes bee of that opinion, they heare not me say so. There are more houses then parishe churches, more maydes

[1] Those music houses, in which young women, under pretence of learning that branch of education, carried on a very different trade, are often mentioned by our ancient dramatic writers.

[2] Whitefriars, then, and long afterwards, privileged against arrests, and consequently frequented by the loose livers of both sexes.

than maulkin, more wayes to the woode then one, and more causes in nature then efficients.

The carpenter rayseth not his frame without tooles, nor the devill his woork without instrumentes: Were not players the mene to make these assemblyes, such multitudes wold hardly be drawne in so narrowe roome. They seeke not hurte, but desire to please; they have purged their comedys of wanton speaches, yet the corne which they sell is full of cockle, and the drinke that they drawe overcharged with dregges. There is more in them then we perceive, the devill standes at our elbowe when we see not, speaks when we heare him not, strikes when wee feele not, and woundeth sore when he raseth no skinne, nor rentes the fleshe. In those thinges that we least mistrust, the greatest daunger dooth often lurke. The countryeman is more affrayde of the serpante that is hid in the grasse, than the wilde beaste that openly feedes upon the mountains. The marriner is more indaungered by privie shelves, then knowen rocks. The souldier is sooner killed with a little bullet then a long swoorde. There is more perill in close fistoloes than outwarde sores, in secret ambushe then maine battels, in undermining then playne assaulting, in friends then foes, in civill discorde then forraine warres. Small are the abuses, and sleight are the faultes that nowe in theaters escape the poets pen: but tal cedars from little graynes shoote high, great okes from slender rootes spread wide, large streames from narrowe springes runne farre, one little sparke fyres a whole citie, one dramme of eleborus ransacks everey vaine; the fish remora hath a small body, and greate force to staye shippes against winde and tide; ichneumon, a little worme, overcomes the elephant; the viper slayes the bul, the weasall the cockatrice; and the weakest wasp stingeth the stoutest manne of warre. The height of heaven is taken by the staff; the bottome of the sea sounded with lead; the farthest coast discovered by compasse; the secretes of nature searched by witte; the anatomy of man set out by experience, but the abuses of plaies cannot be showen, because they passe the degrees of the instrument, reach of the plummet, sight of the minde, and for trial, are never brought to the touchstone. Therefore, he that will avoyde the open shame of pryvie sinne, the common plague of private offences, the greate wracks of little rocks, the sure disease of uncertaine causes, must set hande to the sterne, and eye to his steppes, to shunne the occasion as neere as he can; neither running to bushes for renting his clothes, nor rent his clothes for imparing his thrift, nor walke upon yse for taking a fall, nor take a fall for brusing himselfe, nor goe to theaters for beeing allured, nor once bee allured for feare of abuse.

Bunduica, a notable woman, and a queene of Englande, that tyme that Nero was emperour of Rome, having some of the Romans in garrison heere against her, in an oration which she made to her subjects, seemed utterly to contemne their force, and laugh at their folly; for shee accounted them unwoorthy the name of men, or title of souldiers, because they were smoothly appareled, soft lodged, daintely feasted, bathed in warme waters, rubbed with sweet oyntments, strewed with fine poulders, wine swillers, singers, dauncers, and players. God hath now blessed England with a queene in vertue excellent, in power mightie, in glorye renowmed, in governemente politike, in possession rich, breaking her foes with the bent of her brow, ruling her subjects with shaking her hand, removing debate by diligent foresight, filling her chests with the fruites of peace, ministring justice by order of law, reforming abuses with great regarde, and bearing her sword so even that neither the poore are trod under foote, nor the rich suffred to loke too hye, nor Rome, nor France, nor tyrant, nor Turke, dare for their lives too enter the list. But wee, unworthy servants of so mild a mistresse, unnatural children of so good a mother, unthankful subjects of so loving a prince, wound her royal hart with abusing her lenitie, and stir Jupiter to anger to send us a storke that shal devoure us. How often hath her majestie with the grave advice of her honourable

The queenes majestie.

councell, sette downe the limits of apparell to every degree, and how soone againe hath the pride of our harts overflowen the chanel.[1] How many times hath accesse to theaters beene restrayned, and how boldly againe have we reentred. Overlashing in apparel is so common a fault that the very hyerlings[2] of some of our players, which at reversion of vi. s. by the weeke, jet under gentlemens noses in sutes of silke, exercising themselves too prating on the stage, and common scoffing when they come abrode, where they look askance over the shoulder at every man, of whom, the Sunday before, they begged almes. I speake not this as though everye one that professeth the qualitie, so abused himselfe, for it is well knowen, that some of them are sober, discrete, properly learned housholders and citizens, well thought on amonge their neighbours at home, though the pryde of their shadowes (I meane those hangebyes whome they succour with stipend) cause them to be somewhat il talked of abroade. And as some of the players are farre from abuse, so some of their playes are without rebuke, which are as easily remembred as quickly reckoned.

Players men.

Some players modest, if I bee not deceived.

The twoo prose bookes plaied at the Belsavage,[3] where you shall finde never a woorde without wite, never a line without pich, never a letter placed in vaine. The Jew and Ptolome showne at the Bull, the one representing the greedinesse of worldly chusers, and bloody mindes of usurers,[4] the other very lively; describing howe seditious estates, with their owne devices, false friends, with their owne swoordes, and rebellious commons in their own snares are overthrowne: neither with amorous gesture wounding the eye; nor with slovenly talke hurting the eares of the chast hearers. The Blacke Smiths daughter, and Catilins conspiracies usually brought in to the theatre: The firste contayning the trechary of Turkes, the honourable bountye of a noble minde, and the shining of vertue in distresse: The last, because it was knowne to be a pig of myne owne sowe, I will speake the lesse of it,[5] onely giving you to understand, that the whole marke which I shot at in that woorke, was too showe, the rewarde of traytors in Catilin, and the necessary government of learned men, in the person of Cicero, which forsees every danger that is likely to happen, and forstalles it continually ere it take effect. Therefore I give these playes the commendation, that Maximus Tyrius gave too Homers works:—Καλα μεν γαρ τα Ὁμηρου ἐπη και ἐπων τα καλλιστα, και φανωτατα, και ἁδεσθαι μουσαις πρεποντα, αλλα ου παση καλα ουδε δικαια.

Some players tolerable at sometymes.

These playes are good playes, and sweete playes, and of al playes the best playes, and most to be liked, woorthy to bee soung of the muses, or set out with the cunning of Roscius himself, yet are they not fit for every mans dyet: neither ought they com-

[1] Stowe records an example of the strictness with which Elizabeth enforced her sumptuary laws: "Shortly after began long tucks and long rapiers, and he was held the greatest gallant that had the deepest ruff and longest rapier; the offence to the eye of the one, and the hurt to the life of the subject that came by the other, caused her majesty to make proclamation against them both, and to place selected grave citizens at every gate to cutt the ruffs and break the rapiers of all passengers that exceeded a yard in length of their rapiers, and a nail of a yard of depth of their ruffs."

[2] Under the name of hirelings those players were designated, who were not *sharers*. In Malone's History of the English Stage three memorandums are re-printed, by which, Thomas Haywood, the dramatic poet, William Borne, who also wrote for the stage, and Thomas Hearne, were hired, the latter of whom was to receive five shillings a-week for the first year, and 6s. 8d. for the second, which corresponds accurately with the sum mentioned in the text.

[3] This theatre, which, in the time of Prynne, was no more in existence, was, as Mr Reed (Dodsl. Old Plays, Ed. 1780, vol. I. p. li. note) observes, 'situated very probably at Ludgate-Hill.'

[4] This was not

——————— the Jew
Whom Shakespeare drew,

but an older play, comprising, it would seem, both branches of his plot, but banished from the stage by the Merchant of Venice, which is supposed to have been written about 1598.

[5] Stephen Gosson wrote three plays which were never published, namely, Cataline's Conspiracy here mentioned, the comedy of Captain Mario, and Praise at Parting.

Playes are not to be made common.

monly to bee shewen. Now, if any man aske me why myselfe have penned comedyes in time paste, and inveigh so egerly against them here, let him knowe that *Semel insanivimus omnes:* I have sinned, and am sorry for my fault: hee runnes farre that never turnes; better late then never. I gave myself to that exercise in hope to thrive, but I burnt one candle to seek another, and lost both my time and my travell when I had doone.

Thus sith I have in my voyage suffred wrack with Ulisses, and, wringing-wet, scrambled with life to the shore, stand from mee Nausicaä with all thy traine, till I wipe the blot from my forhead, and with sweet springs wash away the salt froath that cleaves too my soule.

Meane time, if players bee called to accounte for the abuses that growe by their assemblyes, I would not have them to answer, as Pilades did for the theaters of Rome, when they were complayned on, and Augustus waxed angry: This resort, O Cæsar, is good for thee, for heere we keepe thousandes of idle heds occupyed, which else peradventure would brue some mischiefe. A fit cloude to cover their abuse, and not unlike to the starting hole that Lucinius found, who, like a greedy surveiour, beeing sente into Fraunce to govern the countrie, robbed them, and spoyled them of all their treasure with unreasonable taskes: at the last, when his crueltie was so loudly cryed out on, that every man hearde it; and all this packing did savour so strong, that Augustus smelt it; he brought the good emperour into his house, flapped him in the mouth with a smoth lye, and tolde him, that, for his sake and the saftie of Rome, he gathered those riches, the better to impoverish the countrie for rysing in arms, and so holde the poore Frenchmennes noses to the grind-stone for ever after.

Dion. in Vita Augusti.

Players compared to Lucinius.

A bad excuse is better, they say, then none at all. Hee, because the Frenchmen paid tribute every moneth, into xiiii. moneths devided the yeere: These, because they are allowed to play every Sunday, make iiii. or v. Sundayes at least every weeke, and all that is doone is good for Augustus, to busy the wittes of his people, for running a wol gathering, and to emptie their purses for thriving so fast.

Though Lucinius had the cast to playster uppe his credite with the losse of his money: I trust, that they which have the sworde in their hands among us, to pare away this putryfied flesh, are sharper sighted and will not so easily be deluded.

Marcus Aurelius sayth, that players falling from juste labour to unjuste idlenesse, do make more trewandes, and ill husbands, then if open schooles of unthrifts and vagabonds were kept.

Whosoever readeth his epistle to Lambert, the governor of Hellespont, when players were banished, shall find more against them in plainer tearmes, then I will utter.

Epist. 12. ad Lambertum.

This have I set downe of the abuses of poets, pypers, and players, which bringe us too pleasure, slouth, sleepe, sinne, and, without repentance, to death and the devill; which I have not confirmed by authoritie of the scriptures, because they are not able to stand uppe in the sighte of God; and sithens they dare not abide the field, where the word of God dooth bidde them battayle, but runne to antiquityes, (though nothing be more ancient then holy scriptures,) I have given them a volley of prophane writers to begin with the skirmishe, and doone my indevour to beate them from their holdes with their owne weapons. The patient that will be cured, of his owne accorde must seeke the meane: if every man desire to save one, and draw his owne feet from theaters, it shall prevayle as much against these abuses, as Homers Moly against witchcraft, or Plynies Peristerion against the byting of dogges.

Scriptures too hoate for players.

God hath armed every creature against his enemie: The lyon with pawes, the bul with hornes, the bore with tuskes, the vulture with tallents, hartes, hindes, hares, and such like, with swiftnes of feete, because they are fearefull, every one of them putting his gift in practise.

But man, which is lord of the whole earth, for whose service herbes, trees, rootes, plants, fish, foule, and beasts of the fielde, were first made, is fare worse then the brute beasts; for they are endewed with sense, doe *appetere salutara et declinare noxia*, seeke that which helpes them, and forsake that which hurtes them.

Man is enriched with reason and knowledge: with knowledge to serve his Maker and governe himselfe: with reason to distinguish good and il, and chose the best, neither refering the one to the glory of God, nor using the other to his owne profite. Fire and ayre mount upwards, earth and water sinke downe, and every insensible body else never rests, till it bring itself to his owne home. But we, which have both sense, reason, wit, and understanding, are ever overlashing, passing our boundes, going beyonde our limits, never keeping ourselves within compasse, nor once loking after the place from whence we came, and whither we must in spighte of our harts.

Corpora naturalia ad locum movementur, et in suis sedibus acquiescunt.

Aristotle thinketh that in great windes, the bees carry little stones in their mouthes too peyse their bodyes, least they bee carryed away, or kept from their hives, unto which they desire to returne with the fruites of their labour. The crane is said to rest upon one leg, and, holding up the other, keepe a pebble in her clawe, which, as sone as the senses are bound by approch of sleepe, falles to the ground, and with the noise of the knock against the earth, makes her awake, whereby she is ever redy to prevent her enemies. Geese are foolish birdes, yet, when they flye over the mount Taurus, they shew great wisdome in their owne defence: for they stop their pipes full of gravel to avoide gagling, and so by silence escape the eagles. Woodcockes, though they lack witte to save themselves, yet they want not will to avoyde hurt, when they thrust theyre heades in a bush, and think their bodyes out of danger. But wee, which are so brittle, that we breake with every fillop; so weake, that wee are drawne with every threade; so light, that wee are blowen away with every blaste; so unsteady, that we slip in every ground; neither peyse our bodyes againste the winde, nor stand uppon one leg, for sleeping too much: nor close uppe our lippes for betraying ourselves, nor use any witte, to garde our owne persons, nor shewe ourselves willing to shunne our owne harmes, running most greedily to those places, where we are soonest overthrowne.

Hi animal.

Man unmindful of his ende.

I cannot lyken our affection better than to an arrowe, which, getting lybertie, with winges is carryed beyonde our reach; kept in the quiver, it is still at commandement: or to a dogge, let him slippe, he is straight out of sight; holde him in the lease, hee never stirres: or to a colt, give him the briddle, he flings about; raine him hard, and you may rule him: or to a shipe, hoyst the sayles, it runnes on head; let fall the ancour all is well: or to Pandoraes boxe, lift uppe the lidde, out flyes the devill; shut it up fast, it cannot hurt us.

Let us but shut uppe our eares to poets, pypers and players, pull our feete back from resort to theaters, and turne away our eyes from beholding of vanitie, the greatest storme of abuse will be overblowen, and a fayre path troden to amendment of life. Were not we so foolish to taste every drugge, and buy every trifle, players would shut in their shoppes, and carry their trashe to some other countrie.

Themistocles, in setting a peece of his ground to sale, among all the commodyties whiche were reckoned uppe, straightly charged the cryer to proclaime this, that hee which bought it should have a good neighbour. If players can promise in woordes, and performe it in deedes, proclame it in their billes, and make it good in theaters; that there is nothing there noysome too the body, nor hurtfull to the soule; and that everye one which comes to buye their jestes, shall have an honest neighbour, tagge and ragge, cutte and longe tayle, goe thither and spare not, otherwise, I advise you to keepe you thence, my selfe will beginne too leade the daunce.

I make juste reckoning to bee helde for a Stoike, in dealing so hardely with these people; but all the keyes hang not at one mans girdle, neither doe these open the lockes to all abuses. There are other which have a share with them in their schooles, there-

fore ought they to daunce the same rounde, and be partakers together of the same rebuke; fencers, dycers, dauncers, tumbles, carders, and bowlers.

Dauncers and tumblers.

Dauncers and tumblers, because they are dumbe players, and I have glaunced at them by the way, shall bee let passe with this clause, that they gather no assemblyes, and goe not beyonde the precincts whiche Peter Martyr, in his commentaryes uppon the Judges, have set them downe; that is, if they will exercise those qualyties, to doe it previlye, for the health and agilitie of the body, referring all to the glorye of God.

Dicers and carders, because their abuses are as commonly cryed out on, as usually shewen, have no neede of a needelesse discourse, for every manne seeth them, and they stinke almoste in every mans nose.

Common bowling alleyes are privy mothes, that eat uppe the credite of many idle citizens; whose gaynes at home are not able to weighe down their losses abroad, whose shoppes are so farre from maintaining their play, that their wives and children cry out for bread, and go to bedde supperlesse ofte in the yeere.

Fencers.

I would reade you a lecture of these abuses, but my schoole so increaseth, that I cannot touche all, nor stand to amplifie every poynte; one worde of fencing, and so a congè to all kinde of playes. The knowledge in weapons may be gathered to be necessary in a common wealth, by the senators of Rome, who, in the time of Catilins

Salust.

conspyracyes, caused schooles of defence to be erected in Capua, that, teaching the people howe to warde, and how to locke, howe so thrust, and how to strike, they might the more safelye coape with their enemies. As the art of logique was firste setted downe for a rule, by which wee mighte *confirmare nostra, et refutare aliena,* confirme our owne reasons, and confute the allegations of our adversaryes, the end beeing trueth, which once fished out by the harde encounter of eithers argumentes, like fyer by the knocking of flintes together, both partes shoulde be satisfyed and strive no more. And I judge that the crafte of defence was firste devised to save our selves harmlesse, and holde our enemies still at advantage, the ende beeing right, which once throughly tryed our, at handye stroakes, neither hee that offered injurie should have his will, nor hee that was threatned take any hurte, but bothe be contented and shake handes. Those dayes are now chaunged, the skill of logicians, is exercysed in caveling, the cunning of fencers applied to quarrelling; they thinke themselves no schollers, if they bee not able to finde out a knotte in every rushe; these, no men if for stirring of a strawe, they proove not their valure uppon some bodyes fleshe. Every duns will bee a carper, every Dick Swash a common cutter. But as they bake, many times so they brue; *selfe* doe, selfe have, they whette their swoordes against themselves, pull the house on their owne heds, returne home by weeping crosse, and fewe of them come to an honest ende.

For the same water that drives the mill decayeth it; the woode is eaten by the worme that breeds within it; the goodnesse of a knife cuts the owners finger, the adders death is her owne broode, the fencers scath, his own knowledge. Whether their harts be hardened, which use that exercise, or God give them over, I know not

Commodus a fencer, and exercised in murder.

well; I have reade of none good that practised it muche. Commodus the emperour so delighted in it, that oftentimes hee sleewe one or other at home, to keepe his fingers in use. And one day hee gathered all the sicke, lame, and impotent people of Rome into one place, where hee hampred their feete with straunge devises, gave them softe spunges in their hands, to throw at him for stones, and with a greate clubbe knatched them all on the hed, as they had bin giauntes.

Epaminondas, a famous captaine, sore hurte in a battaile, and carryed out of the fielde halfe deade; when tydinges was broughte him that his souldiers gotte the day, asked presently, what became of his buckler; whereby it appeareth, that hee loveth his weapons, but I finde it not sayd that he was a fencer.

Therfore I may liken them which woulde not have men sent to war til they are taught fencing, to those superstitious wisemen, whiche would not take uppon them to burye the bodyes of their friends, before they had beene cast unto wilde beastes.

Fencing is growne to such abuse, that I may well compare the scholers of this schoole to them that provide staves for their owne shoulders; that foster snakes in their owne bosomes, that trust wolves to garde their sheepe, and to the men of Hyrcania, that keepe mastiffes to woorye them-selves.

Souldiers.

Thoughe I speake this too the shame of common fencers, I goe not aboute the bushe with souldiers. Homer calleth them the sonnes of Jupiter, the images of God, and the very sheepeheards of the people; being the sonnes of Jupiter, they are bountifull too the meeke, and thunder out plagues to the proude in heart; beeing the images of God they are the wel-springes of justice, which giveth to every man his owne, beeing accoumpted the shepeheards of the people, they fight with the woolfe for the safetie of their flock, and keepe of the enemie for the wealth of their countrie. How full are poets works of buckles, battailes, lances, dartes, bowes, quivers, speares, javelins, swoordes, slaughters, runners, wrestlers, chariots, horse and men at armes? Agamemnon beyonde the name of a king hath this title, that he was a souldier.

Menelaus, because he loved his kercher better then a burgonet, a softe bed then a harde fielde, the sounde of instrumentes then neighing of steedes, a fayre stable then a foule way, is let slippe without prayse. If Lycurgus, before hee made lawes too Sparta, take counsel of Apollo, whether it were good for him to teach the people thrift and husbandry, he shal be charged to leave those precepts to the white livered Hylotes. The Spartans are all steele, fashioned out of tougher mettall, free in minde, valiaunt in hart, serville to none, accustoming their flesh to stripes, their bodyes to labour, their feete to hunting, their handes to fighting. In Crete, Scythia, Persia, Thracia, all the lawes tended to the maintenance of martiall discipline.

Among the Scythians no man was permitted to drink of their festivall cuppe which had not manfully killed an enemie in fight. I coulde wishe it in England, that there were there greater preferment for the valiant Spartanes then the sottishe Hylotes; that our lawes were directed to rewarding of those, whose lives are the firste that must be hazarded to mayntaine the lybertie of the lawes. The gentlemen of Carthage were not allowed too weare any more linkes in their chaynes than they had seene battayles. If our gallantes of Englande might carry no more linkes in their chaynes nor rings on their fingers, then they have fought feeldes, their necks should not bee very often wreathed in golde, nor their handes embrodered with pretious stones. If none but they might be suffered to drinke out of plate, that have in skirmish slain one of her majesties enemyes, many thousands shoulde bring earthen pots to the table. Let us learne by other mens harmes too looke to ourselves; when the Egyptians were most busy in their husbandry, the Scytians overran them; when the Assyrians were looking to their thrift, the Persians wer in armes and overcam them; when the Trojans thoughte them selves safest, the Greekes wer were neerest; when Rome was asleepe, the Frenchmen gave a sharpe assaulte to the capitoll; when the Jewes were idle, their walles were rased, and the Romans entred, when the Chaldees were sporting, Babylon was sacked, when the senators were quiet; no garrisons in Italy, and Pompey from home, wicked Catiline began his mischevous enterprise.

We are like those unthankfull people, which, puffed up with prosperity, forget the good turnes they received in adversitie. The patient feeds his phisition with gold in time of sicknesse, and when he is wel, scarcely affoords him a cup of water. Some there are that make gods of souldiers in open warrs, and trusse them up like dogs in the time of peace. Take heed of the foxfurd nightcap, I meene those schoolemen that cry out uppon Mars, calling him the bloody god, the furious god, the mad god,

Πολυδακρύν, the tearethirsty god. These are but castes of their office and wordes of course. That is a vain brag and a false allarme that Tullie gives to souldiers.

Cedant arma togæ, concedat laurea linguæ.

Let gunns to gouns, and bucklers yeeld to bookes. If the enemy beseege us, cut off our victuals, prevent forrain aide, girt in the city, and bring the ramme to the walles; it is not Ciceroes tongue that can peerce their armour to wound the body, nor Archimedes prickes, and lines, and circles, and tringles, and rhombus, and rifferaffe, that hath any force to drive them backe. Whilst the one chats, his throate is cut, whilest the other syttes drawing mathematicall fictions, the enemie standes with a sworde at his breast. He that talketh much, and doth little, is like unto him that sailes with a side winde, and is borne with the tide to a wrong shore. If they meane to doe any good indeed, bid them follow Demosthenes, and joyne with Phocion; when they have given us good counsell in wordes, make much of souldiers that are redy to execute the same with swordes. Bee not carlesse, plough with weapons by your sides, studye with a booke in one hande, a darte in the other; enjoy peace, with provison for war; when you have lefte the sandes behinde you, looke wel to the rocks that lye before you; let not the overcomming one tempest make you secure, but have an eye to the cloude that comes from the south and threathneth raine, the least discontinuance of martiall exercise give you the foyle.

When Achilles loytered in his tent, giving eare to musicke, his souldiers were bidde to a hot breakfast. Hannibals power received more hurte in one dayes ease at Capua then in al the conflicts they had at Cannæ.

It were not good for us too flatter oure selves with these golden dayes; highe floodes have lowe ebbes, hotte fevers, coulde crampes, long dayes shorte nightes, drie summers, moyst winters; there was never fort so strong but it might be battered, never ground so fruitful but it might be barren, never country so populous, but it might be wast, never monarch so mighty, but he might be weakened, never realme so large, but it might be lessened, never kingdom so flourishing, but it might be decayed. Scipio, before hee levied his force too the walles of Carthage, gave his souldiers the print of the citie in a cake to be devoured; our enemies with Scipio have already eaten us with bread, and licked up our blood in a cup of wine. They do but tarry the tide, watch opportunitie, and wayte for the reckoning, that with the shot of our lives, shoulde paye for all. But that God, that neither slumbereth nor sleepeth, for the love of Israel, that stretcheth out his armes from morning to evening to cover his children, (as the hen doth her chickens with the shadow of her wings) with the breath of his mouth shall overthrow them, with their own snares shall overtake them, and hang them up by the haire of their owne devises. Notwithstanding it behooveth us in the meane season not to stick in the myre, and gape for succour, without using some ordinary way ourselves, or to lye wallowing like lubbers in the ship of the common-wealth, crying Lord, Lord, when wee see the vessel toyle, but joyntly laye our handes and heades and helpes together, to avoyd the danger, and save that which must be the suretie of us all. For as to the body, there are many members serving to severall uses, the eye to see, the eare to heare, the nose to smell, the tongue to taste, the hande to touch, the feete to beare the whole burden of the rest, and every one dischargeth his duetie without grudging, so shoulde the whole body of the common wealth consist of fellow laborers, all generally serving one head, and particularly following their trade without repining. From the head to the foote, from the top to the toe, there should nothing be vaine, no body idle. Jupiter himself shall stand for example, who is ever in woork, still mooving and turning about the heavens; if he shuld pull his hand from the frame, it were impossible for the world to indure, all would be day, or al night,

Labourers.

all spring, or all autume, all summer or all winter, all heate or all colde, all moysture or al drought; no time to til, no time to sowe, no time to plant, no time to reape, the earth barren, the rivers stopt, the seas stayd, the seasons chaunged, and the whole course of nature overthrowne. The meane must labor to serve the mightie, the mightie must studye to defende the meane.

The subjects must sweat in obedience to their prince; the prince must have a care over his poore vassals. If it be the dutie of every man in a commonwealth, one way or other, to bestirre his stumpes, I cannot but blame those lither cotemplators very much, which sit concluding of sillogismes in a corner, which, in a close study in the university, coope themselves up fortie yeres together, studying all things, and professe nothing. The bell is known by his sounde, the byrde by her voyce, the lyon by his rore, the tree by the fruite, a man by his woorkes. To continue so long without mooving, to read so much without teaching, what differeth it from a dumbe picture, or a deade body: No man is borne to seeke private profite: parte for his countrie, parte for his friendes, part for himselfe. Loyterers.

The foole that comes into a fayre garden, likes the beautie of flowers, and stickes them in his cap; the phisition considereth their nature, and puttes them in the potte; in the one they wither without profit; in the other they serve to the health of the bodie: He that readeth good writers, and pickes out their flowers for his owne nose, is lyke a foole; hee that preferreth their vertue before their sweet smel is a good phisition. When Anacharsis traveled over all Greece, to seek out wise men, hee founde none in Athens, though, no doubt, there were many good scholers there. But comming to Chenas, a blind village in comparison of Athens, a pattockes inne, he found one Miso well governing his house, looking to his grounde, instructing his children, teaching his family, making of marriages among his acquayntance, exhorting his neighbours to love and friendship, and preaching in life, whom the philosopher, for his scarcitie of woordes, plenty of workes, accompted the onelye wise man that ever he saw. I speak not this to preferr Botley before Oxeford, a cottage of clownes before a colledge of muses; Pans pipe before Apollos harp; but to shew you that poore Miso can reade you such a lecture of philosophie, as Aristotle never dreamed on. Right philosophie.

You must not thruste your heades in a tubbe, and say, *bené vexit qui bené latuit:* hee hath lived well, that hath loitred well: standing streames gather filth; flowing rivers are ever sweet. Come foorth with your sicles, the harvest is greate, the laborers few; pul up the sluces, let out your springs, geve us drink of your water, light of your torches, and season us a little with the salt of your knowledge; let Phœnix and Achilles, Demosthenes and Scipio, Nigidius and Cicero, the word and the sword be knit togither. Set your talents a worke, laye not up your treasure for taking rust, teach early and late, in time and out of tune, sing with the swan, to the last houre Folowe the dauncing chaplens of *Gradiuus Mars*, which chaunt the praises of their god with voyces, and treade out the time with their feete. Play the good captaines, exhort your souldiers with your tonges to fight, and bring the first ladder to the wall yourselves. Sound like bels, and shine like lanternes; thunder in wordes, and glister in works; so shall you please God, profite your country, honour your prince, discharge your dutie, give up a good account of your stewardship, and leave no sinne untouched, no abuse unrebuked, no fault unpunished. Sundry are the abuses as well of universityes as of other places; but they are such as neither become me to touch, nor every idle hed to understand. The Thiounes made a lawe, that no common finde fault should meddle with any abuse but adulterie. Pythagoras bounde all his schollers to five yeers silence, that assoone as ever they crept from the shel, they might not aspire to the house top. It is not good for every man too travell to Corinth, nor lawfull for all to talke what they liste, or write what they please, least their tongues run before their wites, or their pennes make havock of their paper. And so wading too farre in other Carpers. ἐχεμυθία of Pithagoras.

mens manners, whilst they fill their bookes with other mens faultes, they make their volumes no better then an apothecaries shop of pestilent drugges; a quackesalver budget of filthy receites; and huge chaos of foule disorder. Cooks did never long more for great markets, nor fishers for large pondes, nor greedy dogges for store of game, nor soaring hawkes for plentie of fowle, then carpers doe nowe for coppe of abuses, that they might ever be snarling, and have some flyes or other in the way to snatch at. As I woulde that offences should not be hid, for going unpunished, nor escape without scourge for ill example; so I wish that every one shoulde place a hatch before the doore; keep his quil within compas.

He that holds not himself contented with the light of the sun, but liftes up his eyes to measure the bignesse, is made blinde; he that bites every weed to search out his nature, may light upon poyson, and so kill himselfe; he that loves to be sifting of every cloude, may be strooke with a thunderbolte, if it chance to rent; and he that taketh upon him to shew men their faults, may wound his owne credite, if he goe too farre. We are not angry with the clarke of the market, if he come to our stall, and reprove our ballance when they are faultie, or forfaite our weights, when they are false; neverthelesse, if he presume to enter our house, and rig every corner, searching more then belongs to his office, we lay holde on his locks, turne him away with his backe full of stripes, and his handes loden with his owne amendes. Therefore I will content myselfe to shew you no more abuses in my schoole, then my selfe have seene, nor so many by hundreds, as I have heard off. Lyons folde up their nailes, when they are in their dennes for wearing them in the earth and neede not; eagles draw in their tallants as they sit in their nestes, for blunting them there amonge drosse: And I will caste ancor in these abuses, rest my barke in the simple roade, for grating my coits upon needelesse shelves.

And because I accuse other for treading awry, which since I was borne never went right; because I finde so many faultes abrode, which have at home more spots in my body then the leopard; more staines on my coate then the wicked Nesus; more holes in my life then the open sive; more sinnes in my soule than heares on my hed; if I have beene tedious in my lecture, or your selves be weary of your lesson, harken no longer for the clock, shut up the schoole, and get you home.[a]

FINIS.

To the Right Honorable Sir Richard Pipe, Knight, Lorde Maior of the City of London, and the Right Worshipful his Brethren, Continuance of Health and Maintenance of Civil Government.

Pericles was woont (right honourable and worshipful,) as oft as he put on his robes, to preach thus unto himselfe; consider wel, Pericles; what thou doest, thou commaundest free men, the Greekes obey thee, and thou governest the citizens of Athens. If you say not so much to your selves, the gownes that you weare, as the cognisances of authoritie; and the sword which is carried before you, as the instrument of justice, are of sufficient force to put you in mind, that you are the masters of freemen, that you governe the worshipfull citizens of London, and that you are the

[a] Gosson's attack upon the stage was answered by Thomas Lodge and another author, to whom he replied in a second pamphlet, entitled, "Plays confuted in Five Actions, proving that they are not to be suffered in a Christian Commonwealth; By the Way, both the Cavils of Tho. Lodge, and the Play of Plays, written in their Defence and other Objections of Players Friends, are truly set down and directly answered." It was printed without a date, and dedicated to Sir Francis Walsingham.

very stewards of her majestie within your liberties. Ther fore, sith by mine owne experience, I have erected a schoole of those abuses, which I have seene in London, I presume the more upon your pardon, at the ende of my pamphlet to present a few lynes to your honourable reading.

Augustus, the good emperor of Rome, was never angry with accusers, because hee thought it necessarye, (where many abuses flourish,) for every man freely to speake his minde. And I hope that Augustus (I meane such as are in authoritie,) will beare with me, because I touch that which is needfull to bee shewn. Wherein, I goe not about to instruct you howe to rule, but to warne you what danger hangs over your heads, that you may avoide it.

The byrde Trochilus, with crashing of her bil, awakes the crocodile, and delivereth her from her enemyes, that are readye too charge her in deade sleepe. A little fishe swimmeth continually before the great whale, to shewe him the shelves, that he run not a ground: The elephants, when any of their kinde are fallen into the pittes, that are made to catch them, thrust in stones and earth to recover them: When the lyon is caught in a trap, Æsop's mouse, by nibbling the cordes, sets him at libertie. It shall be enough for me, with Trochilus, to have wagged my bil, with the little fish to have gone before you, with the elephants to have shewed you the way to helpe your selfe; and with Æsop's mouse to have fretted the snares with a byting toothe, for your owne safetie.

The Thracians, when they must passe over frozen streames, sende out theyr wolves, which laying their eares to the yse, listen for noyse: If they hear any thing, they gather that it moves; if it moove, it is not congealed; if it be not congealed, it must be liquide; if it be liquide, then will it yeelde; and if it yeelde, it is not good trusting it with the weight of their bodyes, leste they sincke. The world is so slippery, that you are often inforced to passe over yse. Therefore, I humbly beseech you to try farther, and trust lesse; not your wolves, but many of your citizens have alread sifted the daunger of your passage, and, in sifting, beene swallowed to their discredite.

I would the abuses of my schoole were as wel knowen of you, to reformation, as they are found out by others to their owne peril. But the fishe Sepia can trouble the water to shun the nettes that are shot to catch her: Torpedo hath craft enough, at the first touch, to inchant the hooke, to conjure the line, to bewitch the rod, and too benumme the handes of him that angleth.

Whether our players be the spawnes of such fishes, I know not wel; yet I am sure, that how many nets soever ther be layd to take them, or hooks to choke them, they have ynke in their bowels to darken the water; and sleights in their budgets, to dry up the arme of every magistrate. If their letters of commendations were once stayed, it were easie for you to overthrowe them.

Agesilaus was greatly rebuked, because, in matters of justice, he inclined to his friends, and became partiall. Plutarch condemned this kind of writinge. *Niciam, si nihil admisit noxæ, exime; si quid admisit, mihi exime; omnino autem hominem noxæ exime.*

If Nicias have not offended, meddle not with him: If hee be guiltie, forgive him for my sake. What soever you doe, I charge you acquite him. This inforceth magistrates, like evill poets, to break the feete of their verse, and singe out of tune, and with unskilful carpenters, to use the square and the compasse, the rule and the quadrant, not to builde, but to overthrow.

Bona verba quæso. Some say, that it is not good jesting with edge tooles: The Atheniens will mince Phocion as small as fleshe to the potte, if they be mad; but kil Demades, if they be sober. And I doubte not, but the governours of London will vexe mee for speaking my minde, when they are out of their wittes; and banishe their players, when they are best advised.

In the meane time, it behooveth your honour, in your charge, too play the musition, streatch every string till hee breake, but sette him in order. Hee that will have the lampe to burne cleere, must as well powre in oyle to nourish flame, as snuffe the weeke to increase the light. If your honour desire to see the citie well governed, you must as well sette to your hand to thrust out abuses, as shewe yourselfe willing to have all amended. And (least I seeme one of those idle mates, which, having nothing to buy at home, and lesse too sell in the market abrode, stand at a boothe, if it be but to gase; or, wanting worke in mine owne study, and havinge no wit to governe cities, yet busye my braynes with your honorable office,) I wil heere ende, desiring pardon for my faulte, because I am rashe; and redresse of abuses, because they are naught.

Your honours, &c.

To commande,

STEPHAN GOSSON.

To the Gentlewomen Citizens of London, flourishing Dayes with regarde to Credite.

THE reverence that I owe you, gentlewomen, because you are citizens, and the pitie wherewith I tender your case, because you are weake, hath thrust out my hand, at the breaking up of my schoole, to write a few lines to your sweete selves. Not that I thinke you to be rebuked, as idle huswives, but commended and encouraged as vertuous dames.

The freest horse, at the whiske of a wand, girds forward: The swiftest hound, when he is hallowed, strippes forth: The kindest mastife, when he is clapped on the back, fightest best: The stoutest souldier, when the trumpet sounds, strikes fiercest: The gallantest runner, when the people showte, getteth ground; and the perfectest livers, when they are praysed, winne greatest credite.

I have seen many of you, which were wont to sporte yourselves at theaters, when you perceived the abuse of those places, schoole yourselves, and of your own accorde abhorre plays. And sith you have begun to withdrawe your steppes, continew so stil, if you be chary of your good name.

For this is generall, that they which shew themselves openly, desire to bee seene. It is not a softe shoe that healeth the gowte; nor a golden ring that driveth away the crampe; nor a crown of pearle that cureth the meigrim; nor your sober countenance, that defendeth your credite; nor your friends which accompany your person, that excuse your folly; nor your modestie at home, that covereth your lightnesse, if you present yourselves in open theaters.

Thought is free; you can forbidd no man, that vieweth you, to noate you, and that noateth you, to judge you, for entring to places of suspition. Wilde coltes, when they see their kinde begin to bray, and lusty bloode, at the showe of faire women, give a wanton sigh, or a wicked wishe.

Blasing markes are most shot at, glistring faces cheefly marked; and what followeth? Looking eyes, have lyking hartes, lyking harts may burne in lust. We walk in the sun many times for pleasure, but our faces are tanned before we return; though you go to theaters to se sport, Cupid may catche you ere you departe. The little god hovereth aboute you, and fanneth you with his wings to kindle fire; when you are set as fixed whites, Desire draweth his arrow to the head, and sticketh it up to the fethers, and Fancy bestirreth him to shed his poyson through every vaine. If you doe but listen to the voyce of the fowler, or join lookes with an amorous gazer, you have already made

yourselves assaultable, and yelded your cities to be sacked. A wanton eye is the darte of Cephalus, where it leveleth, there it lighteth; and where it hitts, it woundeth deepe.

If you give but a glance to your beholders, you have vayled the bonnet in token of obedience; for the boulte is falne ere the ayre clap; the bullet paste ere the peece crack; the colde taken ere the body shiver; and the match made ere you strike handes.

To avoyd this discommoditie, Cyrus refused to looke uppon Panthea, and Alexander the Great on Darius wife. The sicke man that relisheth nothing, when he seeth some about him feed apace, and commend the taste of those dishes which hee refused, blames not the meate, but his owne disease: And I feare you will say, that it is no ripe judgement, but a rawe humour in myselfe, which makes me condemne the resorting to playes; because there come many thither, which, in your opinion, sucke no poyson, but feede hartely without hurt; therefore I doe very ill to reject that which other like, and complaine still of mine owne maladie.

In deede, I must confesse, there comes to playes of all sortes old and young; it is hard to say that all offend, yet I promise you, I will sweare for none. For the driest flax flames soonest; and the greenest wood smoketh most; gray heads have green thoughts; and younge slippes are olde twigges.

Beware of those places, which in sorrowe cheere you, and beguile you in mirth. You must not cut your bodyes to your garments, but make your gownes fit to the proportion of your bodyes; nor fashion your selves, to open spectacles, but tye all your sportes to the good disposition of a vertuous minde. At dice-play, every one wisheth to caste well; at bowles every one craves to kisse the maister; at running every one starteth to win the goale; at shoting every one strives to hit the marke; and will not you, in all your pastimes and recreations, seeke that which shall yeelde you most profite and greatest credite? I wil not say you are made to toyle, and I dare not graunt that you should be idle. But, if there be peace in your houses, and plenty in your coafers, let the good precept of Xenophon be your exercise: In all your ease and prosperitie, remember God, that he may be mindeful of you, when your heartes grone, and succour you still in the time of neede. Be ever busied in godly meditations; seeke not to passe over the gulfe with a tottering plank that will deceive you. When we cast off our best clothes, we putte on ragges; when our good desires are once laide aside, wanton wil begins to prick.

Being pensive at home, if you go to theaters to drive away fancies, it is as good physicke, as for the ache of your head to knocke out your brains; or, when you are stung with a wasp, to rub the sore with a nettle. When you are greeved, passe the time with your neighboures in sober conference; or, if you can read, let bookes bee your comforte. Doe not imitate those foolish patientes, which, having sought all means of recovery, and are never the neere, run unto witchcrafte. If your greefe be such, that you may not disclose it, and your sorrowe so great, that you loth to utter it, looke for no salve at playes or theaters, lest, that labouring to shun Sylla, you light on Charybdis; to forsake the depe, you perish in sande; to warde a light stripe, you take a death's wound; and leave physicke, you flee to inchaunting. You neede not go abroade to be tempted, you shall be intised at your owne windowes. The best counsel that I can give you, is to keepe home, and shun all occasion of ill speech. The virgins of Vesta were shut up fast in stone walles, to the same ende. You must keepe your sweete faces from scorching in the sun, chapping in the winde, and warping with the weather, which is best performed by staying within.

And if you perceive your selves in any danger at your owne doores, either allured by curtesie in the day, or assaulted with musicke in the nighte, close up your eyes, stoppe your eares, tye up your tongues; when they speake, aunsweare not; when they hal-

lowe, stoope not; when they sighe, laugh at them; when they sue, scorne them; shunne their company; never be seene where they resorte; so shall you neither set them proppes, when they seeke to clime; nor hold them the stirrup, when they profer to mount.

These are harde lessons which I teach you; neverthelesse, drinke uppe the potion, though it like not your taste, and you shall be eased; resist not the surgeon, though he strike in his knife, and you shall be cured. The figtree is sower, but it yeeldeth sweete fruite; thymus is bitter, but it giveth honny; my schoole is tarte, but my counsel is pleasant, if you imbrace it. Shortly, I hope to send out the ephemerides of Phialo, by whom (if I see you accept this) I wil give you one dish for your owne tooth. Farewell.

Yours to serve at vertues call,

STEPHAN GOSSON.

An Apology for Actors. Containing three briefe Treatises. 1. *Their Antiquity.* 2. *Their Ancient Dignity.* 3. *The true Use of their Quality.*

Written by THOMAS HEYWOOD, 1612.

Et prodesse solent et delectare——

The antipathy of the puritans to dramatic representations began to shew itself in the reigns of Elizabeth and James though it did not burst forth with the vehemence of Prynne's Histrio-Mastix. Of this, the preceding tract by Gosson is sufficient evidence. No one was more interested in the defence of the stage than Thomas Heywood, himself an actor, and the author, in whole or part, of no less than two hundred and twenty plays. The following lines are quoted by Langbaine from a cotemporary muse. The third line refers to one of his dramas, entitled, The Golden Age.

"The squibbing Middleton, and Heywood sage,
The apologetick Atlas of the stage;
Well of the Golden Age he could entreat,
But little of the mettal he could get,
Threescore sweet babes he fashion'd at a lump,
For he was christen'd in Parnassus' pump;
The muses gossip to Aurora's bed,
And ever since that time his face was red."

Langbaine's Account of the Dramatic Poets.

His Apology for Actors was printed in 4to, London, 1613, and highly commended by several copies of verses, in Greek, Latin, and English. "This piece," says Langbaine, "was answered, or rather railed against, by one J. G. in a pamphlet, called, A Refutation of the Apology for Actors, 4to. London, 1615."

Heywood, in exaltation of the stage and its professors, mentions several stories of murders being discovered by the awakened consciences of the perpetrators, when they beheld similar deeds represented on the theatre. To these Shakespeare probably alludes, in the well-known passage of Hamlet

——————I have heard,
That guilty creatures sitting at a play,
Have, by the very cunning of the scene,
Been struck so to the soul, that presently,
They have proclaimed their malefactions.

To the Right Honourable Edward, Earle of Worcester, Lord of Chepstoll, Ragland, and Gower, Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter, Maister of the Horse, and one of the King's most Honorable Privy Councel.

KNOWING all the vertues and endowments of nobility which florisht in their height of eminence in your ancestors, now, as by a divine legacy, and lineall inheritance, to survive in you; and so consequently from you, to your truly ennobled issue. (Right Honourable) I presumed to publish this unworthy worke under your gracious patronage; first, as an acknowledgment of that duty I am bound to you in, as a servant; next, assured that your most judicial censure is as able to approve what therein is authentike and good, as your noble and accustomed modesty will charitably connive if there be any thing therein unworthy your learned approbation. I have strived, my lord, to make good a subject, which many through envy, but most through ignorance, have sought violently, and, beyond merit, to oppugne; in which, if they have either wandred through spleene, or erred by non-knowledge, I have (to my power) plainly and freely illustrated, propounding a true, direct, and faithfull discourse, touching the antiquity, the ancient dignity, and the true use of actors, and their quality. If my industry herein be by the common adversary harshly received, but by your honour charitably censured, I have, from the injuditious, whom I esteeme not, but what I expect; but, from your lordship, whom I ever reverence, more then I can merit.

Your honours humbly devoted,

THOMAS HEYWOOD.

To my good Friends and Fellowes, the Citty-actors.

OUT of my busiest hours, I have spared my selfe so much time as to touch some particulars concerning us, to approve our antiquity, ancient dignity, and the true use of our quality. That it hath beene anciente, we have derived it from more then two thousand yeeres agoe, successively to this age. That it hath beene esteemed by the best and greatest, to omit all the noble patrons of the former world, I need alledge no more then the royall and princely services, in which we now live. That the use thereof is authentique, I have done my endeavour to instance by history, and approve by authority. To excuse my ignorance, in affecting no florish of eloquence, to set a glosse upon my treatise, I have nothing to say for my selfe but this: A good face needes no painting, and a good cause no abetting. Some over curious have too liberally taxed us; and hee, in my thoughts, is held worthy reproofe, whose ignorance cannot answer for itselfe: I hold it more honest for the guiltlesse to excuse, then the envious to exclaime. And we may as freely (out of our plainnesse,) answere, as they (out of their perversnesse) object, instancing my selfe by famous Scalliger, learned doctor Gager, doctor Gentiles, and others, whose opinions and approved arguments on our part, I have in my briefe discourse altogether omitted, because I am loath to bee taxed in borrowing from others; and, besides, their workes being extant to the world, offer themselves freely to every mans perusall. I am profest adversary to none, I rather covet reconcilement, then opposition, nor proceeds this my labour from any envy in me, but rather to shew them wherein they erre. So wishing you judiciall audiences, honest poets, and true gatherers, I commit you all to the fulnesse of your best wishes.

Yours ever, T. H.

To the Judiciall Reader.

I have undertooke a subject (curteous reader) not of sufficient countenance to bolster it selfe by his own strength; and therefore have charitably reached it my hand to support it against any succeeding adversary. I could willingly have committed this worke to some more able then myselfe; for the weaker the combatant, he needeth the stronger armes. But in extremities, I hold it better to weare rusty armour, then to goe naked; yet if these weake habilliments of warre, can but buckler it from part of the rude buffets of our adversaries, I shall hold my paines sufficiently guerdoned. My pen hath seldome appeared in presse till now; I have beene ever too jealous of mine owne weaknesse, willingly to thrust into the presse: nor had I at this time, but that a kinde of necessity enjoyned me to so suddden a businesse. I will neither shew my selfe over presumptuous, in skorning thy favour, nor too importunate a beggar, by too servilly intreating it. What thou art content to bestow upon my pains, I am content to accept; if good thoughts, they are all I desire; if good words, they are more then I deserve; if bad opinion, I am sorry I have incurr'd it; if evil language, I know not how I have merited it; if any thing, I am pleased; if nothing, I am satisfied, contenting myselfe with this; I have done no more then (had I beene called to account) shewed what I could say in the defence of my owne quality.

Thine,

T. Heywood.

Firma valent per se, nullumque Machaona querunt.

An Apology for Actors; and, first, touching their Antiquity.

Moved by the sundry exclamations of many seditious sectists in this age, who, in the fatnes and ranknes of a peaceable commonwealth, grow up like unsavory tufts of grasse, which, though outwardly greene and fresh to the eye, yet are they both unpleasant and unprofitable, beeing too sower for food, and too ranke for fodder; These men, like the ancient Germans, affecting no fashion but their owne, would draw other nations to bee slovens like them-selves, and undertaking to purifie and reforme the sacred bodies of the church and common-weale (in trew use of both which they are altogether ignorant) would, but like artlesse phisitions, for experiments sake, rather minister pils to poyson the whole body, then cordials to preserve any or the least part. Amongst many other thinges tollerated in this peaceable and florishing state, it hath pleased the high and mighty princes of this land to limit the use of certaine publicke theaters, which since many of these over-curious heads have lavishly and violently slandered,[1] I hold it not a misse, to lay open some few antiquities, to approve the true use of them, with argu-

[1] The imprecations of the puritans, against the various theatres tolerated in London, are thus summed up by Randolph, in the Muses' Looking-Glass:—

> ——————It was a zealous prayer,
> I heard a brother make, concerning play-houses;
> ——————That the *Globe*,
> Wherein, quoth he, reigns a whole world of vice,
> Had been consumed! The *Phœnix* burned to ashes!
> The *Fortune* whipt for a blind whore! *Black Fryers*,
> He wonders how it 'scaped demolishing
> I' th' time of reformation. Lastly, he wished,
> The *Bull* might cross the Thames to the Bear garden
> And there be soundly baited!——————

ments (not of the least moment) which according to the weakness of my spirit, and infancy of my judgment, I will (by Gods grace) commit to the eyes of all favorable and judiciall readers, as well to satisfie the requests of some of our well qualified favorers, as to stop the envious acclamations of those who chalenge to them-selves a priviledge invective, and against all free estates a railing liberty: Loth am I (I protest) being the youngest and weakest of the nest, wherin I was hatcht, to soare this pitch, before others of the same brood, more fledge, and of better winge then my selfe; but though they whom more especially this taske concernes, both for their ability in writing, and sufficiency in judgment (as their workes generally witnesse to the world,) are content to over-slip so necessary a subject, and have left it as to mee the most unworthy: I thought it better to stammer out my mind, then not to speake at all; to scrible downe a marke in the stead of writing a name, and to stumble on the way, rather than to stand still, and not to proceede on so necessary a journey. *Nox erat, et somnus lassos submisit ocellos.*

It was about that time of the night, when darkness had already overspread the world, and a husht and generall sylence possest the face of the earth, and mens bodyes tyred with the businesse of the day, betaking themselves to their best repose, their never-sleeping soules labored in uncoth dreames and visions, when suddenly appeared to me the tragicke muse Melpomene.

—— animosa Tragedia.
—— & movit pictis imixa Cothurnis
Densum Cesarie, terque quaterque caput.

Her heyre rudely disheveled, her chaplet withered, her visage with teares stayned, her brow furrowed, her eyes dejected, nay her whole complexion quite faded and altered; and perusing her habit, I might behold the colour of her fresh roabe all crimson, breathed, and with the invenomed juice of some prophane spilt inke, in every place stained; nay more, her busken of all the wonted jewels and ornaments, utterly despoyled; about which, in manner of a garter, I might behold these letters written in a playne and large character:

Behold my tragicke buskin rent and torne,
Which kings and emperors in their tymes have worne.

This I no sooner had perus'd, but suddenly I might perceave the inraged muse cast up her skornfull head: Her eye bals sparkle fire, and a suddain flash of disdaine, intermixt with rage, purple her cheeke. When pacing with a majesticke gate, and rowsing up her fresh spirits with a lively and queint action, shee began in these or the like words:

Grande sonant tragici, tragicos decet ira cothurnos.

Am I Melpomene, the buskend muse,
That held in awe the tyrants of the world,
And playde their lives in publick theaters,
Making them feare to sinne, since fearlesse I
Prepar'd to wryte their lives in crimson inke,
And act their shames in eye of all the world?
Have not I whipt Vice with a scourge of steele,
Unmaskt sterne Murther; sham'd lascivious Lust?
Pluct off the visar from grimme Treasons face,
And made the sunne point at their ugly sinnes?

Hath not this powerfull hand tam'd fiery rage,
Kild poysonous Envy with her owne keene darts,
Choak't up their covetous mouth with moulten gold,
Burst the vast wombe of eating Gluttony,
And drownd the drunkards gall in juice of grapes?
I have showed Pryde his picture on a stage,
Layde ope the ugly shapes his steele-glasse hid,
And made him passe thence meekely: In those daies
When emperours with their presence grac't my sceanes,
And thought none worthy to present themselves
Save emperours, to delight embassadours.
Then did this garland florish, then my roabe
Was of the deepest crimson, the best dye:
Cura ducum fuerant olim regumque poetæ,
Premiaque antiqui magna tulere chori,
Who lodge them in the bosome of great kings,
Save he that had a grave Cothurnate muse;
A stately verse in the iambick stile
Became a Kesars mouth. Oh these were times
Fit for you bards to vent your golden rymes.
Then did I tread on arras, cloth of tissue,
Hung round the fore-front of my stage; the pillers
That did support the roofe of my large frame,
Double apparreld in pure Ophir gold;
Whilst the round circle of my spacious orbe
Was throng'd with princes, dukes, and senators.
Nunc hederæ sine honore jacent.
But now's the iron age, and black-mouth'd curres,
Barke at the vertues of the former world.
Such with their breath have blasted my fresh roabe,
Pluckt at my flowry chaplet, towsd my tresses.
Nay some, whom for their basenesse hist and scorn'd,
The stage, as loathsome, hath long-since spued out,
Have watcht their time to cast invenom'd inke,
To stayne my garments with: Oh Seneca
Thou tragicke poet, hadst thou liv'd to see,
This outrage done to sad Melpomene,
With such sharpe lynes thou wouldst revenge my blot,
As armed Ovid against Ibis wrot.

With that in rage shee left the place, and I my dreame, for at the instant I awaked, when having perused this vision over and over againe in my remembrance, I suddenly bethought mee, how many ancient poets, tragicke and comicke, dying many ages agoe, live still amongst us in their works; as amongst the Greekes, Euripides, Menander, Sophocles, Eupolis, Eschilus, Aristophanes, Apollodorus, Anaxandrides, Nichomachus, Alexis, Tereus, and others; so among the Latins, Attilius, Actius, Melithus, Plautus, Terens, and others whome for brevity sake I omit.

Hos ediscit et hos arcto stipata theatro,
Spectat Roma potens habet hos, numeratque poetas.

Thee potent Rome acquires and holdeth deare,
And in their round theaters flocks to heare.

These or any of these, had they lived in the afternoone of the world, as they dyed even in the morning, I assure myselfe, wold have left more memorable tropheys of that learned muse, whom in their golden numbers they so richly adorned. And amongst our moderne poets, who have beene industrious in many an elaborate and ingenious poem, even they whose pennes have had the greatest trafficke with the stage, have bene in the excuse of these muses most forgetfull. But leaving these, lest I make too large a head to a small body, and so mishape my subject, I will begin with the antiquity of acting comedies, tragedies, and hystories. And first, in the golden world.

In the first of the Olimpiads, amongst many other active exercises in which Hercules ever triumphed as victor, there was in his nonage presented unto him by his tutor in the fashion of a history, acted by the choyse of the nobilitie of Greece, the worthy and memorable acts of his father, Jupiter. Which being personated with lively and well-spirited action, wrought such impression in his noble thoughts, that in meere emulation of his fathers valor (not at the behest of his step-dame Juno) he performed his twelve labours. Him valiant Theseus followed, and Achillis, Theseus; which bred in them such hawty and magnanimous attempts, that every succeeding age hath recorded their worths unto fresh admiration. Aristotle, that prince of philosophers, whose bookes carry such credit even in these our universities, that to say, *ipse dixit* is a sufficient *axioma*, hee having the tuition of young Alexander, caused the destruction of Troy to be acted before his pupill, in which the valour of Achilles was so naturally exprest, that it imprest the hart of Alexander in so much that all his succeeding actions were meerly shaped after that patterne, and it may be imagined, had Achilles never lived, Alexander had never conquered the whole world. The like assertion may be made of that ever-renowned Roman, Julius Cæsar, who, after the like representation of Alexander, in the temple of Hercules, standing in Gades, was never in any peace of thoughts till by his memorable exployts hee had purchased to himselfe the name of Alexander; as Alexander till hee thought himselfe of desert to be called Achilles; Achilles, Theseus, Theseus till he had sufficiently imitated the acts of Hercules, and Hercules till hee held himselfe worthy to bee called the son of Jupiter. Why should not the lives of these worthyes, presented in these our dayes, effect the like wonders in the princes of our times, which can no way bee so exquisitly demonstrated, nor so lively portrayed as by action; oratory is a kind of a speaking picture, therefore may some say, is it not sufficient to discourse to the eares of princes the fame of these conquerors; painting likewise is a dumbe oratory, therefore may we not as well, by some curious pigmalion, drawe their conquests to worke the like love in princes towards these worthyes, by shewing them their pictures drawne to the life, as it wrought on the poore painter to bee inamored of his owne shadow? I answer this:

Non magis expressi vultus per ahenia signa
Quam per vatis opus, mores animique virorum
Clarorum apparent.———

The visage is no better cut in brasse,
Nor can the carver so expresse the face,
As doth the poets penne, whose arts surpasse,
To give mens lives and virtues their due grace.

A description is only a shadow received by the eare, but not perceived by the eye: so lively portrature is meerely a forme seene by the eye, but can neither shew action, passion, motion, nor any other gesture, to moove the spirits of the beholder to admiration: but to see a souldier shaped like a souldier, walke, speake, act like a souldier: to see a Hector all besmeared in blood, trampling upon the bulke of kinges; a Troylus

returning from the field in the sight of his father Priam, as if man and horse, even from the steeds rough fetlockes to the plume on the champions helmet, had bene together plunged into a purple ocean;[1] to see a Pompey ride in triumph, then a Cæsar conquer that Pompey; labouring Hanniball alive, hewing his passage through the Alpes; to see as I have seene Hercules in his owne shape hunting the boare, knocking downe the bull, taming the hart, fighting with Hydra, murdering Gerion, slaughtring Diomed, wounding the Stimphalides, killing the Centaurs, pashing the Lyon, squeezing the Dragon, dragging Cerberus in chaynes, and, lastly, on his high pyramides writing *nil ultra;* oh these were sights to make an Alexander.[2]

To turne to our domesticke hystories, what English blood, seeing the person of any bold English man presented, and doth not hugge his fame, and hunnye at his valor, pursuing him in his enterprise with his best wishes, and as beeing wrapt in contemplation, offers to him in his hart all prosperous performance, as if the personater were the man personated; so bewitching a thing is lively and well spirited action, that it hath power to new mold the harts of the spectators, and fashion them to the shape of any noble and notable attempt. What coward, to see his countryman valiant, would not bee ashamed of his cowardise? What English prince should hee behold the true portrature of that famous king Edward the Third,[3] foraging France, taking so great a king captive in his owne countrey, quartering the English lyons with the French flower-delyce, and would not bee suddenly inflamed with so royall a spectacle, being made apt and fit for the like atchievement. So of Henry the Fift;[4] but not to be tedious in any thing. Ovid, in one of his poems, holds this opinion, that Romulus was the first that broght plaies into Italy, which he sets thus downe:

De Arte Amand.

Primum sollicitos fecisti Romule ludos,
Cum jurit viduos rapta Sabina viros
Tunc neque marmoreo pendebant vela theatro, &c.

Which we English thus:

Thou, noble Romulus, first plays contrives,
To get thy widdowed souldiers Sabine wyves.
In those dayes from the marble house did wave
No saile, no silken flagge, or ensign brave.
Then was the tragicke stage not painted red,
Or any mixed stain on pillers spred.
Then did the sceane want art, th' unready stage
Was made of grasse and earth in that rude age;
About the which were thicke-leav'd branches placed,
Nor did the audients hold them disgraced
Of turfe and heathy sods to make their seates,
Fram'd in degrees of earth and mossy peates.
Thus plac'd in order, every Roman pry'd
Into her face that sate next by his side,

[1] Heywood thought perhaps of his own performances. For all the personages belonging to the Trojan war are introduced and disposed of in his play called the "Iron Age," 2 parts.

[2] Here again he seems to quote his own works; for his Golden Age, Silver Age, and Brazen Age, contain many of the tales of mythology, and particularly some of the labours of Hercules.

[3] Alluding, perhaps, to "Edward the Third, his Reign," 4to. 1596, an old play, sometimes ascribed to Shakespeare.

[4] Our author may either allude to Shakespeare's Henry V. or to the older play upon which he grounded his plot, and which occurs in Nicol's six old plays.

And closing with her, severally 'gan move,
The innocent Sabine woman to their love:
And whilst the piper, Thuscus, rudely plaid,
And by thrice stamping with his foote had made
A signe unto the rest, there was a shout,
Whose shrill report pierst all the aire about.
Now at a signe of rape given from the king,
Round through the house the lusty Romans fling,
Leaving no corner of the same unsought,
Till every one a frighted virgin caught.
Looke as the trembling dove the eagle flyes,
Or a young lambe when he the wolfe espyes;
So ran the poore girles, filling th' aire with skreekes,
Emptying of all the colour their pale cheekes.
One feare possest them all, but not one looke,
This teares her haire; she hath her wits forsooke.
Some sadly sit, some on their mothers call,
Some chafe, some flye, some stay, but frighted all.
Thus were the ravish'd Sabines blushing led
(Becoming shame) unto each Roman's bed.
If any strive against it, streight her man
Would take her on his knee (whom feare made wan,)
And say, Why weep'st thou sweet? what ailes my deere?
Dry up these drops, these clowds of sorrow cleere.
I'le be to thee, if thou thy grief will smother,
Such as thy father was unto thy mother.
Full well could Romulus his souldiers please,
To give them such faire mistresses as these.
If such rich wages thou wilt give to me,
Great Romulus, thy souldier I will be.

Romulus having erected the walles of Rome, and leading under him a warlike nation, being in continuall warre with the Sabines, after the choyce selecting of a place fit for so famous a citty, and not knowing how to people the same, his traine wholly consisting of souldiers, who, without the company of women (they not having any in their army) could not multiply; but so were likely that their immortal fames should dye issulesse with their mortal bodies. Thus, therefore, Romulus devised: after a parle and attonement made with the neighbour nations, hee built a theatre, plaine, according to the time, yet large, fit for the entertainement of so great an assembly, and these were they whose famous issue peopled the cittie of Rome, which in after ages grew to such height, that not Troy, founded by Dardanus, Carthage, layed by Dido, Tyrus, built by Agenor, Memphis, made by Ogdous, Thebes, seated by Cadmus, nor Babylon, reared by Semiramis, were any way equal to this situation grounded by Romulus; to which all the discovered kingdomes of the earth after became tributaries. And in the noone-tide of their glory, and height of all their honor, they edified theaters and amphi-theatres, for, in their flourishing common-weale, their publicke comedians and tragedians most flourished, insomuch that the tragicke and comicke poets were all generally admired of the people, and particularly, every man of his private Mecenas.

In the reigne of Augustus, Christ was borne, and as well in his days as before his birth, these solemnities were held in the greatest estimation. In Julius Cæsar's time, predecessor to Augustus, the famous hony-tong'd orator, Cicero, florished; who, amongst

Imperante Augusto, natus est Christus. Imperante Tiberio crucifixus.

many other his eloquent orations, writ certaine yet extant, for the comedian Roscius, *(pro Roscio Comœdo)* of whom we shall speake mor large hereafter. These continued in their honour till the reigne of Tiberius Cæsar, and under Tiberius Christ was crucified. To this end, I do use this assertion, because, in the full and perfect time our Saviour sojourned on the earth, even in those happy and peacefull dayes, the spacious theaters were in the greatest opinion amongst the Romans; yet, neither Chirst himselfe, nor any of his sanctified apostles, in any of their sermons, acts, or documents, so much as named them, or, upon any abusive occasion, touched them. Therefore hence (me thinkes) a very probable and important argument may be grounded, that since they, in their divine wisdomes, knew all the sinnes abounding in the world before that time, taxt and reproved all the abuses reigning in that time, and foresaw all the actions and inconveniences (to the church prejudiciall) in the time to come; since they (I say) in all their holy doctrines, bookes, and principles of divinity, were content to passe them over, as thinges tollerated and indifferent, why should any nice and over-scrupulous heads, since they cannot ground their curiousnesse either upon the Old or New Testament, take upon them to correct, controule, and carpe at that, against which they cannot finde any text in the sacred Scriptures?

In the time of Nero Cæsar, the Apostle Paul was persecuted and suffered. Nero was then emperour, Paul writ his Epistle to the Romans, and at the same time did the theaters most flourish amongst the Romans; yet where can we quote any place in his epistles, which forbids the church of God, then resident in Rome, to absent themselves from any such assemblies?

To speake my opinion with all indifferency, God hath not enjoyned us to weare all our apparrell solely to defend the cold. Some garments we weare for warmth, others for ornament. So did the children of Israel hang eare-rings to their eares, nor was it by the law forbidden them. That purity is not look't for at your hands, being mortall and humane, that is required of the angels, being celestiall and divine. God made us of earth, men; knowes our natures, dispositions and imperfections, and therefore hath limited us a time to rejoyce, as hee hath enjoyned us a time to mourne for our transgressions. And I hold them more scrupulous then well advised, that goe about to take from us the use of all moderate recreations. Why hath God ordained for man varietie of meats, dainties, and delicates, if not to taste thereon? Why doth the world yeeld choyse of honest pastimes, if not decently to use them? Was not the hare made to be hunted, the stag to be chased; and so of all other beasts of game in their severall kindes? Since God hath provided us of these pastimes, why may wee not use them to his glory? Now, if you aske me, Why were not the theaters as gorgeously built in all other cities of Italy as Rome? and why are not play-houses maintained as well in other cities of England as London? my answer is, It is not meet every meane esquire should carry the part belonging to one of the nobility, or for a nobleman to usurpe the estate of a prince. Rome was a metropolis, a place whither all the nations knowne under the sunne resorted, so is London, and being to receive all estates, all princes, all nations, therefore to affoord them all choyce of pastimes, sports, and recreations; yet were there theaters in all the greatest cities of the world, as we will more largely particularize hereafter.

I never yet could read any history of any common-weale, which did not thrive and prosper while these publike solemnities were held in adoration. Oh but (say some) Marcus Aurelius banisht all such trivial exercises beyond the confines of Italy. Indeed this emperour was a philosopher of the sect of Diogenes, a cinicke, and whether the hand of Diogenes would become a scepter or a root better, I leave to your judgements. This Aurelius was a great and sharpe reprover, who, because the matrons and ladies of Rome, in scorne of his person, made a play of him, in his time interdicted the

use of their theaters. So, because his wife Faustine plaid false with him, he generally exclaimed against all women; because himselfe could not touch an instrument, he banisht all the musitians in Rome, and, being a mere coward, put all the gladiators and sword-players into exile.[1] And lest his owne suspected life should be again acted by the comedians, as it before had beene by the noble matrons, he profest himselfe adversary to all of that quality, so severe a reformation of the weale publike hee used, restraining the citizens of their free liberties, which till his daies was not seene in Rome; but what profited this the weale publicke? Do but peruse the ancient Roman chronicles, and you shall undoubtedly finde, that, from the time of this precise emperour, that stately city, whose lofty buildings crowned seven high hils at once, and over-peered them all, streight way began to hang the head, by degrees the forreigne kingdomes revolted, and the homage done them by strange nations was in a little space quite abrogated, for they governed all the world, some under consuls, some under proconsuls, presidents and pretors, they devided their dominions and countreyes into principalities, some into provinces, some into toparchyes, some into tetrarchyes, some into tribes, others into ethnarchyes; but now their homage ceast, Marcus Aurelius ended their mirth, which presaged that shortly after should begin their sorrow; he banisht their liberty, and immediately followed their bondage. For Rome, which till then kept all the nations of the world in subjective awe, was in a little space awed even by the basest nations of the world. To leave Italy, and looke backe into Greece, the sages and princes of Grecia, who for the refinednesse of their language, were in such reputation through the world, that all other tongues were esteemed barbarous; these that were the first understanders, trained up their youthfull nobility to bee actors, debarring the base mechanikes so worthy imployment; for none but the yong heroes were admitted that practise, so to embolden them in the deliverey of any forraine embassy. These wise men of Greece (so called by the oracle,) could, by their industry, finde out no neerer or directer course to plant humanity and manners in the hearts of the multitude, then to instruct them by moralized mysteries, what vices to avoyd, what vertues to embrace, what enormityes to abandon, what ordinances to observe; whose lives (being for some speciall endowments in former times honoured) they should admire and follow, whose vicious actions (personated in some licentious liver) they should despise and shunne; which, borne out as well by the wisdome of the poet as supported by the worth of the actors, wrought such impression in the hearts of the plebe, that in short space they excelled in civility and government, insomuch, that from them all the neighbour nations drew their patternes of humanity, as well in the establishing of their lawes, as the reformation of their manners. These magi and gymnosophistæ, that lived (as I may say) in the childhood and infancy of the world, before it knew how to speake perfectly, thought even in those dayes that action was the neerest way to plant understanding in the hearts of the ignorant. Yea (but say some) you ought not to confound the habits of either sex, as to let your boyes weare the attires of virgins, &c. To which I answere, the scriptures are not alwayes to be expounded meerely according to the letter, (for in such estate stands our mayne sacramentall controversie,) but they ought exactly to be conferred with the purpose they handle. To do as the Sodomites did, use preposterous lusts in preposterous habits, is in that text flatly and severely forbidden, nor can I imagine any man, that hath in him any taste or relish of Christianity, to be guilty of so abhorred a sinne. Besides, it is not probable, that playes were meant in that text, because we read not of any playes knowen in that time that Deuteronomie was writ among the children of Israel, nor do I hold it lawful to beguile the eyes of the world in confounding the shapes of either sex, as to keepe any youth in the habit of a virgin, or any virgin in the shape of a

[1] The defenders and the assailants of the English stage have erred in confounding the inhuman sports of the gladiators with the proper theatrical exhibitions of antiquity.

lad, to shroud them from the eyes of their fathers, tutors, or protectors, or to any other sinister intent whatsoever. But to see our youths attired in the habit of women, who knowes not what their intents be? who cannot distinguish them by their names, assuredly knowing, they are but to represent such a lady, at such a time appoynted?

Do not the universities, the fountaines, and well-springs of all good arts, learning, and documents, admit the like in their colledges? And they (I assure myselfe) are not ignorant of their true use. In the time of my residence in Cambridge, I have seene tragedyes, comedyes, historyes, pastorals, and shewes, publicly acted; in which graduates of good place and reputation have bene specially parted. This is held necessary for the emboldening of their junior schollers, to arme them with audacity against they come to bee imployed in any publicke exercise, as in the reading of the dialecticke, rhetoricke, ethicke, mathematicke, the physicke, or metaphysick lectures. It teacheth audacity to the bashfull grammarian, beeing newly admitted in the private colledge, and after matriculated and entred as a member of the university, and makes him a bold sophister, to argue *pro et contra*, to compose his sillogismes, cathegoricke, or hypotheticke, (simple or compound) to reason and frame a sufficient argument to prove his questions, or to defend any *axioma*, to distinguish of any dilemma, and be able to moderate in any argumentation whatsoever.

To come to rhetoricke, it not onely emboldens a scholer to speake, but instructs him to speake well, and with judgement; to observe his commas, colons, and full poynts; his parentheses, his breathing spaces, and distinctions; to keepe a decorum in his countenance, neither to frowne when he should smile, nor to make unseemely and disguised faces in the delivery of his words, not to stare with his eies, draw awry his mouth, confound his voice in the hollow of his throat, or teare his words hastily betwixt his teeth, neither to buffet his deske like a madman, nor stand in his place like a livelesse image, demurely plodding, and without any smooth and formal motion. It instructs him to fit his phrases to his action, and his action to his phrase, and his pronuntiation to them both.[s]

Tully, in his booke *ad Caium Herennium*, requires five things in an orator, invention, disposition, eloqution, memory, and pronuntiation; yet all are imperfect without the sixt, which is action: for be his invention never so fluent and exquisite, his disposition and order never so composed and formall, his eloquence, and elaborate phrases never so materiall and pithy; his memory never so ferme and retentive; his pronuntiation never so musicall and plausive; yet, without a comely and elegant gesture, a gratious and a betwitching kinde of action, a naturall and a familiar motion of the head, the hand, the body, and a moderate and fit countenance sutable to all the rest, I hold all the rest as nothing. A delivery and sweet action is the glosse and beauty of any discourse, that belongs to a scholler; and this is the action behoovefull in any that professe this quality, not to use any impudent or forced motion in any part of the body, no rough, or other violent gesture, nor, on the contrary, to stand like a stiffe starcht man, but to qualifie every thing according to the nature of the person personated: for, in overacting trickes, and toyling too much in the anticke habit of humours, men of the ripest desert, greatest opinions, and best reputations, may breake into the most violent absurdities. I take not upon me to teach, but to advise: for it becomes my juniority rather to be pupild myselfe then to instruct others.

To proceed, and to looke into those men that professe themselves adversaries to this quality; they are none of the gravest, and most ancient doctors of the academy, but onely a sort of finde-faults, such as interest their prodigall tongues in all mens affaires without respect. These I have heard as liberally, in their superficiall censures, taxe the exercises performed in their colledges, as these acted on our publicke stages, not

[s] Which is no bad definition of rhetorical excellence.

looking into the true or direct use of either, but ambitiously preferring their owne presumptuous humors, before the profound and authenticall judgements of all the learned doctors of the universitie. Thus you see, that touching the antiquity of actors and acting, they have not beene new lately begot by any upstart invention, but I have derived them from the first Olimpiads, and I shall continue the use of them even till this present age: And so much touching their antiquity.

Pars superest cœpti: pars est exhausta laboris.

Of Actors, and their ancient Dignity.

The Second Booke.

Julius Cæsar, the famous conqueror, discoursing with Marcus Cicero, the as famous orator, amongst many other matters debated, it pleased the emperour to aske his opinion of the histriones, the players of Rome, pretending some cavell against them, as men whose imployment in the common-weale was unnecessary. To whom Cicero answered thus: Content thee, Cæsar, there bee many heads busied and betwitched with these pastimes now in Rome, which otherwise would be inquisitive after thee and thy greatnesse. Which answer, how sufficiently the emperour approved, may bee conjectured by the many gifts bestowed, and priviledges and charters after granted to men of that quality. Such was likewise the opinion of a great statesman of this land, about the time that certaine bookes were called in question. Doubtlesse there be many men of that temper, who, were they not carried away, and weaned from their owne corrupt and bad dispostion, and by accidentall meanes removed and altered from their dangerous and sullen intendments, would be found apt and prone to many notorious and trayterous practices. Kings and monarches are by God placed and inthroaned *supra nos*, above us, and we are to regard them as the sun from whom we receive the light to live under, whose beauty and brightnesse we may onely admire, not meddle with: *Ne ludamus cum Diis*, they that shoot at the starres over their heades, their arrowes fall directly downe and wound themselves. But this allusion may bee better referred to the use of action, promised in our third treatise, than to their dignity, which next and immediately (by Gods grace) our purpose is to handle.

The word tragedy is derived from the Greeke word τραγος, caper, a goat, because the goat being a beast most injurious to the vines, was sacrificed to Bacchus: Hereupon Diodorus writes, that tragedies had their first names from the oblations due to Bacchus; or else of τρυξ, a kinde of painting, which the tragedians of the old time used to stayne their faces with. By the censure of Horace, Thespis was the first tragicke writer.

Ignotum tragicæ genus invenisse Camenæ
Dicitur, et plaustris vexisse poëmata Thespis.

Horace, Arte Poetica.

The unknown tragicke muse Thespis first sought,
And her high poems in her chariot brought.

This Thespis was an Athenian poet, borne in Thespina, a free towne in Bœtia, by Helicon; of him the nine muses were called Thespiades. But by the censure of Quintilian, Æschilus was before him, but after them Sophocles and Euripides clothed their tragedies in better ornament. Livius Andronicus was the first that writ any Roman tragedy, in which kinde of poesie, Accius, Pacuvius, Seneca, and Ovidius excelled. Polid. Virgil

Ovid. Amorum. lib. 3. eleg. 18.

Sceptra tamen sumpsi curâque tragedia nostra
Crevit, at huic operi quamlibet aptus eram.

The scepter'd tragedy then proov'd our wit,
And to that work we found us apt and fit.

Againe, in his fift book de Tristibus, Eleg. 8.

Carmen quod vestro saltari nostra theatro
Versibus et plaudi scribis (amice) meis.

Deere friend, thou writ'st our muse is 'mongst your song,
And in your theaters with plaudits rong.

Likewise, in his Epistle to Augustus, writ from the Ponticke island, whither he was banisht:

Et dedimus tragicis scriptum regale Cothurnis,
Quæque gravis debet verba Cothurnus habet.

With royall style speaks our Cothurnate muse,
A buskin'd phrase in buskin'd playes we use.

The word comedy is derived from the Greeke word Κωμος, a street, and ωδη, cantus, a song, a street song, as signifying there was ever mirth in those streets where comedies most flourisht.

Hæc paces habuere bonæ ventique secundi.

In this kinde, Aristophanes, Eupolis, Cratinus, were famous; after them Menander and Philemon; succeeding them, Cicilius, Nevius, Plautus and Terentius.

Musaque Turani tragicis innixa Cothurnis
Et tua cum socco, Musa, Melisse levis.

Turanus tragicke buskin grac'd the play,
Melissa'es comicke shooe made lighter way.

Alex. Metapol. The ancient histriographers write, that, among the Greekes, there were divers places of exercises, appointed for poets, some at the grave of Theseus, others at Helicon, where they in comedies and tragedies contended for several prises, where Sophocles was adjudged victor over Æschilus: There were others in the citty of Elis, where Menander was foyled by Philomene. In the same kinde, Hesiod is sayd to have triumpht over Homer. So Corinna, for her excellencies in these inventions, (called Muscalyrica) excelled Pindarus, the Theban poet, for which she was five times crowned with garlands.

Theaters. The first publicke theater was, by Dionysius, built in Athens; it was fashioned in the manner of a semi-circle, or half-moone, whose galleries and degrees were reared from the ground, their staires high, in the midst of which did arise the stage; beside, such a convenient distance from the earth, that the audience assembled might easily behold the whole project without impediment. From this the Romans had their first patterne, which at the first not being roof't, but laying open to all weathers, Quintus Catulus was the first that caused the out-side to be covered with linnen cloth, and the in-side to be hung round with curtens of silke. But when Marcus Scaurus was Ædilis, hee repaired it, and supported it round with pillers of marble.

Caius Curio, at the solemn obsequies of his father, erected a famous theater of timber, in so strange a forme, that on two severall stages, two sundry playes might bee acted at once, and yet the one be no hindrance or impediment to the other; and when hee so pleased, the whole frame was artificially composed to meet in the middest, which made an amphitheater.

Pompey the Great, after his victories against Methridates, king of Pontus, saw in the citty Mitelene, a theater of another forme, and, after his triumphes and returne to Rome, he raised one after the same patterne, of free stone, of that vastnesse and receipt, that, within its spaciousnesse, it was able at once to receive fourscore thousand people, every one to sit, see, and heare.

In emulation of this sumptuous and gorgious building, Julius Cæsar, successor to Pompeyes greatnesse, exceeded him in his famous architecture; hee raised an amphitheater, Campo Martio, in the field of Mars, which as farre excelled Pompeyes as Pompeyes did exceed Caius Curioes, Curioes that of Marcus Scaurus, Scaurus that of Quintus Catulus, or Catulus that which was first made in Athens, by Dionysius: for the basses, columnes, pillars, and pyramides were all of hewed marble, the coverings of the stage, which wee call the heavens (where upon any occasion their gods descended) were geometrically supported by a giant like Atlas, whom the poets, for his astrology, feigne to beare heaven on his shoulders, in which an artificiall sunne and moone, of extraordinarry aspect and brightnesse, had their diurnall and nocturnal motions; so had the starres their true and cœlestiall course; so had the spheares, which, in their continuall motion, made a most sweet and ravishing harmony: Here were the elements and planets in their degrees, the sky of the moon, the sky of Mercury, Venus, Sol, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturne; the starres, both fixed and wandering: and, above all these, the first mover, or *primum mobile*, there were the 12 signs; the lines equinoctiall and zodiacall, the meridian circle, or zenith; the orizon circle, or emisphere; the zones torrid and frozen, the poles articke and antarticke, with all other tropickes, orbs, lines, circles; the *solstitium*, and all other motions of the stars, signes, and planets. In briefe, in that little compasse were comprehended the perfect modell of the firmament, the whole frame of the heavens, with all grounds of astronomicall conjecture. From the roofe grew a loover, or turret, of an exceedding altitude, from which an ensign of silke waved continually, *Pendebant vela Theatro.* But, lest I waste too much of that compendiousnesse, I have promised in my discourse, in idle descriptions, I leave you to judge the proportion of the body by the making of this one limbe; every piller, seat, foot post, staire, gallery, and whatsoever else belongs to the furnishing of such a place, being in cost, substance, forme, and artificiall workmanship, most sutable. The floore, stage, roofe, out-side, and inside, as costly as the Pantheon or Capitols. In the principall galleries were speciall, remote, selected, and chosen seats for the emperour, *patres conscripti*, dictators, consuls, pretors, tribunes, triumviri, decemviri, ediles, curules, and other noble officers among the senators; all other roomes were free for the plebe, or multitude. To this purpose I introduce these famous edifices, as wondring at their cost and state, thus intimating, that if the quality of acting were (as some propose) altogether unworthy, why, for the speciall practice, and memorable imployment of the same, were founded so many rare and admirable monuments; and by whom were they erected? But by the greatest princes of their times, and the most famous and worthiest of them all, builded by him that was the greatest prince of the world, Julius Cæsar, at what time in his hand he grip't the universal empire of the earth. So of Augustus Cæsar.

Inspice ludorum sumptus Auguste tuorum
Empta tibi magno ———

Behold, Augustus, the great pompe and state
Of these thy playes payd deere for, at hye rate.

Hæc tu spectasti spectandaque sepe dedisti.

And could any inferiour quality bee more worthily esteemed, or nobler graced, then to have princes of such magnificence and state, to bestow on them places of such port and countenance, had they been never well regarded, they had been never so sufficiently provided for, nor would such worthy princes have strived, who should (by their greatest expence and provision) have done them the amplest dignity, had they not with incredible favour regarded the quality. I will not traverse this too farre, least I incurre some suspition of selfe-love; I rather leave it to the favourable consideration of the wise, though to the perversenesse of the ignorant, who, had they any taste either of poesie, phylosophy, or historicall antiquity, would rather stand mated at their owne impudent ignorance, then, against such noble and notable examples, stand in publicke defiance.

I read of a theater built in the midst of the river Tyber, standing on pillars and arches, the foundation wrought under water like London-bridge, the nobles and ladyes, in their barges and gondelayes, landed at the very stayres of the galleryes. After these, they composed others, but differing in forme from the theater, or amphitheater, and every such was called circus, the frame globe-like, and merely round.

Circus in hanc exit clamataque palma theatris.

And the yeare, from the first building of Rome, five hundred threescore and seven, what time Spurius Posthumous Albinus, and Quintus Martius Philippus, were consuls, Nero made one, and the noble Flaminius another; but the greatest was founded by Tarquinius Priscus, and was called *Circus maximus;* In this the gladiators practised; the widenesse and spaciousnesse was such, that in it they fought at barriers, and many times ran at tilt. Dion records eighteene elephants slain at once in one theater. More particularly to survey the rarer monuments of Rome, neere to the Pantheon, (the temple of the Roman gods,) at the discent from the hil Capitolinus, lies the great forum, by which is scituate the great amphi-theater of Tytus, first erected by Vespatian, but after almost ruined by fire, by the Roman Tytus, rarely re-edified. It is called Colliseus, also a Cavea, which signifies a scaffold, also Arena, a place of combate, by Silvianus and Prudentius, which name Tertullian, Pliny, Ovid, Firmicus, and Apuleius likewise give it. It had the title of Circus, Caula and Stadium, by Suetonius, Capitolinus, and Arcadius. Cassianus affirmes these theaters, consecrated to Diana Taurica, Tertullian to Mars and Diana, Martiall to Jupiter Latiaris, and to Stigian Pluto, whose opinion Minutius and Prudentius approve. The first structures were by the tribune Curio, which Dio, lib 37. affirmes. Vitruvius, lib. 5, saith, *Multa Theatra, Romæ structa quotannis.* Of Julius Cæsars amphitheater, Campo Martio, Dio Cassius records, which Augustus after patronised, as Victor remembers of them, whose charge Statilius Taurus assisted, of whom Dio speaketh thus: Ο ταυροσ ςατιλιος θεατρον, &c. *Anno Urbis* DCCXXV. Pub. Victor forgets not Circus Flaminii, and Suetonius remembers one builded by Caligula at Septa, whose building Claudius at first interdicted. Nero erected a magnificent theater in the field of Mars. Suetonius, lib. Ner. 12.

Ammianus, lib. 29.

Pliny, l. 36.

Dio Cassius, lib. 43.

Dio. lib. 51.

Suetonius, cap. 21.

Tacitus, lib. 13. Annal.

Publius Victor speakes further of a *Castrense Theatrum*, a theater belonging to the campe, in the country of the Æsquiles, built by Tiberius Cæsar, and of Pompies theater Pliny witnesseth. The great theater of Statilius being in greatest use, was burnt in the time of Nero, which Xiphilinus thus speakes of, το τεκαλατιον τὸ ἐροσ συμπαν ϗ το θεατρον τȣ ταυρȣ εχαυθε. This was built in the middest of the old citty, and after the combustion,

Plin. lib. 36. cap. 15.

repaired by Vespatian, *Consulatu suo* 8. whose coyne, of one side, beares the expresse figure of his theater, yet was it onely begun by him, but perfected by his sonne Tytus. Eutropius and Cassiodorus attribute this place soly to Tytus, but Aurelius Victor gives him onely the honour of the perfecting a place so exquisitely begun: this after was repaired by Marcus Anthonius Pius, by whose cost, sayth Capitolinus, the temple of Hadrianus was repaired, and the great theater re-edified, which Heliogabalus, by the testimony of Lampridius, patronised, and after the senate of Rome, tooke to their protection, under the Gordians.

Touching theaters without Rome, Lipsius records *Theatra circa Romani, extructa passim*, even in Jerusalem. *Herodes magnificus et illustris Rex non uno loco Judeæ Amphi-theatra ædificavit, exstruxit in ipsa urbe sacra, εν τω αγιω*, (as Josephus saith) *Αμφιθεατρον μεγιστον*. Herod, a magnificent and illustrious king, not in one place of Judea, erected amphitheaters, but even in the holy citty hee built one of greatest receit. Also in Greece, Asia, Affricke, Spaine, France; nor is there any province in which these antient structures do not yet remaine, or their perishing ruines are not still remembred. In Italy, *ad Lyrim companiæ Fluvium juxta Minturnas*, remaines part of an ample amphitheater.

At Puteolis, a citty by the sea-side in Campania, 8 miles from Naples, one.
At Capua, a magnificent one of sollid marble.
At Alba, in Italy, one.
At Ocriculum, in Umbria, one.
At Verona, one most beautifull.
At Florens, one whose compasse yet remaines.
At Athens, in Greece, one of marble.
At Pola, in Istria, by the Hadriaticke sea, one described by Sebastian Serlius.
At Hyspalis, in Spaine, one built without the walles of the citty.
In Turamace, at Vesuna, one of squared stone, the length 30 perches, or poles, the bredth 20.
At Arelate, one.
At Burdegall, one.
At Nemaus, one, remembred by *Euseb. in Ecclesiastica Historia.*
At Lygeris, one.
Another among the Helvetians.

The *Veronense Theatrum Marmoreum*, erected before the time of Augustus, as Torellus Serayna, in his description of Verona, records: but Cyrnicus Anconitanus reports it built in the nine and thirtieth yeare of Octavian. Carolus Sigonius, referies it to the reigne of Maximinian, who saith, Maximinian built theaters in Mediolanum, Aquilea, and Brixium. The like Cornelius Tacitus, 2 Hist. remembers in Placentia, but the description of the Verona theater Levinus Kersmakerus sets downe. This the great king Francis, anno 1539, gave to certaine actors, who, thirty dayes space together, represented in the same the Acts of the Apostles; nor was it lawfull, by the edict of the king, for any man to remove any stone, within thirty poles of his scituation, lest they should endanger the foundation of the theater. Sicon. lib. Hist. Occident.

The like have been in Venice, Millan, Padua In Paris, there are divers now in use by the French kings comedians, as the Burgonian, and others. Others in Massalia, in Trevers, in Magontia, in Agripina, and infinite cities of Greece, Thebes, Carthage, Delphos, Creet, Paphos, Epyrus, also in the citie Tydena, so at Civil, in Spaine, and at Madrill, with others.

At the entertainement of the cardinall Alphonsus, and the infant of Spaine, into the Low-Countreyes, they were presented at Antwerpe with sundry pageants and plays; the king of Denmark, father to him that now reigneth, entertained into his service, a company of English comedians, commended unto him by the honourable the earle of Archduke Alphonsus.

Leicester; the duke of Brounswicke, and the Landsgrave of Hessen, retaine in their courts certaine of ours, of the same quality. But among the Romans they were in highest reputation: for in comparison of their playes, they never regarded any of their solemnities, their *Ludi funebres*, their *Floralia, Cerealia, Fugalia, Bachinalia*, or *Lupercalia.*

Stowe. And amongst us, one of our best English chroniclers records, that when Edward the Fourth would shew himselfe in publicke state to the view of the people, hee repaired to his palace at S. Johnnes, where he accustomed to see the citty actors And since then, that house, by the princes free gift, hath belonged to the office of the revels, where our court playes have beene in late daies yearely rehersed, perfected, and corrected, before they come to the publike view of the prince and the nobility. Ovid, speaking of the tragicke muse, thus writes:

Venit et ingenti violenta tragedia passu,
Fronte comæ torva palla jacebat humi
Læva manus sceptrum late regale tenebat,
Lydius apta pedum vincta cothurnus habet.

Then came the tragicke muse with a proud pace,
Measuring her slow strides with majesticke grace.
Her long traine sweepes the earth, and she doth stand,
With buskin'd legge, rough brow, and sceptred hand.

Cincius. Faliscus. Minutius. Prothonius. L. Attilius. Latinus Prenestinus. Lucius Ambivius Turpio. Flaccus. Protinus. J. Servius. Offic. 1. Rupilius. Arossus. Theocrines. Æsopus.

Well knew the poet what estimation she was in with Augustus, when he describes her holding in her left hand a scepter. Now to recite some famous actors that lived in the preceding ages: the first comedians were Cincius and Faliscus; the first tragedians were Minutius and Prothonius. Elius Donatus, in his preface to Terence, his Andrea, saith, that in that comedy, Lucius Attilius, Latinus Prenestinus, and Lucius Ambivius Turpio were actors; this comedy was dedicated to Cibil, and such were called *ludi Megalenses*, acted in the yeare that M. Fulvius was Edilis, and Quintus Minutius Valerius, and M. Glabrio, were Curules, which were counsellors and chiefe officers in Rome, so called, because they customably sate in chayres of ivory. The songs that were sung in this comedy were set by Flaccus, the sonne of Clodius. Terence his Eunuchus, or second comedy, was acted in the yeare L. Posthumus, and L. Cornelius, were Edil. Curules. Marcus Valerius, and Caius Fannius, Consuls. The yeare from the building of Rome 291, in his Adelphi, one Protinus acted, and was highly applauded, in his Hecyra, Julius Servius. Cicero commends one Rupilius, a rare tragedian. I read of another called Arossus, another called Theocrines, who purchased him a great applause in the playes called Terentini. There were other playes in Rome, called Actia and Pythia, made in the honour of Apollo, for killing the dragon Python. In those one Æsopus bare the praise, a man generally esteemed, who left behind much substance, which Clodius, his sonne, after possest.

Quæ gravis Æsopus, quæ doctus Rossius egit.

Labericus. Labericus was an excellent poet, and a rare actor, who writ a booke of the gesture and action to be used by the tragedians and comedians in performance of every part in his native humour. Plautus himselfe was so inamored of the actors in his dayes, that hee published many excellent and exquisite comedies, yet extant. Aristotle commends one Theodoretes to be the best tragedian in his time. This in the presence of Alexander personated Achilles, which so delighted the emperour, that he bestowed on him a

pension of the *quinque mille drachmæ*, five thousand drachmes, and every thousand drachmes are twenty nine pounds three shillings four pence sterling.

Roscius, whom the eloquent orator and excellent statesman of Rome, Marcus Cicero, for his elegant pronuntiation and formall gesture, called his jewell, had from the common tresury of the Roman exchequer, a daily pention allowed him of so many sestertii as in our coine amounted to 16 pound and a marke, or thereabouts, which yearely did arise to any noble mans revenues. So great was the fame of this Roscius, and so good his estimation, that learned Cato made a question whether Cicero could write better then Roscius could speake and act, or Roscius speake and act better then Cicero write. Many times, when they had any important orations, to be with an audible and loud voyce delivered to the people, they imployed the tongue and memory of this excellent actor, to whom, for his worth, the senate granted such large exhibition.

——— *que pervincere voces,*
Evaluere sonum referunt quem nostra theatra,
Gorganum mugire putes nemus aut mare Thuscum,
Tanto cum strepitu ludi spectantur et artes.

What voyce can be compared with the sound,
Our theaters from their deepe concaves send,
For their reverberate mumures seeme to drownd
The Gorgan wood, when the proud windes contend,
Or when rough stormes the Thuscan billowes raise,
With such loud joy they ring our arts and playes.

To omit all the doctors, zawnyes, pantaloones, harlakeenes, in which the French, but especially the Italians, have been excellent; and, according to the occasion offered, to do some right to our English actors, as Knell, Bentley, Mils, Wilson, Crosse, Lanam, and others: these, since I never saw them, as being before my time, I cannot (as an eye-witnesse of their desert) give them that applause which, no doubt, they worthily merit, yet, by the report of many juditial auditors, their performance of many parts have been so absolute, that it were a kinde of sinne to drowne their worths in Lethe, and not commit their (almost forgotten) names to eternity. Heere I must needs remember Tarleton,[1] in his time gratious with the queene his soveraigne and in the peoples general applause, whom succeeded Will. Kemp, as wel in the favour of her majesty as in the opinion and good thoughts of the generall audience, Gabriel, Singer, Pope, Phillips, Sly, all the right I can do to them, is but this, that, though they be dead, their deserts yet live in the remembrance of many. Among so many dead, let me not forget one yet alive, in his time the most worthy, famous Maister Edward Allen. To omit these, as also such as for divers inspections may be thought insufficient for the quality. Actors should be men pick'd out personable, according to the parts they present; they should be rather schollers, that, though they canot speake well, know how to speake, or else to have that volubility, that, they can speake well, though they understand not what, and so both imperfections may by instructions be helped and amended: but where a good tongue and a good conceit both faile, there can never be good actor. I also could wish, that such as are condemned for their licentiousnesse, might by a generall consent bee quite excluded our society: for, as we are men that stand in the broad eye of the world, so should our manners, gestures, and behaviours, savour of such government and modesty, to deserve the good thoughts and reports of all men, and to abide the sharpest censures, even of those that are the greatest opposites to the quality. Many

[1] Celebrated for playing the part of the clown, so popular in the old drama.

amongst us I know to be of substance, of government, of sober lives, and temperate carriages, house-keepers, and contributary to all duties enjoyned them, equally with them that are rank't with the most bountifull; and if amongst so many of sort, they be any few degenerate from the rest in that good demeanor, which is both requisite and expected at their hands, let me entreat you not to censure hardly of all for the misdeeds of some, but rather to excuse us, as Ovid doth the generality of women.

Parcite paucarum diffundere crimen in omnes,
Spectetur meritis quæque puella suis.

For some offenders (that perhaps are few)
Spare in your thoughts to censure all the crew;
Since every breast containes a sundry spirit,
Let every one be censur'd as they merit.

Others there are, of whom should you aske my opinion, I must refer you to this, *consule theatrum*. Here I might take fit opportunity to reckon up all our English writers, and compare them with the Greeke, French, Italian, and Latine poets, not onely in their pastorall, historicall, elegeicall, and heroicall poems, but in their tragicall and comical subjects, but it was my chance to happen on the like learnedly done by an approved good scholler, in a booke called Wits Common-wealth, to which treatise I wholy referre you, returning to our present subject. Julius Cæsar himselfe for his pleasure became an actor, being in shape, state, voyce, judgement, and all other occurrents, exterior and interior, excellent. Amongst many other parts acted by him in person, it is recorded of him, that with general applause in his owne theater he played Hercules Furens, and, amongst many other arguments of his compleatnesse, excellence, and extraordinary care in his action, it is thus reported of him: Being in the depth of a passion, one of his servants (as his part then fell out) presenting Lychas, who before had from Dejaneira brought him the poysoned shirt, dipt in the bloud of the Centaure Nessus, he, in the middest of his torture and fury, finding this Lychas hid in a remote corner (appoynted him to creep into of purpose) although he was, as our tragedians used, but seemingly to kill him by some false imagined wound, yet was Cæsar so extremely carryed away with the violence of his practised fury, and by the perfect shape of the madenesse of Hercules, to which he had fashioned all his active spirits, that he slew him dead at his foot, and after swoong him *terque quaterque*, as the poet says, about his head. It was the manner of their emperours, in those dayes, in their publicke tragedies, to choose out the fittest amongst such, as for capital offences were condemned to dye, and imploy them in such parts as were to be kill'd, in the tragedy, who of themselves would make suit rather so to dye with resolution, and by the hands of such princely actors, then otherwise to suffer a shameful and most detestable end. And these tragedies were naturally performed, and such Caius Caligula, Claudius Nero, Vitellius, Domitianus, Commodus, and other emperours of Rome, upon their festivals and holy daies of the greatest consecration, used to act. Therefore M. Kid, in the Spanish tragedy, upon occasion presenting itselfe thus writes:

Why Nero thought it no disparagement,
And kings and emperours have tane delight,
To make experience of their wits in playes.

These exercises, as traditions, have beene since (though in better manner) continued through all ages, amongst all the noblest nations of the earth. But I have promised to be altogether compendious, presuming that what before is discourst, may for the practise

of playes, their antiquity and dignity be altogether sufficient. I omit the shewes and ceremonies even in these times generally used amongst the Catholikes, in which by the churchmen and most religious, divers Pageants, as of the Nativity, Passion, and Ascention, with other historicall places of the Bible, are at divers times and seasons of the yeare usually celebrated; *sed hæc præter me.* In the yeare of the world 4207, of Christ 246, Origin writ certaine godly epistles to Philip, then Emperour of Rome, who was the first Christian emperour, and in his life I reade, that in the fourth yeare of his reigne, which was the 1000. yeare after the building of Rome, he solemnized that yeare, as a jubilee with sumptuous pageants and playes. Homer, the most excellent of all the poets, composed his Illiads in the shape of a tragedy, his Odisseas like a comedy. Virgil, in the first of Æneiads, in his description of Didoes Carthage,

> ——— *hic altra theatris*
> *Fundamenta locant alii immanesque columnas,*
> *Rupibus excidunt scenis decora alta futuris.*

Which proves, that in those dayes immediately after the ruine of Troy, when Carthage had her first foundation, they built theaters with stately columnes of stone, as in the description may appear. I have sufficiently discourst of the first theaters, and in whose times they were erected, even till the reigne of Julius Cæsar, the first emperour, and how they continued in their glory from him till the reigne of Marcus Aurelius the 23. emperour, and from him even to these times. Now, to prove they were in as high estimation at Lacedemon and Athens, two of the most famous citties of Greece, Cicero, in his booke *Cato major, seu de senectute. Cum Athenis ludis quidam grandis natu in theatrum venisset, &c.* An ancient citizen comming into one of the Athenian theaters to see the pastimes there solemnized (which shewes that the most antient and grave frequented them) by reason of the throng, no man gave him place or reverence: but the same citizen being employ'd in an embassy to Lacedemon, and comming like a private man into the theater, the generall multitude arose at once, and with great ceremonious reverence gave his age place. This Cicero alledges due to age, and this I may fitly introduce to the approbation of my present subject. Moreover, this great statesman of Rome, at whose exile twenty thousand of the chiefest Roman citizens wore mourning apparrel, often times commends Plautus, calling him *Plautus noster*, and *Atticorum antiqua comœdia*, where he proceeds further to extoll Æsopus, for personating Ajax, and the famous actor Rupilius, in Epigonus, Medæa, Menalip, Clytemnestra, and Antiopa, proceeding in the same place, with this worthy and grave sentence, *ergo histrio hoc videbit in scena, quod non videbit sapiens in vita?* Shall a tragedian see that in his scene which a wise man cannot see in the course of his life? So in another of his workes, amongst many instructions to his sonne Marcus, he applauds Turpio Ammbinius for his action, Statius, Nevius, and Plautus for their writing. Ovid in Augustum,

> *Luminibusque tuis totus quibus utitur orbis,*
> *Scenica vidisti lusus adulteria.*
>
> Those eyes with which you all the world survay,
> See in your theaters our actors play.

Augustus Cæsar, because he would have some memory of his love to those places of pastime, reared in Rome two stately obelisci, or pyramides, one in Julius Cæsars temple in the field of Mars, another in the great theater, called Circus Maximus, built by Flaminius: these were in height an hundred cubits a peece, in bredth foure cubits; they were first raised by King Pheron in the temple of the sunne, and after removed to

Rome by Augustus: the occasion of their first composure was this: Pheron, for some great crime, committed by him in his youth against the gods, was by them strooke blinde, and so continued the space of ten yeares; but after, by a revelation in the citty Bucis, it was told, that if he washt his eyes in the water of a woman that was chaste, and never adulterately touch't with any save her husband, he should againe recover his sight: the king first tride his wife, then many other of the most grave and best reputed matrons, but continued still in despaire, till at length he met with one vertuous lady, by whose chastity his sight was restored: whom (having first commanded his queene and the rest to be consumed with fire) he after married. Pheron, in memory of this, build-eth his two pyramides, after removed to Rome by Augustus.

Sanctaque majestas et erat venerabile nomen,
Vatibus———

Of Actors, and the true Use of their Quality.

The Third Booke.

Tragedies and comedies had their beginning *à rebus divinis* from divine sacrifices, they differ thus; in comedies *turbulenta prima, tranquilla ultima,* in tragedyes, *tranquilla prima, turbulenta ultima,* comedies begin in trouble, and end in peace; tragedies begin in calmes, and end in tempest. Of comedies there be three kindes, moving comedies, called *Motoriæ,* standing comedies, called *Stataria,* or mixt betwixt both, called *Mistæ*; they are distributed into foure parts, the prologue, that is, the preface; the protasis, that is, the proposition, which includes the first act, and presents the actors; the epitasis, which is the businesse and body of the comedy; the last the catastrophe and conclusion; the deffinition of the comedy, according to the Latins, a discourse consisting of divers institutions, comprehending civill and domesticke things, in which is taught what in our lives and manners is to be followed, what to bee avoyded: The Greeks define it thus: Κωμῳδια ἐστιν ἰδωτικῶν ἢ πολιτικῶν πραγματων ἀχιν δονος πορισχητ. Cicero saith, a comedy is the imitation of life, the, glasse of custome, and the image of truth; in Athens they had their first originall. The ancient comedians used to attire their actors thus; the old men in white, as the most ancient of all, the yong men in party coloured garments, to note their diversity of thoughts, their slaves and servants in thin and bare vesture, either to note their poverty, or that they might run the more lighter about their affaires; their parasites wore robes that were turned in, and intricately wrapped about them; the fortunate in white, the discontented in decayed vesture, or garments, growne out of fashion; the rich in purple, the poore in crimson, souldiers wore purple-jackets, handmaids the habits of strange virgins, bawdes, pide coates, and curtezans, garments of the colour of mud, to denote their covetousnesse; the stages were hung with rich arras, which was first brought from King Attalus into Rome; his state-hangings were so costly, that from him all tapestries and rich arras were called *Attalia.* This being a thing ancient as I have proved it, next of dignity, as many arguments have confirmed it, and now even in these dayes by the best, without exception, favourably tollerated, why should I yeeld my censure, grounded on such firme and establisht sufficiency, to any tower founded on sand, any castle built in the aire, or any triviall upstart, and meere imaginary opinion.

Oderunt hilarem tristes, tristemque jocosi.

I hope there is no man of so unsensible a spirit, that can inveigh against the true and direct use of this quality. Oh but, say they, the Romanes in their time, and some in these dayes, have abused it, and therefore we volly out our exclamations against the use. Oh shallow! Because such a man had his house burnt, we shall quite condemne the use of fire; because one man quaft poyson, we must forbeare to drinke; because some have beene shipwrak't, no man shall hereafter trafficke by sea. Then I may as well argue thus; he cut his finger, therefore must I weare no knife; this man fell from his horse, therefore must I travell a foot; that man surfeited, therefore dare not I eate. What can appeare more absurd then such a grosse and sencelesse assertion? I could turne this unpoynted weapon against his breast that aimes it at mine, and reason thus: Roscius had a large pension allowed him by the senate of Rome, why should not an actor of the like desert have the like allowance now? or this, the most famous city and nation of the world held playes in great admiration; *Ergo*, but it is a rule in logicke, *ex particularibus nihil fit.* These are not the basses we must build upon, nor the columnes that must support our architecture.

Et latro, et cautus præcingitur ense viator:
Ille sed insidias, hic sibi portat opem.

Both thieves and true men, weapons weare alike:
The one to defend, the other comes to strike.

Let us use fire to warme us, not to scortch us, to make ready our necessaries, not to burne our houses; let us drinke to quench our thurst, not to surfet; and eate to satisfie nature, not to gormondize.

——Comœdia recta si mente legatur,
Constabit nulli posse nocere——

Playes are in use as they are understood,
Spectators eyes may make them bad or good.

Shall we condemne a generallity for any one particular misconstruction? Give me then leave to argue thus; amongst kings have there not beene some tyrants? yet the office of a king is the image of the majesty of God. Amongst true subjects have there not crept in some false traitors? even amongst the twelve there was one Judas, but shall we, for his fault, censure worse of the eleven? God forbid; art thou prince or peasant? Art thou of the nobility, or commonalty? Art thou merchant or souldier? Of the city or country? Art thou preacher or auditor? Art thou tutor or pupill? there have beene of thy function bad and good, prophane and holy. I induce these instances to confirme this common argument, that the use of any generall thing is not for any one particular abuse to be condemned; for, if that assertion stood firme, wee should run into many notable inconveniences.

Qui locus est templis angustior hanc quoque vitet,
In culpam si qua est ingeniosa suam.

To proceed to the matter; first, playing is an ornament to the citty, which strangers of all nations, repairing hither, report of in their countries, beholding them here with some admiration; for what variety of entertainment can there be in any citty of Christendome more then in London; but some will say, this dish might be very well spared out of the banquet; to him I answere, Diogenes, that used to feede on rootes, can-

not relish a marchpane. Secondly, our English tongue, which hath ben the most harsh, uneven, and broken language of the world, part Dutch, part Irish, Saxon, Scotch, Welsh, and indeed a gallimaffry of many, but perfect in none, is now by this secondary meanes of playing, continually refined, every writer striving in himselfe to adde a new florish unto it; so that in processe, from the most rude and unpolisht tongue, it is growne to a most perfect and composed language, and many excellent workes, and elaborate poems writ in the same, that many nations grow inamored of our tongue (before despised.) Neither Saphicke, Ionicke, Iambicke, Phaleuticke, Adonicke, Gliconicke, Hexamiter, Tetramiter, Pentamiter, Asclepediacke, Choriambicke, or any other measured verse used amongst the Greeks, Latins, Italians, French, Dutch, or Spanish writers, but may be exprest in English, be it in blanke verse, or meeter, in distichon or hexastichon, or in what forme or feet, or what number you can desire. Thus yon see to what excellency our refined English is brought, that in these daies we are ashamed of that euphony and eloquence which, within these 60 yeares, the best tongues in the land were proud to pronounce. Thirdly, playes have made the ignorant more apprehensive, taught the unlearned the knowledge of many famous histories, instructed such as cannot reade in the discovery of all our English chronicles; and what man have you now of that weake capacity, that cannot discourse of any notable thing recorded even from William the Conquerour, nay from the landing of Brute, untill this day, beeing possest of their true use, for, or because playes are writ with this ayme, and carryed with this methode, to teach the subjects obedience to their king, to shew the people the untimely ends of such as have moved tumults, commotions, and insurrections, to present them with the flourishing estate of such as live in obedience, exhorting them to allegeance, dehorting them from all trayterous and fellonius stratagems.

Use of tragedies,

Omne genus scripti gravitate tragedia vincit.

Use of historicall playes.

If we present a tragedy, we include the fatall and abortive ends of such as commit notorious murders, which is aggravated and acted with all the art that may be, to terrifie men from the like abhorred practices. If wee present a forreigne history, the subject is so intended, that in the lives of Romans, Grecians, and others, either the vertues of our country-men are extolled, or their vices reproved, as thus, by the example of Cæsar to stir souldiers to valour and magnanimity; by the fall of Pompey, that no man trust in his owne strength; we present Alexander, killing his friend in his rage, to reprove rashnesse; Mydas, choked with his gold, to taxe covetousnesse: Nero against tyranny; Sardanapalus, against luxury; Nynus, against ambition, with infinite others by sundry instances, either animating men to noble attempts, or attaching the consciences of the spectators, finding themselves toucht in presenting the vices of others. If a morall, it is to perswade men to humanity and good life, to instruct them in civility, and good manners, shewing them the fruits of honesty and the end of villany.

Use of morals.

Versibus exponi tragicis res comica non vult.

Againe, Horace, *Arte Poetica.*

Et nostri proavi Plautinos et numeros et
Laudavere sales ———

Use of comedyes.

If a comedy, it is pleasantly contrived with merry accidents, and intermixt with apt and witty jests, to present before the prince, at certain times of solemnity, or else merily fitted to the stage. And what is then the subject of this harmelesse mirth? either, in the shape of a clowne, to shew others their slovenly and unhansome behavi-

our, that they may reforme that simplicity in themselves, which others make their sport, lest they happen to become the like subject of generall scorne to an auditory, else it entreates of love, deriding foolish inamorates, who spend their ages, their spirits, nay themselves, in the servile and ridiculous imployments of their mistresses; and these are mingled with sportfull accidents, to recreate such as of themselves are wholly devoted to melancholy, which corrupts the bloud; or to refresh such weary spirits as are tired with labour or study, to moderate the cares and heavinesse of the minde, that they may returne to their trades and faculties with more zeale and earnestnesse, after some small and pleasant retirement. Sometimes they discourse of pantaloones,[1] usurers that have unthrifty sonnes, which both the fathers and the sonnes may behold to their instructions; sometimes of curtesans, to divulge their subtelties and snares, in which yong men may be intangled, shewing them the meanes to avoyd them. If we present a pastorall, we shew the harmlesse love of sheepheards diversly moralized, distinguishing betwixt the craft of the citty, and the innocency of the sheep cot. Briefly, there is neither tragedy, history, comedy, morrall or pastorall, from which an infinite use cannot be gathered. I speake not in the defence of any lascivious shewes, scurrelous jeasts, or scandalous invectives; if there be any such, I banish them quite from my patronage; yet Horace, sermon 1. satyr 4. thus writes: Use of pastorals.

> *Eupolis atque Cratinus Aristophanesque Poetæ,*
> *Atque alii quorum comedia prisca virorum est;*
> *Si quis erat dignus describi, quod malus, aut fur,*
> *Quod Mœchus foret, aut sicarius, aut alioqui,*
> *Famosus, multa cum libertate notabunt.*

Eupolis, Cratinus, Aristophanes, and other comike poets in the time of Horace, with large scope, and unbridled liberty, boldly and plainly scourged all such abuses as in their ages were generally practised to the staining and blemishing of a faire and beautifull common-weale. Likewise, a learned gentleman in his apology for poetry, speakes thus; tragedies well handled be a most worthy kinde of poesie. Comedies make men see and shame at their faults, and proceeding further amongst other university playes, he remembers the tragedy of Richard the Third, acted in Saint Johns in Cambridge, so essentially, that, had the tyrant Phaleris beheld his bloudy proceedings, it had mollified his heart, and made him relent at sight of his inhumane massacres. Further, he commends of comedies, the Cambridge Pedantius, and the Oxford *Bellum Grammaticale;* and, leaving them, passes on to our publicke playes, speaking liberally in their praise, and what commendable use may bee gathered of them. If you perused *Margarita Poetica,* you may see what excellent uses and sentences he hath gathered out of Terence his Andrea, Eunuchus, and the rest. Likewise out of Plautus his Amphitrio, Asinaria, and moreover, *ex comediis Philodoxis, Caroli Acretini; de falsa Hipocrita, et tristi Mercurii, Ronsii versellensis: ex comedia Philanira Ugolini parmensis,* all reverend schollers, and comicke poets, read else the four tragedies, Philunica, Petrus, Aman, Katherina, Claudii, Roiletti Beluensis; but I should tire my selfe to reckon the names of all French, Roman, German, Spanish, Italian, and English poets, being in number infinite, and their labours extant to prove their worthinesse.

Is thy minde noble? and wouldst thou be further stir'd up to magnanimity? behold upon the stage thou maist see Hercules, Achilles, Alexander, Cæsar, Alcibiades, Lysander, Sertorius, Haniball, Antigonus, Phillip of Macedon, Methridates of Pontus, Pyrrhus of Epire, Agesilaus, among the Lacedemonians, Epaminondas, amongst the

[1] The miserly old man of the Italian comedy, called *Il Pantalone.* Hence also Shakespare's "lean and slipper'd pantaloon."

Thebans; Scevola alone entring the armed tents of Porsenna, Horatius Chocles alone withstanding the whole army of the Hetrurians, Leonides of Sparta, choosing a lyon to leade a band of deere, rather than one deere to conduct an army of lyons, with infinite others in their owne persons, qualities, and shapes, animating thee with courage, deterring thee from cowardise. Hast thou of thy country well deserved? and art thou of thy labour evill requited? To associate thee, thou mayest see the valiant Roman Marcellus pursue Hannibal at Nola, conquering Syracusa, vanquishing the Gauls, all Padua, and presently (for his reward) banisht his country into Greece. There thou mayest see Scipio Affricanus now triumphing for the conquest of all Affrica, and immediately exiled the confines of Romania. Art thou inclined to lust? behold the falles of the Tarquins, in the rape of Lucrece, the guerdon of luxury in the death of Sardanapalus, Appius destroyed in the ravishing of Virginia, and the destruction of Troy in the lust of Helena. Art thou proud? our scene presents thee with the fall of Phaeton, Narcissus pining in the love of his shadow, ambitious Hamon, now calling himselfe a god, and by and by thrust headlong among the divels. We present men with the uglinesse of their vices, to make them the more to abhorre them as the Persians use, who, above all sinnes, loathing drunkennesse, accustomed in their solemne feasts to make their servants and captives extremely overcome with wine, and then call their children to view their nasty and lothsome behaviour, making them hate that sin in themselves, which shewed so grosse and abominable in others. The like use may be gathered of the drunkards so naturally imitated in our playes, to the applause of the actor, content of the auditory, and reproving of the vice. Art thou covetous? Go no further then Plautus his comedy called Euclio:

Dum fallax servus, durus pater, improba lina
Vixerit, et meretrix blanda, Menandros orit.

Whilst ther's false servant, or obdurate sire,
Sly baud, smooth whore, Menandros wee'l admire.

To end in a word. Art thou addicted to prodigallity, envy, cruelty, perjury, flattery or rage? our scenes affoord thee store of men to shape your lives by, who be frugall, loving, gentle, trusty, without soothing, and in all things temperate. Wouldst thou be honourable, just, friendly, moderate, devout, mercifull, and loving concord? thou mayest see many of their fates and ruines, who have beene dishonourable, injust, false, gluttenous, sacrilegious, bloody-minded, and brochers of dissention. Women likewise that are chaste are by us extolled, and encouraged in their vertues, being instanced by Diana, Belphebe, Matilda, Lucrece, and the countesse of Salisbury. The unchaste are by us showed their errors, in the persons of Phrine, Lais, Thais, Flora, and amongst us Rosamond, and mistresse Shore. What can sooner print modesty in the soules of the wanton, then by discovering unto them the monstrousnesse of their sinne? It followes that we prove these exercises to have beene the discoverers of many notorious murders, long concealed from the eyes of the world. To omit all farre fetcht instances, we wil prove it by a domesticke, and home-borne truth, which within these few yeares happened. At Lin in Norfolke, the then Earle of Sussex players acting the old history of Fryer Francis, and presenting a woman, who insatiately doting on a yong gentleman, had (the more securely to enjoy his affection) mischievously and secretly murdered her husband, whose ghost haunted her, and at divers times in her most solitary and private contemplations, in most horrid and fearful shapes, appeared, and stood before her. As this was acted, a townes-woman (till then of good estimation and report) finding her conscience (at this presentment) extremely troubled, suddenly skritched and cryed out, Oh my husband, my husband! I see the ghost of

A strange accident happening at a play.

my husband fiercely threatning and menacing me! At which shrill and unexpected outcry, the people about her, mooved to a strange amazement, inquired the reason of her clamour, when presently, un-urged, she told them, that seven yeares ago she, to be possest of such a gentleman (naming him) had poysoned her husband, whose feare-full image personated it selfe in the shape of that ghost, whereupon the murdresse was apprehended, before the justices further examined, and by her voluntary confession after condemned. That this is true, as well by the report of the actors as the records of the towne, there are many eye-witnesses of this accident yet living, vocally to confirme it.

A strange accident happening at a play.

As strange an accident happened to a company of the same quality some 12 yeares ago, or not so much, who, playing late in the night at a place called Perin in Cornwall, certaine Spaniards were landed the same night unsuspected, and undiscovered, with intent to take in the towne, spoyle and burne it, when suddenly even upon their entrance, the players (ignorant as the townes-men of any such attempt) presenting a battle on the stage, with their drum and trumpets strooke up a loud alarm, which the enemy hearing, and fearing they were discovered, amazedly retired, made some few idle shot in a bravado, and so in a hurly-burly fled disorderly to their boats. At the report of this tumult, the townes-men were immediately armed, and pursued them to the sea, praysing God for their happy deliverance from so great a danger, who, by his providence, made these strangers the instrument and secondary meanes of their escape from such imminent mischife, and the tyranny of so remorcelesse an enemy.

A strange accident happening at a play.

Another of the like wonder happened at Amsterdam in Holland: A company of our English comedians (well knowne) travelling those countreyes, as they were before the burghers, and other the chiefe inhabitants, acting the last part of the four sons of Aymon, towards the last act of the history, where penitent Rinaldo, like a common labourer, lived in disguise, vowing, as his last pennance, to labour and carry burdens to the structure of a goodly church there to be erected, whose diligence the labourers envying, since, by reasons of his stature and strength, hee did usually perfect more worke in a day, then a dozen of the best, (hee working for his conscience, they for their lucres,) whereupon, by reason his industry had so much disparaged their living, conspired amongst themselves to kill him, waiting some opportunity to finde him asleepe, which they might easily doe, since the sorest labourers are the soundest sleepers, and industry is the best preparative to rest. Having spy'd their opportunity, they drave a naile into his temples, of which wound immediately he dyed. As the actors handled this, the audience might on a sodaine understand an out-cry, and loud shrike in a remote gallery, and pressing about the place, they might perceive a woman of great gravity, strangely amazed, who, with a distracted and troubled braine, oft sighed out these words, "Oh my husband, my husband!" the play without further interruption proceeded; the woman was to her owne house conducted, without any apparent suspition, every one conjecturing as their fancies led them. In this agony she some few daies languished, and on a time, as certaine of her well disposed neighbours came to comfort her, one amongst the rest being church-warden, to him the sexton posts, to tell him of a strange thing happening him in the ripping up of a grave; see here (quoth he) what I have found, and shewes them a faire skull, with a great nayle pierst quiet through the braine-pan, but we cannot conjecture to whom it should belong, nor how long it hath laine in the earth, the grave being confused, and the flesh consumed. At the report of this accident, the woman, out of the trouble of her afflicted conscience, discovered a former murder. For 12 yeares ago, by driving that nayle into that skull, being the head of her husband, she had treacherously slaine him. This being publicly confesst, she was arraigned, and condemned, adjudged, and burned. But I draw my subject to greater length then I purposed; these, therefore, out of other infinities, I have collected, both for their familiarnesse and latenesse of memory.

Thus our antiquity we have brought from the Grecians in the time of Hercules; from the Macedonians in the age of Alexander; from the Romans long before Julius Cæsar; and, since him, through the reigns of 23 emperours succeeding, even to Marcus Aurelius: after him they were supported by the Mantuans, Venetians, Velentians, Neapolitans, the Florentines, and other; since, by the German princes, the Palsgrave, the Landsgrave, the dukes of Saxony, of Brounswicke, &c. The cardinal at Bruxels hath at this time in pay, a company of English comedians. The French king allowes certaine companies in Paris, Orleanes, besides other cities: so doth the king of Spaine, in Civil, Madrill, and other provinces. But in no country they are of that eminence that ours are; so our most royall and ever renouned soveraigne hath licenced us in London: so did his predecessor, the thrice vertuous virgin, Queene Elizabeth, and before her, her sister, Queene Mary, Edward the Sixth. and their father, Henry the Eight: and before these, in the tenth yeare of the reigne of Edward the Fourth, *anno* 1490. John Stowe, an ancient and grave chronicler, records (amongts other varieties tending to the like effect) that a play was acted at a place called Skinners-well, fast by Clerken-well, which continued eight dayes, and was of matter from Adam and Eve, (the first creation of the world.) The spectators were no worse then the royalty of England. And amongst other commendable exercises in this place, the company of the skinners of London held certaine yearely solemne playes. In place whereof, now in these latter daies, the wrastling, and such other pastimes, have been kept, and is still held about Bartholmew tide. Also, in the yeare 1390, the 14. yeare of the reigne of Richard the Second, the 18. of July, were the like interludes recorded at the same place, which continued three dayes together, the king and queene, and nobility, being there present. Moreover, to this day, in divers places of England, there be townes that hold the priviledge of their faires, and other charters by yearely stage-playes, as at Manningtree in Suffolke, Kendall in the north, and others. To let these passe, as things familiarly knowne to all men. Now to speake of some abuse lately crept into the quality, as an inveighing against the state, the court, the law, the citty, and their governments, with the particularizing of private mens humours (yet alive) noble-men, and others. I know it distastes many; neither do I any way approve it, nor dare I by any meanes excuse it. The liberty which some arrogate to themselves, committing their bitternesse, and liberall invectives against all estates, to the mouthes of children, supposing their juniority to be a priviledge for any rayling, be it never so violent, I could advise all such, to curbe and limit this presumed liberty within the bounds of discretion and government. But wise and juditiall censurers, before whom such complaints shall at any time hereafter come, wil not (I hope) impute these abuses to any transgression in us, who have ever been carefull and provident to shun the like. I surcease to prosecute this any further, lest my good meaning be (by some) misconstrued: and fearing likewise, lest with tediousnesse I tire the patience of the favourable reader, heere (though abruptly) I conclude my third and last treatise.

Cardinal Alfonsus.

Times kept tide.

Stultitiam patiuntur opes, mihi parvula res est.

The Elements of Architecture; collected by Henry Wotton, Knight, from the best Authors and Examples. 1624.

The learned and excellent author of this treatise resided long at Venice, as envoy of Britain. He stood high in the opinion of James I., though his favour was at one time eclipsed by an ill-chosen jest. Sir Henry Wotton had defined an Embassador in these words: *Legatus est vir bonus peregre missus ad mentiendum reipublicæ causa.* James, who had a very different opinion of the importance of his envoys, expressed so much displeasure, that Sir Henry was fain to write two apologies for his unlucky definition, ere he could regain the royal favour.

During his abode in Italy, Sir Henry Wotton cultivated the taste for architecture, which he has displayed in the following essay. According to Anthony a Wood, it was first published at London, in 1624, reprinted in the Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, and translated into Latin, and published with Vitruvius, at Amsterdam, in 1649. Sir Henry Wotton died Provost of Eaton College, in 1639. See his Life, by Isaac Walton.

THE PREFACE.

I SHALL not neede (like the most part of writers) celebrate the subject which I deliver. In that point I am at ease; for architecture can want no commendation, where there are noble men or noble mindes; I will therefore spend this preface, rather about those from whom I have gathered my knowledge; for I am but a gatherer and disposer of other mens stuffe, at my best value.

Our principal master is Vitruvius, and so I shall often call him, who had this felecitie, that he wrote when the Roman empire was neare the pitch; or, at least, when Augustus (who favoured his endeavours) had some meaning (if he were not mistaken) to bound the monarchie. This, I say, was his good happe; for in growing and enlarging times, artes are commonly drowned in action: but, on the other side, it was indeeed an unhappinesse to expresse himselfe so ill, especially writing (as he did) in a season of the ablest pennes; and his obscuritie had this strange fortune, that, though he were best practised, and best followed by his owne countrymen, yet, after the reviving and repolishing of good literature, (which the combustions and tumults of the middle age had uncivilized) he was best, or, at least, first understood by strangers, for of the Italians that tooke him in hand, those that were gramarians seeme to have wanted mathematicall knowledge; and the mathematicians perhaps wanted gramer, till both were sufficiently conjoyned in Leon-Baptista Alberti the Florentine, whom I repute the first learned architect beyond the Alpes: but hee studied more indeede to make himself an author than to illustrate his master. Therefore, among his commenters, I must (for my private conciete) yield the chiefe praise unto the French, in Philander, and to the high Germans, in Gualterus Rivius, who, besides his notes, hath likewise published the most elaborate translation that, I thinke, is extant in any vulgar speech of the world, though not without bewayling, now and then, some defect of artificiall termes in his owne, as I must likewise, for if the Saxon (our mother tongue) did complaine as justly (I doubt) in this point may the daughter: languages for the most part in tearmes of art and erudition, retayning their originall povertie, and rather growing rich and abundant in complemental phrases and such froth. Touching divers moderne men that have written out of meere practise, I shall give them their due upon occasion.

Tacit. lib. Annal.

And now, after this short censure of others, I would faine satisfie an objection or

two which seeme to lie somewhat heavily upon myselfe. It will be said, that I handle an art no way suteable either to my employments or to my fortune. And so I shal stand charged, both with intrusion, and with impertinency.

To the first I answere, That though by the ever acknowledged goodnesse of my most deare and gracious sovereign, and by his long indulgent toleration of my defects, I have borne abroad some part of his civill service, yet when I came home, and was againe resolved into mine owne simplicitie, I found it fitter for my pen (at least in this first publique adventure) to deale with these plain compilements, and tractable materials, than with the laberynthes and mysteries of courts and states; and lesse presumption for mee, who have long contemplated a famous republique, to write now of architecture, than it was anciently for[1] Hippodamus the Milesian, to write of republiques, who was himselfe but an architect.

To the second I must shrinke up my shoulders, as I have learn'd abroad, and confesse indeed, that my fortune is very unable to exemplifie and actuate my speculations in this art, which yet, in trueth, made mee the rather, even from my very disabilitie, take encouragement to hope, that my present labour would find the more favour with others, since it was undertaken for no man's sake lesse than my owne. And with that confidence, I fell into these thoughts, of which there were two ways to be delivered, the one historical, by description of the principall workes, performed already in good part, by Giorgio Vassari in the lives of architects; the other logicall, by casting the rules and cautions of this art into some comportable methode, whereof I have made choice, not onely as the shortest and most elementall, but indeed as the soundest; for, though in practicall knowledges, every complete example may beare the credite of a rule, yet, peradventure, rules should precead, that we may by them be made fit to judge of examples: Therefore, to the purpose, for I will preface no longer.

Of the Elements of Architecture. The 1st Part.

In Architecture, as in all other operative arts, the end must direct the operation.

The End is to build well.

Well building hath three conditions: Commoditie, firmness, and delight. A common division among the deliverers of this art, though I know not how, somewhat misplaced by Vitruvius himselfe, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 3. whom I shall be willinger to follow as a master of proportion, than of methode.

Now, for the attayning of these intentions, wee may consider the whole subject under two generall heads.

The Seate and the Worke.

Therefore first, touching scituation.

The precepts thereunto belonging doe either concerne the totall posture, (as I may tearm it) or the placing of the parts; whereof the first sort, howsoever usually set downe by architects as a piece of their profession, yet are in truth borrowed from other learnings, there being betweene arts and sciences, as well as betweene men, a kinde of good fellowship and communication of their principles.

For you shall finde some of them to be meerely phisicall, touching the quality and

[1] "Aristot. 2. lib. Politi. cap. 6."

temper of the aire, which being a perpetuall ambient, and ingredient, and the defects thereof incorrigible in single habitations, (which I most intend) doth in those respects require the most exquisite caution, that it be not too grosse, nor too penetrative; not subject to any foggy noysomnesse, from fenns, or marshes, neere adjoyning; nor to mineral exhalations from the soile it selfe. Not undigested for want of sunne, not unexercised for want of winde; which were to live, (as it were) in a lake, or standing poole of aire, as Alberti, the Florentin architect, doth ingeniously compare it. [s]

Some doe rather seeme a little astrological, as when they warne us from places of malign influence, where earthquakes, contagions, prodigious births, or the like, are frequent without any evident cause, whereof the consideration is peradventure not altogether vaine: Some are plainly œconomicall; as that the seate be well watered, and well fewelled, that it bee not of too steepie and incommodious accesse to the trouble both of friends and famelie. That it lie not too farre from some navigable river or arme of the sea, for more ease of provision and such other domestique notes.

Some againe may be said to bee opticall; such I meane as concerne the properties of a well chosen prospect, which I will call the royaltie of sight: For as there is a lordship (as it were) of the feete, wherein the master doth much joy when he walketh about the line of his owne possessions; so there is a lordship likewise of the eye, which being a raunging and imperious, and, (I might say) an usurping sence, can indure no

[s] This caution is beautifully expressed by Armstrong:

" Meantime the moist malignity to shun
Of burden'd skies; mark where the dry champaign
Swells into cheerful hills; where marjoram
And thyme, the love of bees, perfume the air:
And where the cynorrhodon with the rose
For fragrance vies: for in the thirsty soil
Most fragrant breathe the aromatic tribes.
There bid thy roofs, high on the basking steep
Ascend, there light thy hospitable fires.
And let them see the winter morn arise,
The summer evening blushing in the west;
While with umbrageous oaks the ridge behind
O'erhung, defends you from the blust'ring north,
And bleak affliction of the peevish east.
O! when the growling winds contend, and all
The sounding forrest fluctuates in the storm;
To sink in warm repose and hear the din
Howl o'er the steady battlements, delights
Above the luxury of vulgar sleep.
The murmuring rivulet, and the hoarser strain
Of waters rushing o'er the slippery rocks,
Will nightly lull you to ambrosial rest.
To please the fancy is no trifling good,
Where health is studied; for, whatever moves
The mind with calm delight, promotes the just
And natural movements of the harmonious frame.
Besides, the sportive brook for ever shakes
The trembling air; that floats from hill to hill,
From vale to mountain, with incessant change
Of purest element, refreshing still
Your airy seat, and uninfected gods.
Chiefly for this, I praise the man who builds
High on the breezy ridge, whose lofty sides
Th' ethereal deep with endless billows chafes,
His purer mansion, nor contagious years
Shall reach, nor deadly putrid airs annoy.

Art of Preserving Health, B. I.

narrow circumscription, but must be fedde both with extent and varietie; yet, on the other side, I finde vaste and indefinite viewes which drowne all apprehension of the uttermost objects, condemned by good authors, as if thereby some part of the pleasure (whereof we speake) did perish. Lastly, I remember a private caution which I know not well how to sort, unlesse I should call it political. By no meanes to build too neere a great neighbour; which were in truth to be as unfortunately seated on the earth, as Mercurie is in the heavens, for the most part, ever in combustion, or obscuritie, under brighter beames then his owne.

From these severall knowledges, as I have said, and perhaps from some other, doe architects[1] derive their doctrine about election of seats, wherin I have not beene so severe as a great scholer of our time, who precisely restrayneth a perfect scituation, at least for the maine point of health, *ad locum contra quem sol radios suos fundit, cum sub ariete oritur*, that is, in a word, hee would have the first salutation of the spring; but such notes as these, wheresoever we finde them, in grave or slight authors, are to my conceite rather wishes then precepts, and in that qualitie I will passe them over. Yet I must withall say, that in the seating of our selves (which is a kinde of marriage to a place) builders should be as circumspect as wooers; lest, when all is done, that doome befall us, which our master doth lay upon Mitylene, a towne in truth (saith hee[2]) finely built, but foolishly planted. And so much touching that, which I termed the totall posture.

The next in order is the placing of the parts; about which (to leave as little as I may in my present labour, unto fancie, which is wilde and irregular) I will propound a rule of mine owne collection, upon which I fell in this maner. I had noted, that all arte was then in truest perfection, when it might bee reduced to some naturall principle; for what are the most judicious artisans but the mimiques of nature? This led me to contemplate the fabrique of our owne bodies, wherein the high Architect of the World had displayed such skill as did stupifie all human reason. There I found the heart as the fountain of life placed about the middle, for the more equall communication of the vital spirits. The eyes seated aloft, that they might describe the greater circle within their view. The armes projected on each side for ease of reaching. Briefly (not to loose ourselves in this sweet speculation) it plainly appeareth, as a maxime drawne from the divine light, that the place of every part is to be determined by the use.

So then, from naturall structure, to proceed to artificiall; and in the rudest things, to preserve some image of the excellentest. Let all the principle chambers of delight, all studies and libraries, be towards the east: For the morning is a friend to the muses. All offices that require heat, as kitchens, stillatories, stoves, roomes for baking, brewing, washing, or the like, would be meridionall. All that need a cool and fresh temper, as cellers, pantries, butteries, granaries, to the north. To the same side likewise, all that are appointed for gentle motion, as galleries, especially in warme climes, or that otherwise require a steadie and unvariable light, as Pinacothecia (saith Vitruvius) by which he intendeth, (if I may guesse at his Greeke, as wee must doe often even at his Latine) certaine repositories for workes of rarity in picture or other arts, or by the Italians called *studioli*, which, at any other quarter, where the course of the sunne doth diversifie the shadowes, would loose much of their grace. And by this rule, having alwayes regarde to the use, any other part may bee fitly accommodated.[3]

"[1] *Joannes Heurnius Institt. Medicin. lib. 7. cap. 2.*"

[2] "*Opidum quidem ædificatum eleganter, sed imprudenter positum.*"

[3] Howell's description of Lord Savage's house at Long Melford, give us a pleasant idea of a nobleman's house in the reign of James. "Though, considering my former condition of life, I may now be called a countryman, yet you cannot call me a rustic (as you would imply in your letter) as long as I live in so civil and noble a family, as long as I lodge in so vertuous and regular a house, as any, I believe, in the land, both for œconomical government, and the choice company; for I never saw yet such a dainty race of children in all my life together; I never saw yet such an orderly and punctual attendance of servants, nor a greater house so neatly kept; here

I must here not omit to note that the ancient Grecians, and the Romanes by their example, in their buildings abroad, where the seat was free, did almost religiously scituate the front of their houses towards the south; perhaps that the masters eye, when hee came home, might not be dazeled, or that, being illustrated by the sunne, it might yeeld the more graceful aspect, or some such reason; but from this the moderne Italians do varie; whereof I shall speake more in another place. Let thus much suffice at the present for the position of the severall members, wherein must bee had, as our author doth often insinuate, and especially *lib.* 6. *cap.* 10. a singular regard to the nature of the region: Every nation being tyed above all rules whatsoever, to a discretion, of providing against their owne inconveniences; and therefore a good parler in Egypt would perchance make a good cellar in England.

There now followeth the second branch of the generall section touching the worke.

In the worke, I will first consider the principall parts, and afterwards the accessorie, or ornaments; and in the principall, first the preparation of the materials, and then the disposition, which is the forme.

Now, concerning the materiall part; although, surely, it cannot disgrace an architect which doth so well become a philosopher, to looke into the properties of stone and wood; as that firre trees, cypresses, cedars, and such other aereall aspiring plants, being by a kinde of naturall rigor (which in a man I would call pride) inflexible downewards, are thereby fittest for posts or pillars, or such upright use; that, on the other side, oake, and the like true hartie timber, being strong in all positions, may be better trusted in crosse and traverse worke, for summers, or guirding and binding beams, as they tearme them. And so likewise to observe of stone, that some are better within, and other to beare weather: Nay, to descend lower, even to examine sand and lyme and clay (of all which things Vitruvius has discoursed, without any daintines, and the most of new writers,) I say, though the speculative part of such knowledge be liberall, yet, to redeeme this profession, and my present paynes from indignitie, I must heere remember, that to choose and sort the materials, for every part of the fabrique, is a dutie more proper to a second superintendant over all the under artisans, called (as I take it) by our author, officinator, *lib.* 6. *cap.* 11. and in that place expressly distinguished from the architect, whose glory doth more consist in the designement and idea of the whole worke, and his truest ambition should be to make the forme, which is the nobler part (as it were) triumph over the matter; whereof I cannot but mention, by the way, a foreigne paterne, namely, the church of Santa Giustina, in Padoua: In truth, a sound piece of good art, where the materials being but ordinary stone, without any garnishment in sculpture, doe yet ravish the beholder, (and hee knowes not how) by a secret harmony in the proportions. And this indeede is that end, at which, in some degree, we would ayme even in the privatest workes: whereunto, though I make haste, yet let me first collect a few of the least triviall cautions belonging to the materiall provision.

one shall see no dog, nor a cat, nor cage, to cause any nastiness within the body of the house: The kitchen and gutters, and other offices of noise and drudgery, are at the fag-end; there is a backe-gate for the beggars and the meaner sorts of swains to come in at; the stables built upon the park, which, for a cheerful rising ground, for groves and browsings for the deer, for rivulets of water, may compare with any for its highness in the whole land; it is opposite to the front of the great house, whence, from the gallery, one may see much of the game when they are a hunting. Now for the gardening and costly choice flowers, for ponds, for stately large walks, green and gravelly, for orchards and choice fruits of all sorts, there are few the like in England: Here you have your Bon Christian pear and Bergamot in perfection; your Muscadel grapes in such plenty, that there are some bottles of wine sent every year to the king; and one Mr Daniel, a worthy gentleman hard by, who hath been long abroad, makes good store in his vintage. Truly this house of Long-Melford, though it be not so great, yet it is so well compacted, and contrived with such dainty conveniences every way, that, if you saw the landskip of it, you would be mightily taken with it, and it would serve for a choice pattern to build and contrive a house by."—Howell's *Letters*, p. 86.

Leon Batista Alberti is so curious, as to wish all the timber cut out of the same forrest, and all the stone out of the same quarrie.

Philibert de l'Orme, the French architect, goes yet somewhat further, and would have the lime made of the very same stone which wee intend to imploy in the worke; as belike imagining that they will sympathize and joyne the better, by a kinde of originall kindred; but such conceits as these seeme somewhat too fine among this rubbage, though I doe not produce them in sport. For surely the like agreements of nature may have often times a discreet application to art.[1] Alwayes it must be confessed, that to make lyme without any great choyce of refuse stuffe, as we commonly do, is an English error of no small moment in our buildings. Whereas the Italians at this day, and much more the ancients, did burne their firmest stone, and even fragments of marble, where it was copious, which in time became almost marble againe, or at least of indissoluble duritie as appeareth in the standing theaters. I must not here omit, while I am speaking of this part, a certain forme of bricke described by Daniele Barbaro, patriarch of Aquileia, in the largest edition of his commentary upon Vitruvius. The figure triangular, every side a foot long, and some inch and a halfe thicke, which he doth commend unto us for many good conditions; as that they are more commodious in the management, of lesse expence, of fayrer show, adding much beautie and strength to the murall angles, where they fall gracefully into an indented worke; so as I should wonder that we have not taken them into use, being propounded by a man of good authoritie in this knowledge; but that all nations do start at novelties, and are indeede married to their owne moulds. Into this place might aptly fall a doubt, which some have well moved, whether the ancient Italians did burne their bricke or no; which a passage or two in Vitruvius hath left ambiguous. Surely, where the naturall heat is strong enough to supply the artificiall, it were but a curious folly to multiply both labour and expence; and it is besides very probable, that those materials, with a kindely and temperate heate, would prove fairer, smoother, and lesse distorted than with a violent; onely they suffer two exceptions: First, that they are likely, by such a gentle drying, to be the more ponderous; an important circumstance to the maine of the worke in the compilement. The next is of no lesse moment; that they will want a certaine sucking and soaking thirstinesse, or a fiery appetite to drinke in the lime, which must knit the fabrique; but this question may be confined to the south, where there is more sunne and patience. I will therefore not hinder my course with this incident scruple, but close that part which I have now in hand, about the materials, with this principall caution; that sufficient stuffe and money bee readie before wee beginne; for when we build now a piece, and then another by fits, the worke dries and sinkes unequally, whereby the walles growe full of chinques and crevices; wherefore such a pausing humour is well reprooved by Palladio, *lib* 1. *cap.* 1. and by all other. And so having gleaned these few remembrances, touching the preparation of the matter, I may now proceede to the disposition thereof, which must forme the worke. In the forme, as I did in the seate, I will first consider the generall figuration, and then the severall members.

Figures are either simple or mixed. The simple be either circular or angular. And of circular, either compleate or deficient, as ovals, with which kindes I will be contented, though the distribution might be more curious.

Now the exact circle is in truth a figure, which, for our purpose, hath many fit and eminent properties; as fitnesse for commodity and receit, being the most capable; fitnesse for strength and duration, being the most united in his parts; fitenesse for beautie and delight, as imitating the celestiall orbes and the universall forme. And it seemes, besides, to have the approbation of nature, when shee worketh by instinct, which is her secreet schoole; for birds doe build their nests spherically: but, notwithstanding these

[1] At this time the mystic doctrine of sympathies and antipathies was in full vigour.

attributes, it is in truth a very unprofitable figure in private fabriques, as being of all other the most chargeable, and much roome lost in the binding of the walles, when it comes to be divided: besides an ill distribution of light, except from the center of the roofe. So as anciently it was not usual, save in their temples and amphi-theaters, which needed no compartitions. The ovals, and other imperfect circular formes, have the same exceptions, and lesse benefite of capacity: so as there remaynes to be considered in this generall survey of figures, the angular and the mixed of both. Touching the angular, it may perchance sound somewhat strangely, but it is a true observation, that this art doth neither love many angles nor few; for, first, the triangle, which hath the fewest sides and corners, is of all other the most condemned, as being indeed both incapable and infirme (whereof the reason shall be afterwards rendred,) and likewise unresolvable into any other regular forme than itselfe in the inward partitions.

As for figures of five, six, seven, or more angles, they are surely fitter for military architecture, where the bulworks may be layed out at the corners, and the sides serve for curtaines, than for civill use; thongh I am not ignorant of that famous piece at Caprarola, belonging to the house of Farnese, cast by Baroccio into the form of a pentagone, with a circle inscribed, where the architect did ingeniously wrestle with divers inconveniences in disposing of the lights, and in saving the vacuities; but, as designes of such nature do more ayme at rarity than commoditie, so, for my part, I had rather admire them than recommend them.

These things considered, we are, both by the precepts and by the practise of the best builders, to resolve upon rectangular squares, as a meane between too few and too many angles; and through the equall inclination of the sides (which make the right angle) stronger than the rhombe or losenge, or any other irregular square. But whether the exact quadrat or the long square be the better, I find not well determined, though, in mine owne conceit, I must preferre the latter, provided that the length doe not exceede the latitude above one third part, which would diminish the beauty of the aspect, as shall appeare when I come to speake of symmetry and proportion.

Of mixed figures, partly circular, and parly angular, I shall neede to say nothing; because, having handled the simple already, the mixed, according to their composition, doe participate of the same respects. Onely against these there is a proper objection, that they offend uniformity: whereof I am therefore opportunely induced to say somewhat, as farre as shal concerne the outward aspect, which is now in discourse.

In architecture, there may seem to be two opposite affectations, uniformitie and varietie, which yet will very well suffer a good reconcilement, as we way see in the great paterne of nature, to which I must often resort: for surely there can be no structure more uniforme then our bodies in the whole figuration; each side agreeing with the other, both in the number, in the qualitie, and in the measure of the parts: And yet some are round, as the armes, some flat, as the hands, some prominent, and some more retired: So as upon the matter wee see that diversitie doth not destroy uniformitie, and that the limmes of a noble fabrique may bee correspondent enough, though they be various, provided alwayes, that we doe not runne into certaine extravagant inventions, whereof I shall speake more largely when I come to the parting and casting of the whole worke. We ought likewise to avoyde enormous heights of sixe or seven stories, as well as irregular formes; and the contrary fault, of low-distended fronts, is as unseemely: Or againe, when the face of the building is narrow, and the flank deepe: to all which extreames, some particular nations or townes are subject, whose names may be civilly spared: and so much for the generall figuration or aspecte of the worke.

Now concerning the parts in severaltie. All the parts of every fabrique may be comprised under five heads; which division I receive from Baptista Alberti, to doe him right. And they be these,—

The foundation,	The compartition,
The walles,	And
The appertitions, or overtures,	The cover.

About all which I propose to gather the principall cautions; and as I pass along, I will touch also the naturall reasons of art, that my discourse may be the lesse mechanicall.

First then, concerning the foundation, which requireth the exactest care; for, if that happen to dance, it will marre all the mirth in the house: therefore, that wee may found our habitation firmely, we must first examine the bed of earth (as I may tearme it) upon which we will build; and then the underfillings or substruction, as the auncients did call it: for the former, we have a generall precept in Vitruvius, twice precisely repeated by him, as a point indeed of mayne consequence, first *lib.* 1. *cap.* 5. And againe more fitly, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 3. in these words, as Philander doth well correct the vulgar copies: *Substructionis fundationes fodiantur* (saith he) *si queant inveniri ad solidum, et in solido.* By which words, I conceive him to commend unto us, not onely a diligent, but even a jealous examination what the soile will beare; advising us not to rest upon any appearing soliditie, unlesse the whole mould through which wee cut has likewise beene solid; but how deepe wee should goe in this search, hee hath no where, to my remembrance, determined, as, perhaps, depending more upon discretion then regularitie, according to the weight of the worke; yet Andrea Palladio hath fairely adventured to reduce it into rule: Allowing for that cavazione (as he calleth it) a sixt part of the height of the whole fabrique, unles the cellars be under ground, in which case hee would have us, (as it should seeme) to sound somewhat lower.

Under-digging, or hollowing of the earth.

Some Italians doe prescribe, that, when they have chosen the floore or plot, and laid out the limits of the worke, wee should first of all digge wels and cisternes, and other under-conducts and conveiances, for the suillage of the house, whence may arise a double benefit, for both the nature of the mould or soile would thereby be safely searched; and moreover those open vents will serve to discharge such vapours, as, having otherwise no issue, might peradventure shake the building. This is enough for the naturall grounding, which though it bee not a part of the solid fabrique, yet here was the fittest place to handle it.

There followeth the substruction, or ground worke, of the whole edifice, which must, sustaine the walles; and this is a kinde of artificiall foundation, as the other was natural. About which these are the chiefe remembrances: First, that the bottome be precisely levell, where the Italians therefore commonly lay a platforme of good bord; then that the lowest ledge or row be meerely of stone, and the broader the better, closely layd without morter, which is a generall caution for all parts in building, that are contiguous to bord or timber, because lime and wood are insociable, and, if any where unfit confiners, then most especially in the foundation. Thirdly, that the bredth of the substruction be at least double of the insistent wall, and more or lesse, as the weight of the fabrique shall require; for, as I must againe repeate, discretion may be freer then art. Lastly, I finde in some a curious precept, that the materials below be layd as they grew in the quarrie, supposing them belike to have most strength in their naturall and habituall posture; for, as Philippe de l'Orme observeth, the breaking or yeelding of a stone in this part, but the bredth of the backe of a knife, will make a cleft of more then halfe a foot in the fabrique aloft, so important are fundamentall errors. Among which notes I have sayd nothing of pallification, or pyling of the ground-plot, commanded by Vitruvius, when we build upon a moist or marshy soile, because that were an error of the first choyce; and there all seats that must use such provision below (as Venice for

an eminent example) would, perhaps, upon good enquiry, be found to have beene at first chosen by the counsell of necessity.

Now the foundation being searched, and the substruction layd, wee must next speake of the wals.

Wals are either entire and continual, or intermitted; and the intermissions be either pillars or pylasters; for here I had rather handle them, then, as some others doe, among ornaments.

The entire muring is by writers diversly distinguished; by some, according to the quality of the materials, as either stone or brick, &c. where, by the way, let me note, that to build walls and greater workes of flint, whereof wee want not example in our iland, and particularly in the province of Kent, was (as I conceive) meerly unknown to the ancients, who, observing in that materiall a kinde of metalicall nature, or at least a fusibility, seeme to have resolved it into nobler use; an art now utterly lost, or perchance kept up by a few chymicks. Some againe doe not so much consider the quality as the position of the sayd materials: as when bricke or squared stones are laid in their lengths with sides and heads together, or their points conjoined like a networke (for so Vitruvius doth call it *reticulatum opus*) of familiar use (as it should seeme) in his age, though afterwards growne out of request, even perhaps for that subtile speculation which hee himselfe toucheth; because so layd, they are more apt, in swagging down, to pierce with their points then in the jacent posture, and so to crevice the wall; but to leave such cares to the meaner artificers, the more essentiall are these.

That the walles bee most exactly perpendicular to the ground worke; for the right angle (thereon depending) is the true cause of all stability, both in artificiall and naturall positions; a man likewise standing firmest when he stands uprightest. That the massiest and heaviest materials bee the lowest, as fitter to beare, then to be borne. That the worke as it riseth, diminish in thicknesse proportionally, for ease both of weight and of expence. That certaine courses or ledges of more strength than the rest be interlayed like bones, to sustaine the fabrique from totall ruine, if the under parts should decay. Lastly, that the angles bee firmely bound, which are the nerves of the whole edifice, and therefore are commonly fortified by the Italians, even in their bricke buildings, on each side of the corners, with well squared stone, yeelding both strength and grace; and so much touching the entire or solid wall.

The intermissions (as hath been sayd) are either by pillars or pyllasters.

Pillars, which we likewise call columnes, (for the word among artificers is almost naturallized) I could distinguish into simple and compound. But (to tread the beaten and plainest way) there are five orders of pillars, according to their dignity and perfection, thus marshalled:

The Tuscan,	The Corinthian,
The Dorique,	And
The Ionique,	The Compound order;

or, as some call it, the Roman, others more generally, the Italian.

In which five orders, I will first consider their communities and then their proprieties.

Their communities (as far as I observe) are principally three. First, they are all round; for though some conceive *columa Atticurges*, mentioned by Vitruvius, *lib. 3. cap. 3.* to have beene a squared pillar, yet wee must passe it over as irregular, never received among these orders, no more then certaine other licentious inventions, of wreathed, and vined, and figured columnes, which our author himselfe condemneth, being in his whole booke a professed enemy to fancies.

Secondly, they are all diminished, or contracted insensibly, more or lesse, according to the proportion of their heights, from one third part of the whole shaft upwards, which

Philander doth prescribe by his owne precise measuring of the ancient remainders, as the most graceful diminution; and here I must take leave to blame a practice growne (I know not how) in certaine places too familiar, of making pillars swell in the middle, as if they were sicke of some tympany, or dropsie, without any authentique paterne or rule, to my knowledge, and unseemely to the very judgement of sight. True it is, that in Vitruvius, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 2. wee finde these words, *De adjectione, quæ adjicitur in mediis columnis, quæ apud Grecos* ΕΝΤΑΣΙΣ *appellatur, in extremo libro erit formatio ejus;* which passage seemeth to have given some countenance to this error; but of the promise there made, as of diverse other elsewhere, our master hath fayled us, either by slip of memory, or injury of time, and so we are left in the darke. Alwayes sure I am, that, besides the authority of example, which it wanteth, it is likewise contrary to the originall and naturall type, in trees, which at first was imitated in pillars, as Vitruvius himselfe observeth, *lib.* 5. *cap.* 1. For whoever saw any cypresse, or pine, (which are there alledged) small below and above, and tumerous in the middle, unlesse it were some diseased plant, as nature (though otherwise the comliest mistress) hath now and then her deformities and irregularities.

Thirdly, they have all their undersettings, or pedistals, in height a third part of the whole columne, comprehending the base and capitall; and their upper adjuncts, as architrave, frize, and cornice, a fourth part of the sayd pillar; which rule, of singular use and facility, I find setled by Jacobo Baroccio, and hold him a more credible author, as a man that most intended this piece, than any that vary from him in those dimentions.

These are their most considerable communities and agreements.

Their properties or distinctions will best appeare by some reasonable description of them all, together with their architraves, frizes, and cornices, as they are usually handled.

First, therefore, the Tuscan is a plain, massie, rural pillar, resembling some sturdy well-limmed labourer, homely clade, in which kinde of comparisons Vitruvius himselfe seemeth to take pleasure, *lib.* 4. *cap.* 1. The length thereof shall be six diameters, of the grossest of the pillar below. Of all proportions, in truth, the most naturall; for our author tells us, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 1. that the foote of a man is the sixt part of his body in ordinary measure, and man himselfe, according to the saying of Protagoras (which Aristotle doth somewhere vouchsafe to celebrate) is τὸ τῶν ἁπάντων χρημάτων μέτρον: as it were the prototype of all exact symmetrie, which we have had other occasion to touch before: this columne I have by good warrant called rurall, Vitruv. *cap.* 2. *lib.* 3. And therefore we need not consider his rank among the rest. The distance or intercolumniation (which word artificers doe usually borrow) may bee neere foure of his owne diameters, because the materials commonly layd over this pillar, were rather of wood then stone; through the lightnesse whereof the architrave could not suffer, though thinnely supported, nor the columne itselfe being so subtantiall. The contraction aloft shall be (according to the most received practice) one fourth part of his thicknesse below. To conclude, (for I intend only as much as shall serve for a due distinguishment, and not to delineate every petty member) the Tuscan is of all the rudest pillar, and his principall character simplicity.

The Dorique order is the gravest that hath beene received into civill use, preserving, in comparison of those that follow, a more masculine aspect, and little trimmer than the Tuscan that went before, save a sober garnishment now and then of lions heads in the cornice, and of triglyphs and metopes alwayes in the frize. Sometimes likewise, but rarely, chaneled, and a little slight sculpture about the hypotrachelion, or necke, under the capitall. The length seven diameters. His ranke or degree is the lowest by all congruity, as being more massie than the other three, and consequently abler to support. The intercolumniation, thrice as much as his thicknesse below. The contraction aloft, one fift of the same measure. To discerne him will bee a peece rather of

good heraldry, than of architecture: for he is best knowne by his place, when he is in company, and by the peculiar ornament of his frize (before mentioned) when he is alone.

The Ionique order doth represent a kinde of feminine slendernesse; yet, saith Vitruvius, not like a light house-wife, but in a decent dressing, hath much of the matrone. The length eight diameters. In degree, as in substantialnesse, next above the Dorique, sustayning the third, and adorning the second storey. The intercolumniation two of his owne diameters. The contraction one sixt part. Best knowne by his trimmings, for the bodie of this columne is perpetually chaneled, like a thicke plighted gowne. The capitall dressed on each side, not much unlike womens wires, in a spiral wreathing, which they call the Ionian voluta. The cornice indented. The frize swelling like a pillow; and therefore, by Vitruvius, not unelegantly tearmed *pulvinata.* These are his best characters.

The Corinthian is a columne laciviously decked like a curtezane, and therein much participating (as all inventions doe) of the place where they were first borne: Corinthe having been without controversie one of the wantonest townes in the world. This order is of nine diameters. His degree, one stage above the Ionique, and alwaies the highest of the simple orders. The intercolumniation two of his diameters, and a fourth part more, which is of all other the comeliest distance. The contraction one seventh part. In the cornice both dentelli and modiglioni. The frize, adorned with all kinds of figures and various compartments at pleasure. The capital cut into the beautifullest leafe that nature doth yeeld, which surely, next to the *aconitum pardalianches* (rejected perchance as an ominous plant) is the *acanthus* or *brancus ursina,* though Vitruvius doe impute the choice thereof unto chance, and wee must be contented to beleeve him: In short, as plainnesse did characterize the Tuscan, so must delicacie and varietie, the Corithian pillar, besides the height of his ranke.

Our artizans call them teeth and cartouzes.

The last is the compounded order: his name being a briefe of his nature. For this pillar is nothing in effect, but a medlie, or an amasse of all the precedent ornaments, making a new kinde, by stealth, and though the most richly tricked, yet the poorest in this, that he is a borrower of all his beautie. His length, (that he may have somewhat of his owne) shalbe of ten diameters. His degree should, no doubt, bee the highest, by reasons before yeelded. But few palaces, auncient or moderne, exceede the third of the civill orders. The intercolumniation, but a diameter and an halfe, or alwayes somewhat lesse then two. The contraction of this pillar must be one eight part lesse above than belowe. To know him will be easie by the very mixture of his ornaments and cloathing.

And so much touching the five orders of columnes, which I will conclude with two or three not impertinent cautions:

First, that, where more of these orders than one shalbe set in several stories or contignations, there must bee an exquisite care to place the columnes precisely one over another, that so the solid may answere to the solid, and the vacuities to the vacuities, as well for beautie as strength of the fabrique: And by this caution the consequence is plaine, that when wee speake of intercolumniation or distance, which is due to each order, we meane in a Dorique, Ionicall, Corinthian porch, or cloister, or the like of one contignation, and not in storied buildings.

Secondly, let the columnes above be a fourth part lesse than those belowe, saith Vitruvius, *lib. 5. cap.* 1. A strange precept, in my opinion, and so strange, that peradventure it were more sutable, even to his owne principles, to make them rather a fourth part greater; for *lib.* 3. *cap.* 2. where our master handleth the contractions of pillars, wee have an optique rule, that the higher they are, the lesse should be alwayes their dimunition aloft, because the eye it selfe doth naturally contract all objects more or lesse, according to the distance; which consideration, may, at first sight, seeme to have beene

forgotten in the caution wee have now given; but Vitruvius (the best interpreter of himselfe) hath in the same place of his fift booke, well acquitted his memorie by these words: *Columnæ superiores quarta parte minores, quàm inferiores, sunt constituendæ; propterea quòd, operi ferendo quæ sunt inferiora, firmiora esse debent;* preferring, like a wise mechanick, the naturall reason, before the mathematicall, and sensible conceits before abstracted. And yet *lib.* 4. *cap.* 4. he seemeth againe to affect subtilitie, allowing pillars the more they are chanelled, to be the more slender; because, while our eye (saith hee) doth, as it were, distinctly measure the eminent and the hollowed parts, the total object appeareth the bigger, and so as much as those excavations doe subtract, is supplied by a fallacie of the sight: but here, mee thinks, our master should likewise have rather considered the naturall inconvenience; for though pillars by chaneling, bee seemingly ingrossed to our sight, yet they are truely weakened in themselves; and therefore ought perchance in sound reason not to be more slender, but the more corpulent, unlesse apparances preponder truths, but *contra magistrum, non est disputandum.*

A third caution shalbe that all the projected or jutting parts (as they are tearmed) be very moderate, especially the cornices of the lower orders; for whilest some thinke to give them a beautiful and royal aspect, by their largenesse, they sometimes hinder both the light within, (whereof I shall speake more in due place) and likewise detract much from the viewe of the front without, as well appeareth in one of the principall fabriques at Venice, namely, the palace of the duke Grimani on the canal Grande, which, by this magnificent errour, is somewhat disgraced. I neede now say no more concerning columnes and their adjuncts, about which architects make such a noyse in their bookes, as if the very tearmes of architraves, and frizes, and cornices, and the like, were enough to graduate a master of this art; yet let me, before I passe to other matter, prevent a familiar objection; it will perchance bee said, that all this doctrine touching the five orders were fitter for the quarries of Asia, which yeelded 127 columnes of 60 foote high, to the Ephesian temple, or for Numidia, where marbles abound, then for the spirits of England, who must be contented with more ignoble materials: To which I answere, that this neede not discourage us: for I have often, at Venice, viewed with much pleasure, an *Atrium Græcum* (we may translate it an anti-porch, after the Greeke manner) raised by Andrea Palladio, upon eight columnes of the compounded order; the bases of stone, without pedistals, the shafts or bodies of meere brick, three foote and an halfe thicke in the diameter below, and consequently thirty five feet high, as himselfe hath described them in his second booke; than which, mine eye hath never yet beheld any columnes more stately of stone or marble; for the bricks having first beene formed in a circular mould, and then cut, before their burning, into four quarters or more, the sides afterwards joyne so closely, and the points concenter so exactly, that the pillars appeare one entire peece; which short description I could not omit, that thereby may appeare how in truth wee want rather art than stuffe to satisfy our greatest fancies.

After pillars, the next in my distribution are pylasters, mentioned by Vitruvius, *lib.* 5. *cap.* 1. and scant any where else, under the name of parastates, as Philander conceiveth, which grammaticall point (though perchance not very cleere) I am contented to examine no farther. Alwayes what we meane by the thing itselfe is plaine enough in our owne vulgar; touching which I will briefly collect the most considerable notes.

Pylasters must not bee too tall and slender, least they resemble pillars, nor too dwarfish and grosse, least they imitate the piles or peers of bridges: smoothnesse doth not so naturally become them as a rusticke superficies, for they ayme more at state and strength than elegancie. In private buildings they ought not to be narrower than one third, nor broader than two parts of the whole vacuity, betweene pylaster and pylaster; but to those that stand at the corners may be allowed a little more latitude by discretion, for strength of the angles: In theaters and amphi-theaters, and such weighty workes, Palladio observeth them to have beene as broad as the halfe, and now and then as the whole

vacuitie: Hee noteth likewise (and others consent with him) that their true proportion should be an exact square; but, for lessening of expence, and inlarging of roome, they are commonly narrower in flanke than in front: their principall grace doth consist in halfe or whole pillars applied unto them; in which case it is well noted by authors, that the columnes may be allowed somewhat above their ordinary length, because they leane unto so good supporters. And thus much shall suffice touching pilasters, which is a cheape, and a strong, and a noble kinde of structure.

Now, because they are oftner, both for beauty and majesty, found arched than otherwise, I am heere orderly led to speake of arches, and, under the same head, of vaults: for an arch is nothing indeed but a contracted vault, and a vault is but a dilated arch: therefore, to handle this piece, both compendiously, and fundamentally, I will resolve the whole businesse into a few theoremes.

Theoreme 1.

All solid materials, free from impediment, do descend perpendicularly downewards, because ponderosity is a naturall inclination to the center of the world, and nature performeth her motions by the shortest lines.

Theoreme 2.

Brickes moulded in their ordinary rectangular forme, if they shall be layd one by another in a level row, betweene any supporters sustayning the two ends, then all the pieces between will necessarily sinke, even by their own naturall gravity, and much more if they suffer any depression by other waight above them, because their sides being parallel, they have roome to descend perpendicularly, without impeachment, according to the former theoreme; therefore, to make them stand, wee must either change their posture, or their figure, or both.

Theoreme 3.

If brickes moulded, or stones squared *cuneatim* (that is wedge-wise, broader above than below) shall be laid in a row levell, with their ends supported, as in the precedent theoreme, pointing all to one center, then none of the pieces betweene can sinke till the supporters give way, because they want roome in that figuration to descend perpendicularly. But this is yet a weake piece of structure, because the supporters are subject to much impulsion, especially if the line be long; for which reason this forme is seldom used, but over windowes, or narrowe doores. Therefore, to fortifie the work as in this third theoreme, wee have supposed the figure of all the materials different from those in the second: so likewise wee must now change the posture, as will appeare in the theoreme following.

Theoreme 4.

If the materials figured as before wedge-wise, shall not be disposed levelley, but in forme of some arch, or portion of a circle, pointing all to the same center: In this case, neither the pieces of the sayd arch can sinke downwards, through want of roome to descend[1] perpendicularly: Nor the supporters, or butments, (as they are tearmed) of the sayd arch can suffer so much violence, as in the precedent flat posture, for the roundnesse will alwayes make the incumbent waight, rather to rest upon the supporters, than

[1] "By the first theoreme."

to shove them; whence may be drawn an evident corolary, that the safest of all arches is the semicircular, and of all vaults the hemisphere, though not absolutely exempted from some natural weaknesse,[1] as Barnardino Baldi, abbot of Guastalla, in his commentary upon Aristotles mechaniques, doth very well proove; where, let me note by the way, that, when any thing is mathematically demonstrated weake, it is much more mechantically weake: errors ever occurring more easily in the management of grosse materials than lineal designes.

Theoreme 5.

As semicircular arches, or hemisphericall vaults, being raised upon the totall diameter, bee of all other the roundest, and consequently the securest, by the precedent theoreme; so those are the gracefullest, which, keeping precisely the same height, shall yet be distended one fourteenth part longer than the sayd entire diameter; which addition of distent will conferre much to their beauty, and detract but little from their strength.

This observation I finde in Leon-Batista Alberti; but the practice how to preserve the same height, and yet distend the armes or ends of the arch, is in Albert Durers geometry, who taught the Italians many an excellent line, of great use in this art.

Upon these five theoremes, all the skill of arching and vaulting is grounded: As for those arches, which our artizans call the third and fourth point; and the Tuscan writers *di terzo*, and *di quarto acuto;* because they alwayes concurre in an acute angle, and doe spring from division of the diameter, into three, foure, or more parts at pleasure; I say, such as these, both for the naturall imbecility of the sharpe angle itselfe, and likewise for their very uncomelinesse, ought to bee exiled from judicious eyes, and left to their first inventors, the Gothes or Lumbards, amongst other reliques of that barbarous age.

Thus, of my first partition of the parts of every fabrique into five heads, having gone through the two former, and been incidently carried into this last doctrine touching arches and vaults, the next now in order are the apertion, under which tearme I doe comprehend doores, windowes, stairecases, chimnies, or other conducts: In short, all inlet or outlets, to which belong two general cautions.

First, That they bee as few in number, and as moderate in dimension, as may possibly consist with other due respects; for, in a word, all openings are weakenings.

Secondly, That they doe not approach too neere the angles of the wals; for it were indeed a most essential solecisme to weaken that part which must strengthen all the rest: A precept well recorded, but ill practised by the Italians themselves, particularly at Venice, where I have observed diverse pergoli, or meniana (as Vitruvius seemeth to call them, which are certaine ballifed out-standings, to satisfie curiosity of sight) very dangerously set forth, upon the very point itselfe, of the murall angle.

Now, albeit, I make haste to the casting and comparting of the whole worke, (being indeede the very definitive summe of this art, to distribute usefully and gracefully a well chosen plot,) yet I will first, under their several heads, collect briefly some of the choisest notes belonging to these particular overtures.

Of Doores and Windowes.

These inlets of men and of light I couple together, because I find their due dimensions brought under one rule, by Leon Alberti (a learned searcher) who, from the schoole of Pythagoras (where it was a fundamental maxime, that the images of all things are latent in numbers) doth determine the comeliest proportion, betweene breadths and

[1] "Which is the sole prerogative of perpendicular lines and right angles."

heights; reducing symmetrie to symphonie, and the harmonie of sound to a kinde of harmonie in sight, after this manner: The two principall consonances that most ravish the eare, are, by consent of all nature, the fift and the octave; whereof the first riseth radically, from the proportion, betweene two and three. The other from the double intervalle, betweene one and two, or betweene two and foure, &c. Now, if we shall transport these proportions, from audible to visible objects, and apply them as thay shall fall fittest, (the nature of the place considered) namely, in some windowes and doores, the symmetrie of two to three in their breadth and length; in others the double, as aforesaid, there will indubitably result from either, a gracefull and harmonious contentment to the eye: which speculation, though it may appeare unto vulgar artizans perhaps too subtile and too sublime, yet wee must remember, that Vitruvius himselfe doth determine many things in his profession, by musical grounds, and much commendeth, in an architect, a philosophical spirit, that is, he would have him (as I conceive it) to be no superficial and floating artificer, but a diver into causes, and into the mysteries of proportion: Of the ornaments belonging to both doores and windowes, I shall speake in another place; but let me heere adde one observation, that our master (as appeareth by divers passages, and particularly *lib. 6. cap. 9.*) seemes to have been an extreame lover of luminous roomes; and, indeede, I must confesse that a franke light can misbecome by no edifice whatsoever, temples onely excepted; which were anciently darke, as they are likewise at this day in some proportion. Devotion more requiring collected than difused spirits. Yet, on the other side, we must take heede not to make a house (though but for civill use) all eyes, like Argus; which in northerne climes would be too cold, in southerne too hot; and therefore the matter indeede importeth more than a merry comparison. Besides, there is no part of structure either more expencefull than windowes, or more ruinous; not onely for that vulgar reason, as being exposed to all violence of weather, but because, consisting of so indifferent and unsociable pieces, as wood, iron, lead, and glasse, and those small and weake, they are easily shaken; I must likewise remember one thing (though it be but a grammatical note) touching dores. Some were fores and some were valvæ. Those (as the very word may seeme to import) did open outwards, there inwards; and were commonly of two leaves or panes, (as we call them) thereby requiring indeed a lesser circuit in their unfolding; and therefore much in use among the Italians at this day: but I must charge them with an imperfection, for though they let in as well as the former, yet they keep out worse.

Lumen est difusivum sui et alieni.

Of Staire-cases.

To make a compleate staire-case is a curious peece of architecture: the vulgar cautions are these:

That it have a very liberall light against all casualtie of slippes and falles.

That the space above the head bee large and airy, which the Italians use to call *un belsfogolo*, as it were, good ventilation, because a man doth spend much breath in mounting.

That the half paces bee well distributed, at competent distances, for reposing on the way.

That, to avoyd encounters, and, besides, to gratifie the beholder, the whole staire-case have no niggard latitude, that is, for the principall ascent, at least ten foot in royal buildings.

That the breadth of every single step or staire bee never lesse than one foote, nor more than eighteen inches.

That they exceede by no meanes halfe a foot in their height or thicknesse; for our

legges doe labour more in elevation than in destination: These, I say, are familiar remembrances, to which let me adde:

That the steps bee layd where they joyne *con un tantino di scarpa;* we may translate it somewhat sloaping, that so the foot may in a sort both ascend and descend together, which, though observed by few, is a secret and delicate desception of the pains in mounting.

Lastly, to reduce this doctrine to some naturall, or at least mathematicall ground, our master, (as we see lib. 9. cap. 2.) borroweth those proportions that make the sides of a rectangular triangle, which the ancient schoole did expresse in lowest tearmes by the numbers of 3, 4, and 5. that is, three for the perpendicular, from the staire-head to the ground; foure, for the ground line it selfe, or recession from the wall, and five, for the whole inclination or slopenesse in the ascent; which proportion, saith he, will make *Temperatas graduum librationes.* Hitherto of staire-cases which are direct: There are likewise spirall, or cockle staires, either circular or ovall, and sometimes running about a pillar, sometimes vacant, wherein Palladio (a man in this point of singular felicity) was wont to devide the diameter of the first sort into three parts, yeelding one to the pillar and two to the steps; of the second into foure, whereof he gave two to the staires, and two to the vacuitie, which had all their light from above, and this in exact ovals is a master-piece.

Of Chimnies.

In the present businesse, Italians, who make very frugall fires, are perchance not the best counsellors. Therefore from them we may better learne both how to raise faire mantels within the roomes, and how to disguise gracefully the shafts of chimnies abroad (as they use) in sundry formes (which I shall handle in the latter part of my labour,) and the rest I will extract from Philipe de l'Orme: In this part of his worke more diligent than in any other, or, to doe him right, than any man else.

First, hee observeth very soberly, That who, in disposition of any building, will consider the nature of the region and the windes that ordinarily blow from this or that quarter, might so cast the roomes which shall most need fire; that hee should little feare the incommoditie of smoake, and therefore hee thinkes, that inconvenience, for the most part, to proceede from some inconsiderate beginning. Or, if the error lay not in the disposition, but in the structure it selfe, then he makes a logicall enquiry, that either the winde is too much let in above at the mouth of the shafte, or the smoke stifled below; if none of these, then there is a repulsion of the fume by some higher hill or fabrique, that shall overtoppe the chimney, and worke the former effect; if likewise not this, then he concludes, that the room which is infested must bee necessarily both little and close, so as the smoke cannot issue by a naturall principle, wanting a succession and supply of new ayre.

Now, in these cases, he suggesteth divers artificiall remedies, of which I shall allow one a little description, because it savoureth of philosophie, and was touched by Vitruvius himselfe, lib. 1. cap. 6. but by this man ingeniously applied to the present use: Hee will have us provide two hollow brasse balles of reasonable capacitie, with little holes open in both, for reception of water, when the aire shal be first sucked out; one of these wee must place with the hole upwards upon an yron wire, that shall traverse the chimney a little above the mantell, at the ordinary height of the sharpest heate or flames, whereof the water within being rarified, and by rarifaction resolved into winde, will breake out by the way, and so force up the smoke, which otherwise might linger in the tunnell by the way, and oftentimes revert: With the other (saith he) wee may supply the place of the former when it is exhausted, or, for a neede, blow the fire in the meane while, which in-

vention I have interposed for some little intertainment of the reader; I will conclude with a note from Palladio, who observeth, That the ancients did warme their roomes with certaine secret pipes that came through the walles, transporting heate (as I conceive it) to sundry parts of the house from one common furnace, I am ready to baptize them caliducts, as well as they are tearmed venti-ducts, and aquæ-ducts, that convey winde and water, which, whether it were a custome or delicacie, was surely, both for thrift and for use, far beyond the German stoves, and I shall preferre it likewise before our owne fashion, if the very sight of a fire did not adde to the roome a kinde of reputation, [1] as old Homer doth teach us in a verse, sufficient to proove that himselfe was not blinde, as some would laie to his charge.

Touching conducts for the suillage and other necessities of the house, (which how base soever in use, yet, for health of the inhabitants, are as considerable, and perhaps more than the rest,) I finde in our authors, this councell, that art should imitate nature in those ignoble conveyances, and seperate them from sight, (where there wants a running water) into the most remote, and lowest, and thickest part of the foundation; with secret vents passing up through the walles like a tunnell to the wilde aire aloft, which all Italian artizans commend for the discharge of noysome vapours, though elsewhere to my knowledge little practised.

Thus, having considered the precedent appertions or overtures, in severaltie according to their particular requisites, I am now come to the casting or contexture of the whole worke, comprehended under the tearme of compartition; into which (being the mainest piece) I cannot enter without a few generall precautions, as I have done in other parts.

First, therefore, let no man that intendeth to build, setle his fancie upon a draught of the work in paper, how exactly soever measured, or neatly set off in perspective; and much lesse upon a bare planne thereof, as they call the schiographia, or ground lines, without a modell or type of the whole structure, and of every parcell and partition in pastboord or wood.

Next, that the said modell bee as plaine as may bee, without colours or other beautifying, lest the pleasure of the eye preoccupate the judgement, which advice omitted by the Italian arcitects, I finde in Philippe de l'Orme, and therefore, (though France be not the theater of best buildings) it did merit some mention of his name.

Lastly, the bigger that this type be, it is still the better, not that I will perswade a man to such an enormity, as that modell maid by Antonio Labaco, of Saint Peters church in Rome, containing 22 foot in length, 16 in breadth, and 13 in heighth, and costing 4184 crownes; the price in truth of a reasonable chappell; yet, in the fabrique of some 40 or 50 thousand pounds charge, I wish 30 pounds at least layd out before hand in an exact modell; for a little misery in the premises may easily breede some absurdity of greater charge in the conclusion.

Now, after these premonishments, I will come to the compartition it selfe, by which the authors of this art (as hath bene touched before) doe understand a gracefull and useful distribution of the whole ground plot, both for roomes of office, and of reception or entertainement, as farre as the capacity thereof and the nature of the countrey will comport. Which circumstances in the present subject are all of maine consideration, and might yeeld more discourse than an elementall raphsodie will permit. Therefore (to anatomize briefly this definition) the gracefulnesse (whereof wee speake) will consist in double analogie or correspondencie. First, between the parts and the whole, whereby a great fabrique should have great partitions, great lights, great entrances, great pillars or pylasters; in summe, all the members great. The next betweene the

[1] "Αιθομένῳ δὲ πυρὸς γεραρωτέρῳ οἴκῳ ἰδέσθαι. *Hom. Epig.*"

parts themselves, not only considering their breadths and lengths, as before, when wee spake of doores and windowes, but here likewise enters a third respect of height, a point (I must confesse) hardly reduceable to any generall precept.

True it is, that the ancients did determine the longitude of all roomes which were longer than brode, by the double of their latitude, (Vitruvius, lib. 6. cap 5) and the heighth by halfe of the breadth and lengthe summed together: But when the roome was precisely square, they made the height half as much more as the latitude; which dimensions the moderne architects have taken leave to varie upon discretion, sometimes squaring the latitude, and then making the diagoniall, or overthwart line, from angle to angle of the said square, the measure of the heighth sometimes more, but seldome lower than the full breadth it selfe; which boldnesse of quitting the old proportions some attribute first to Michael Angelo da Buonaroti, perchance upon the credit he had before gotten in two other arts.

The second point is usefulnesse, which will consist in a sufficient number of roomes of all sortes, and in their apt coherence without distraction, without confusion, so as the beholder may not onely call it *una fabrica ben raccolta*, as Italians use to speake of well united workes, but likewise that it may appeare airy and spiritous, and fit for the welcome of cheereful guests, about which, the principall difficultie will bee in contriving the lightes and staire-cases, whereof I will touch a note or two: for the first I observe, that the ancient architects were much at ease; for both the Greekes and Romanes (of whose private dwellings Vitruvius hath left us some description) had commonly two cloystered open courts, one serving for the womens side, and the other for the men, who, yet perchance, now-a dayes would take so much seperation unkindly. Howsoever, by this meanes, the reception of light into the body of the building was very prompt, both from without and from within, which we must now supplie, either by some open forme in the fabrique, or among gracefull refuges, by tarrasing any storie which is in danger of darknesse; or, lastly, by perpendicular lights from the roofe, of all other the most naturall, as shalbe shewed anon. For the second difficultie, which is casting of the stayre-cases, that being in itselfe no hard point, but onely as they are incombrances of roome for other use, (which lights were not,) I am therefore aptly moved heere to speake of them. And first of offices.

I have marked a willingnesse in the Italian artisans to destribute the kychin, pantrie, bakehouse, washing roomes, and even the buttrie, likewise under ground, next, above the foundation, and sometimes level with the plaine or floor of the cellar, raysing the first ascent into the house fifteene foote or more for that ende, which, besides the benefit of removing such annoyes out of sight, and the gayning of so much more roome above, doth also, by elevation of the front, adde majestie to the whole aspect: and with such a disposition of the principall stayre-case, which commonly doth deliver us into the plaine of the second storie, there may bee wonders done with a little roome, whereof I could alleadge brave examples abroad, and none more artificiall and delicious than a house built by Daniele Barbaro, Patriarche of Aquileia, before mentioned among the memorable commenters upon Vitruvius. But the definition (above determined) doth call us to some consideration of our owne countrey, where, though all the other pettie offices (before rehersed) may well enough bee so remote, yet, by the natural hospitalitie of England, the buttrie must be more visible, and wee neede perchance, for our raunges, a more spacious and luminous kitchen than the foresaid compartition will beare, with a more competent neerenesse likewise to the dyning roome. Or else, besides other inconveniences, perhapes some of the dishes may straggle by the way: Heere let me note a common defect that wee have of a very usefull roome, called by the Italians *Il Tinello*, and familiar, nay, almost essentiall in all their great families. It is a place properly appointed to conserve the meate that is taken

from the table, till the waiters eate, which, with us, by an olde fashion, is more unseemely set by in the meane while.

Now, touching the distribution of lodging chambers: I must heere take leave to reproove a fashion, which, I know not how, hath prevailed through Italie, though without ancient examples as farre as I can perceive by Vitruvius. The thing I meane is, that they so cast their partitions as, when all doors are open, a man may see through the whole house, which doth necessariely put an intollerable servitude upon all the chambers, save the inmost, where none can arrive but through the rest, or else the walles must be extreame thicke for secret passages, and yet this also will not serve the turne without at least three doore to every roome, a thing most unsufferable in cold and windie regions, and every where noe small weakening to the whole worke: therefore, with us, that want no cooling, I cannot commend the direct opposition of such overtures, being indeede meerely grounded upon the fond ambition of displaying to a stranger all our furniture at one sight, which, therefore, is most maintained by them that meane to harbour but a few, whereby they make onely advantage of the vanitie, and seldome prove the inconvenience. There is likewise another defect (as absurdities are seldome solitarie) which will necessarily follow upon such a servile disposing of inward chambers, that they must be forced to make as many common great roomes as there shalbe several stories, which (besides that they are usually darke, a point hardly avoided, running as they doe through the middle of the whole house) doe likewise devoure so much place, that thereby they want other galleries and roomes of reteate, which I have often considered among them (I must confesse) with no small wonder; for I observe no nation in the world by nature more private and reserved than the Italian, and, on the other side, in no habitations less privacie, so as there is a kind of conflict betweene their dwelling and their being. It may heere perchance be expected that I should at least describe (which others have done in draughts sand designes) divers formes of plantes and partitions and varieties of inventions; but speculative writers (as I am) are not bound to comprise all particular cases within the latitude of the subject which they handle; generall lights and directions, and pointings at some faults, is sufficient. The rest must be committed to the sagacitie of the architect, who will bee often put to divers ingenious shifts when hee is to wrestle with scarsitie of ground. As sometimes [1] to damme one roome (though of speciall use) for the benefit and beautie of all the rest; another while, to make those fairest which are most in sight, and to leave the other (like a cunning painter) in shadow, *cum multis aliis*, which it were infinite to pursue. I will therefore close this part touching compartition as cheerefully as I can, with a short description of a feasting or entertayning roome after the Ægyptian manner, who seeme (at least till the time of Vitruvius) from the auncient Hebrews and Phenicians (whence all knowledge did flow) to have retayned, with other sciences, in a high degree, also the principles and practise of that magnificent art. For, as farre as I may conjecture by our masters text, lib. 6. cap. 5. (whereas in many other places he hath tortured his interpreters) there could no forme for such a royall use bee comparably imagined, like that of the foresaide nation, which I shall venture to explaine.

Let us conceive a floore or area of goodly length, (for example, at least of 120 foote) with the breadth somewhat more than the half of the longitude, whereof the reason shalbe afterwards rendred. About the two longest sides and head of the said roome shall runne an order of pillars, which Palladio doth suppose Corinthian (as I see by his designe) supplying that point out of Greece, because we know no order proper to Ægypt. The fourth side I wil leave free for the entrance: on the forsaid pillars was laid an architarve, which Vitruvius mentioneth alone. Palladio adds thereunto (and

[1] "The Italians call it *una stanza dannata*, as when a buttrie is cast under a stayre-case or the like."

with reason) both freeze and cornice, over which went up a continued wall, and therein halfe or three quarter pillars, answering directly to the order below, but a fourth part lesse, and betweene these halfe columnes above the whole roome was windowed round about.

Now, from the lowest pillars there was laid over a contignation or floore, borne upon the outward wall, and the head of the columnes, with tarrace and pavement, *sub dio* (saith our master,) and so indeed hee might safely determine the matter in Egypt, where they feare no clowds. Therefore, Palladio (who leaveth this tarrace uncovered in the middle, and ballised about) did perchance construe him rightly, though therein discording from others; always we must understand a sufficient breadth of pavement, left between the open part and the windowes, for some delight of spectators that might looke downe into the roome; the latitude I have supposed, contrary to some former positions, a little more then the halfe of the length, because the pillars standing at a competent distance from the outmost wall, will, by interception of the sight somewhat in appearance diminish the breadth, in which cases (as I have touched once or twice before) discretion may bee more licentious then art. This is the description of an Egyptian roome for feastes and jollities. About the walles whereof we must imagine entire statues placed below, and illuminated by the descending light from the terrace, as likewise from the windowes betweene the halfe pillars above, so as this roome hath abundant and advantageous light, and, besides other garnishing, must needs receive much state by the very heighth of the roofe, that lay over two orders of columnes: and so, having runne through the foure parts of my first generall devision, namely, foundation, walles, appertitions, and compartition, the house may now have leave to put on his hatte, having hitherto beene uncovered it selfe, and consequently unfit to cover others; which point, though it be the last of this art in execution, yet it is always in intention the first, for who would build but for shelter? Therefore, obtayning both the place and the dignity of a final cause, it hath beene diligently handled by diverse, but by none more learnedly than Bernardino Baldi, abbot of Guastalla (before cited upon other occasion) who doth fundamentally and mathematically demonstrate the firmest knittings of the upper timbers which make the roofe. But it hath been rather my scope in these elements, to fetch the ground of all from nature her selfe, which indeed is the simplest mother of art. Therefore, I will now onely deliver a few of the properest, and (as I may say) of the naturalest considerations that belong to this remayning piece.

There are two extremities to be avoyded in the cover or roofe; that it be not too heavy nor too light. The first will suffer a vulgar objection of pressing too much the under-worke. The other contayneth a more secret inconvenience; for the cover is not onely a bare defence, but likewise a kind of band or ligature to the whole fabrique, and therefore would require some reasonable weight. But of the two extreames, a house top-heavie is the worst. Next, there must be a care of equalitie, that the edifice be not pressed on the one side more than on the other; and here Palladio doth wish (like a cautelous artizan) that the inward walles might beare some good share in the burthen, and the outward be the lesse charged.

Thirdly, the Itallians are very precise in giving the cover a gracefull pendence or slopenesse, dividing the whole breadth into nine parts, whereof two shall serve for the elevation of the highest toppe or ridge from the lowest; but, in this point, the quality of the region is considerable, for (as our Vitruvius insinuateth) those climes that feare the falling and lying of much snow, ought to provide more inclining pentices; and comelinesse must yeeld to necessity.

These are the usefullest cautions which I finde in authors, touching the last head of our devision, wherewith I will conclude the first part of my present travaile. The second remayneth, concerning ornaments within or without the fabrique, a piece not so

dry as the meere contemplation of proportions. And therefore, I hope therein somewhat to refresh both the reader and my selfe.

Of the Elements of Architecture.—The 2d Part.

Every mans proper mansion house and home, being the theater of his hospitality, the seate of selfe-fruition, the comfortablest part of his owne life, the noblest of his sonnes inheritance, a kind of private princedome, nay, to the possessors thereof, an epetome of the whole world, may well deserve by these attributes, according to the degree of the master, to be decently and delightfully adorned. For which ende, there are two arts attending on architecture, like two of her principall gentlewomen to dresse and trimme their mistresse, picture and sculpture, between whome, before I proceed any further, I will venture to determine an ancient quarrel about their precedency, with this distinction, that, in the garnishing of fabriques, sculpture, no doubt, must have the preheminence, as being indeed of neerer affinity to architecture it selfe, and, consequently, the more naturall and more sutable ornament: But, on the other side (to consider these two arts as I shall do, philosophically and not mechanically) an excellent piece of painting is, in my judgement, the more admirable object, because it comes neere an artificiall miracle, to make divers distinct eminences appeare upon a flat by force of shadowes, and yet the shadowes themselves not to appeare; which I conceive to be the uttermost value and vertue of a painter, and to which very few have arrived in all ages.

In these two arts (as they are applicable to the subject which I handle) it shall bee fit, first, to consider how to choose them, and next, how to dispose them. To guide us in the choyce we have a rule somewhere (I well remember) in Pliny, and it is a pretty observation, That they doe mutually helpe to censure one another. For picture is best when it standeth off, as if it were carved, and sculpture is best when it appeareth so tender as if it were painted; I meane, when there is such a seeming softnesse in the limbes as if not a chissell had hewed them out of stone or other materiall, but, a pensill had drawne and stroaked them in oyle, which the judicious poet took well to his fancy:

Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra.

But this generalitie is not sufficient to make a good chooser, without a more particular contraction of his judgement. Therefore, when a piece of art is set before us, let the first caution be, not to aske who made it, least the fame of the author doe captivate the fancy of the buyer: for, that excellent men doe alwaies excellently is a false conclusion, whereupon I observe among the Italian artizans three notable phrases, which well decipher the degrees of their workes.

They will tell you that a thing was done *con diligenza, con studio,* and *con amore;* the first is but a bare and ordinary diligence, the second is a learned diligence, the third is much more, even a loving diligence; they meane not with love to the bespeaker of the worke, but with a love and delight in the worke it selfe, upon some speciall fancie to this or that storie, and when all these concurre (perticularly the last) in an eminent author, then perchance *Titianus fecit*, or ὁ Φίδιας ἐποιει, will serve the turne without farther inquisition; otherwise artizans have not onely their growthes and perfections, but like wise their vaines and tymes.

The next caution must be (to proceede logically,) that, in judging of the worke itselfe, wee bee not distracted with too many things at once; therefore, first (to beginne with picture,) we are to observe whether it bee well drawne, (or as more elegant artizans

tearme it) well designed; then whether it be well coloured, which be the two generall heads; and each of them hath two principall requisites; for in well designing, there must bee truth and grace; in well colouring, force, and affection; all other praises are but consequences of these.

Truth (as we metaphorically take it in this art) is a just and naturall proportion in every part of the determined figure. Grace is a certaine free disposition in the whole draught, answerable to that unaffected franknes of fashion, in a living bodie, man or woman, which doth animate beautie where it is, and supplie it where it is not.

Force consisteth in the roundings and raisings of the worke, according as the limbes doe more or lesse require it; so as the beholder shall spie no sharpnesse in the bordering lines; as when taylors cut out a sute, which Italians do aptly tearme, according to that comparison, *contorni taglienti;* nor any flatnesse within the bodie of the figure, which how it is done, we must fetch from a higher discipline; for the optiques teach us, that a plaine will appeare prominent, and (as it were) embossed, if the parts farthest from the axel-tree or middle beame of the eye, shalbe the most shadowed. Because, in all darknesse, there is a kinde of deepnesse; but, as in the art of perswasion, one of the most fundamentall precepts is, the concealment of arte; soe here, likewise, the sight must be sweetly deceaved, by an insensible passage, from brighter colours to dimmer, which Italian artizans calle the middle tincters; that is, not as the whites and yolkes of egges lie in the shell, with visible distinction, but as when they are beaten and blended in a dish; which is the neerest comparison that I can suddenly conceive.

Lastly, affection is the lively representation of any passion whatsoever, as if the figures stood not upon a cloth or boorde, but as if they were acting upon a stage; and heere, I must remember, in truth, with much marvelle, a note which I have received from excellent artizans, that, though gladnesse and griefe be opposite in nature, yet they are such neighbours and confiners in arte, that the least touch of a pensill will translate a crying into a laughing face; which instance, besides divers other, doth often reduce unto my memoire, that ingenious speculation of the Cardinall Cusanus, extant in his workes, touching the coincidence of extreames. And thus much of the foure requisites and perfections in picture.

In sculpture, likewise, the two first are absolutely necessarie; the third impertinent, for solid figuers neede no elevation, by force of lights or shadowes; therefore, in the roome of this, wee may put (as hath been before touched) a kind of tendernesse, by the Italians tearmed *morbidezza*, wherein the chissell, I must confesse, hath more glory than the pensill; that being so hard an instrument, and working upon so unpliant stuffe, can yet leave strokes of so gentle appearance.

The fourth, which is the expression of affection (as farre as it doth depend upon the activity, and gesture of the figure) is as proper to the carver as to the painter; though colours, no doubt, have therein the greatest power; whereupon, perchance, did first grow with us the fashion of colouring, even regall statues, which I must take leave to call an English barbarisme.

Now in these fower requisites, already rehearsed, it is strange to note, that no artizan, having ever beene blamed for excesse in any of the three last; onely truth (which should seeme the most innocent) hath suffered some objection, and all ages have yeelded some one or two artificers so prodigiously exquisite, that they have beene reputed too naturall,

[a] "The verses following, touching the coincidenceof extreame affections, represented by Homer in the person of Hector's wife; as painters and poets have alwaies had a kind of congeniality.

ΙΛΙΑΔ. ζ.

Ὡς εἰπὼν ἀλόχοιο φίλης ἐν χέρσιν ἔθηκε,
Παῖδ' ἑὸν, ἦδ' ἄρα μιν κηώδεϊ δέξατο κόλπῳ
Δακρύοεν γελάσασα.—That is,
Shee tooke her sonne into her armes, weepingly laughing."

in their draughts; which will well appeare by a famous passage in Quintilian, touching the characters of the ancient artizans, falling now so aptly into my memory, that I must needes translate it, as in truth it may well deserve.

The place which I intend, is extant in the last chapter save one of his whole worke, beginning thus in Latine: *Primi, quorum quidem opera non vetustatis modo gratia visenda sunt clari pictores fuisse dicuntur, Polygnotus atque Aglaophon, &c.*

The whole passage, in English, standeth thus:

"The first painters of name, whose workes bee considerable for any thing more than onely antiquitie, are said to have beene Polygnotus and Aglaophon, whose bare colourings (hee meanes I thinke in white and blacke) hath even yet so many followers, that those rude and first elements, as it were of that which, within a while, became an arte, are preferred before the greatest painters that have been extant after them, out of a certaine competition (as I conceive it) in point of judgement. After these, Zeuxes and Parasius, not farre distant in age, both about the time of the Peloponesian warre, (for in Xenophon wee have a dialogue betweene Parasius and Socrates) did adde much to this arte. Of which the first is said to have invented the due disposition of lights and shadowes; the second, to have more subtilly examined the truth of lines in the draught; for Xeuxes did make limbes bigger than the life; deeming his figures thereby the more stately and majesticall; and therein (as some thinke) imitating Homer, whom the stoutest forme doth please, even in women. On the other side, Parasius did exactly limit all the proportions so, as they call him the law giver, because, in the images of the gods and of heroicall personages, others have followed his paternes like a decree; but picture did most flourish about the daies of Philip, and even to the successours of Alexander; yet by sundry habilities; for Protogenes did excell in diligence; Pamphilius and Melanthius. in due proportion Antiphilus in a franke facilitie; Theon of Samos in strength fantasie and conceiving of passions; Appelles in invension and grace, whereof hee doth himselfe most vaunte; Euphranor deserves admiration, that, being in other excellent studies, a principall man, he was likewise a wondrous artizan, both in painting and sculpture. The like difference we may observe among the statuaries; for the workes of Calon and Egesias were somewhat stiffe, like the Tuscan manner; those of Calamis not done with so cold stroakes; and Myron more tender than the former; a diligent decency in Polycletus above others, to whom, though the highest prayse bee attributed by the most, yet, lest he should goe free from exception, some thinke hee wanted solemnesse; for, as he may perchance be sayd to have added a comely dimension to humane shape, somewhat above the truth, so, on the other side, hee seemed not to have fully expressed the majesty of the gods: Moreover, hee is sayd not to have medled willingly with the graver age, as not adventuring beyond smooth cheekes; but these vertues that were wanting in Policletus were supplied by Phidias and Alcmenes; yet Phidias was a better artizan in the representing of the gods than of men; and, in his workes of ivorie, beyond all emulation, even though he had left nothing behinde him but his Minerva at Athens, or the Olympian Jupiter in Elis, whose beautie seemes to have added somewhat, even to the received religion; the majestie of the worke, as it were equalling the Deity. To truth, they affirme Lysippus and Praxiteles to have made the neerest approach: for Demetrius is therein reprehended, as rather exceeding than deficient; having beene a greater aymer at likenes than at lovelines."

This is that witty censure of the ancient artizans, which Quintilian hath left us, where the last character of Demetrius doth require a little philosophicall examination: How an artificer, whose end is the imitation of nature, can be too naturall? which like-

wise, in our dayes, was either the fault, or (to speake more gently) the too much perfection of Albert Durer, and perhaps also of Michael Angelo da Buonaroti, betweene whom I have heard noted, by an ingenious artizan, a pretty nice difference, that the German did too much expresse that which was, and the Italian that which should be, which severe observation of nature, by the one in her commonest, and by the other in her absolutest formes, must needs produce in both a kinde of rigidity, and consequently more naturalnesse than gracefulnesse: this is the cleerest reason why some exact symmetrists have been blamed for being too true, as neere as I can deliver my conceit. And so much touching the choyce of picture and sculpture: the next is, the application of both to the beautifying of fabriques.

First, therefore, touching picture, there doth occurre a very pertinent doubt, which hath beene passed over too slightly, not onely by some men, but by some nations; namely, whether this ornament can wel become the outside of houses, wherin the Germanes have so little scruple that their best townes are the most painted, as Augusta and Norembergh. To determine this question in a word; it is true, that a story well set out with a good hand will every where take a judicious eye; but yet withal it is as true, that various colours on the out-walles of buildings have alwayes in them more delight than dignity: Therefore I would there admit no paintings but in black and white, nor even in that kinde any figures (if the roome be capable) under nine or ten foot high, which will require no ordinary artizan; because the faults are more visible than in small designs. In unfigured paintings, the noblest is the imitation of marbles, and of architecture itselfe; as arches, freezes, columnes, and the like.

Now for the inside, heere growes another doubt, whether grotesca (as the Italians) or antique worke (as wee call it) should be received, against the expresse authoritie of Vitruvius himselfe, *lib. 7. cap. 5.* where *pictura* (saith hee) *fit ejus, quod est, seu potest esse,* excluding by this severe definition, all figures composed of different natures or sexes, as a Syren or Centaure, had beene intolerable in his eye; but in this wee must take leave to depart from our master; and the rather, because he spake out of his owne profession; allowing painters (who have ever bin as little limited as poets) a lesse scope in their imaginations, even than the gravest philosophers, who sometimes doe serve themselves of instances, that have no existence in nature; as wee see in Platoe's Amphisbœna, and Aristotle's Hirco-cervus. And (to settle this point) what was indeede more common and familiar among the Romanes themselves, than the picture and statue of Terminus, even one of their deities? which yet, if we well consider it, is but a piece of grotesca; I am, for these reasons, unwilling to impoverish that art, though I could wish such medlie and motlie designes confined onely to the ornament of freezes and borders, their properest place. As for other storied workes upon walles, I doubt our clime bee too yeelding and moist for such garnishment; therefore, leaving it to the dwellers discretion, according to the qualitie of his seat, I will onely adde a caution or two about the disposing of pictures within.

First, that no roome be furnished with too many, which in truth were a surfet of ornament, unlesse they bee galleries, or some peculiar repository for rarities of art.

Next, that the best pieces be placed not where there is the least, but where there are the fewest lights; therefore, not onely roomes windowed on both ends, which we call through-lighted, but with two or moe windowes on the same side, are enemies to this art; and sure it is, that no painting can be seene in full perfection, but (as all nature is illuminated) by a single light.

Thirdly, that in placing there be some care also taken, how the painter did stand in the working, which an intelligent eye will easily discover, and that posture is the most naturall; so as Italian pieces will appeare best in a roome where the windowes are high; because they are commonly made to a descending light, which of all other doth set off mens faces in their truest spirit.

Lastly, that they bee as properly bestowed for their quality as fitly for their grace; that is, chearfull paintings in feasting and banquetting roomes; graver stories in galleries, land-schips, and boscage, and such wilde workes in open tarraces, or in summer houses (as we call them) and the like.

And thus much of picture, which let me close with this note; that though my former discourse may serve perchance for some reasonable leading in the choyce of such delights, yet let no man hope, by such a speculative erudition, to discerne the masterly and mysterious touches of art, but an artizan himselfe; to whom, therefore, we must leave the prerogative to censure the manner and handling, as hee himselfe must likewise leave some points, perchance of no lesse value to others; as, for example, whether the story be rightly represented, the figures in true action, the persons suted to their severall qualities, the affections proper and strong, and such like observations.

Now for sculpture, I must likewise begin with a controversie, as before (falling into this place) or let mee rather call it a very meere fancie, strangely taken by Palladio, who, having noted in an old arch or two at Verona, some part of the materials already cut in fine formes, and some unpolished, doth conclude (according to his logicke) upon this particular, that the auncients did leave the outward face of their marbles or free-stone without any sculpture, till they were laid and cemented in the bodie of the building; for which likewise hee findeth a reason (as many doe now and then very wittily, even before the thing itselfe be true) that the materialls being left rough, were more manageable in the masons hand, than if they had beene smooth; and that so the sides might bee laide together the more exactly; which conceit, once taken, hee seemes to have farther imprinted, by marking in certaine storied sculptures of oulde time how precisely the parts and lines of the figures that passe from one stone to another doe meete, which hee thinkes could hardly fall out so right, (forgetting, while he speakes of ancient things, the auncient diligence,) unlesse they had beene cut after the joyning of the materials; but all these inducements cannot countervaile the sole inconvenience of shaking and disjoynting the commissures with so many strokes of the chissell, besides an incommodious working on scaffolds; especially having no testimonie to confirme it, that I have yet seene among the records of art; nay, it is indeede rather true, that they did square, and carve, and polish, their stone and marble workes, even in the very cave of the quarrie, before it was hardened by open aire; but (to leave disputation) I will set downe a few positive notes, for the placing of sculpture, because the chusing hath beene handled before.

That, first of all, it bee not too generall and abundant, which would make a house looke like a cabbinet; and in this point, morall philosophie, which tempereth fancies, is the superintendent of art.

That especially, there bee a due moderation of this ornament in the first approach; where our authors doe more commend (I meane about the principall entrance) a Dorique than a Corinthian garnishment: So as if the great doore be arched, with some brave head, cut in fine stone or marble for the key of the arch, and two incumbent figures gracefully leaning upon it, towards one another, as if they meant to conferre: I should think this a sufficient entertainment, for the first reception, of any judicious sight; which I could wish seconded with two great standing statues on each side of a paved way that shall lead up into the fabrique, so as the beholder at the first entrance may passe his eye betweene them.

That the nitches, if they containe figures of white stone or marble, bee not coloured in their concavitie too blacke; for though *contraria juxta se posita magis illucescunt* (by an old rule) yet it hath beene subtilly, and indeede truely noted, that our sight is not well contented with those sudden departments from one extreame to another; therefore let them have rather a duskish tincture than an absolute blacke.

That fine and delicate sculptures be helped with neernes, and grosse with distance;

which was well seene in the olde controversie betweene Phidias and Alcmenes about the statue of Venus: wherein the first did shew discretion, and save labour, because the worke was to be viewed at good height, which did drowne the sweet and diligent strokes of his adversarie: A famouse emulation of two principall artizans, celebrated even by the Greeke poets.

That in the placing of standing figures aloft, wee must set them in a posture somewhat bowing forward; because (saith our master, *lib. 3. cap. 3.* out of a better art than his owne) the visuall beame of our eye, extended to the head of the said figures, being longer than to the foote, must necessarily make that part appeare farther; so as to reduce it to an erect or upright position, there must be allowed a due advantage of stooping towards us; which Albert Durer hath exactly taught in his forementioned geometry. Our Vitruvius calleth this affection in the eye, a resupination of the figure: For which word (being in truth his owne, for ought I know) wee are almost as much beholding to him as for the observation itselfe: And let thus much summarily suffice, touching the choice and use of these adorning arts. For to speake of garnishing the fabrique with a row of erected statues about the cornice of every contignation or story, were discourse more proper for Athens or Rome, in the time of their true greatnesse, when (as Plinie recordeth of his own age) there were neere as many carved images as living men; like a noble contention, even in point of fertility, betweene art and nature; which passage doth not onely argue an infinite abundance, both of artizans and materials, but likewise of magnificent and majesticall desires, in every common person of those times, more or lesse, according to their fortunes. And true it is indeed that the marble monuments and memories of well deserving men, wherewith the very highwayes were strewed on each side, was not a bare and transitory entertainment of the eye, or onely a gentle deception of time to the traveller; but had also a secret and strong influence, even into the advancement of the monarchie, by continuall representation of vertuous examples; so as in that point art became a piece of state.

Now, as I have before subordinated picture and sculpture to architecture, as their mistresse, so there are certaine inferiour arts likewise subordinate to them: As, under picture, mosaique; under sculpture, plastique; which two I onely nominate, as the fittest to garnish fabriques.

Mosaique is a kinde of painting in small pebbles, cockles, and shells of sundry colours; and of late dayes likewise with pieces of glasse, figured at pleasure; an ornament, in trueth, of much beauty and long life, but of most use in pavements and floorings.

Plastique is not *onely* under sculpture, but indeed very sculpture itselfe: but with this difference, that the plasterer doth make his figures by addition, and the carver by subtraction, whereupon Michael Angelo was wont to say somewhat pleasantly, that sculpture was nothing but a purgation of superfluities. For take away, from a piece of wood or stone, all that is superfluous, and the remainder is the intended figure. Of this plastique art, the chiefe use with us is in the gracefull fretting of roofes: but the Italians applie it to the manteling of chimneys with great figures; a cheape piece of magnificence, and as durable almost within doores, as harder forms in the weather. And here, though it bee a little excurtion, I cannot passe unremembred againe, their manner of disguising the shaftes of chimneys in various fashions, whereof the noblest is the pyramidall; beeing in trueth a piece of polite and civil discretion, to convert even the conduits of soote and smoake into ornaments; whereof I have hitherto spoken as farre as may concerne the body of the building.

Now there are ornaments also without, as gardens, fountaines, groves, conservatories of rare beasts, birds, and fishes. Of which ignobler kind of creatures wee ought not (saith our greatest [x] master among the sonnes of nature) childishly to despise the con-

[x] *Arist. lib. 1. cap. 5. de part Anim.* Δεῖ μὴ δυσχεραίνειν παιδικῶς τὴν περὶ τῶν ἀτιμοτέρων ζωων ἐπισκεψιν. Ἐν πασι γὰρ τοῖς φυσικοῖς ἐνεστὶ τι θαυμαστόν.

templation; for in all things that are naturall, there is ever someting that is admirable. Of these externall delights a word or two.

First, I must note a certaine contraritie betweene building and gardening: For as fabriques should bee regular, so gardens should be irregular, or at least cast into a very wilde regularitie. To exemplifie my conceit; I have seene a garden (for the maner perchance incomparable) into which the first accesse was a high walke like a terrace, from whence might bee taken a generall view of the whole plott below; but rather in a delightful confusion, than with any plaine distinction of the pieces. From this the beholder descending many steps, was afterwards conveyed againe, by severall mountings and valings, to various entertainments of his sent and sight, which I shall not neede to describe (for that were poeticall,) let me onely note this, that every one of these diversities was as if hee had beene magically transported into a new garden.

But though other countreys have more benefite of sunne than wee, and thereby more properly tyed to contemplate this delight, yet have I seene in our owne, a delicate and diligent curiositie, surely without parallel among foreigne nations: namely, in the garden of Sir Henry Fanshaw, at his seat in Ware-parke, where I wel remember, hee did so precisely examine the tinctures and seasons of his flowres, that, in their setting, the inwardest of those which were to come up at the same time, should be alwayes a little darker than the outmost, and to serve them for a kinde of gentle shadow, like a piece not of nature but of arte, which mention (incident to this place) I have willingly made of his name, for the deare friendship that was long betweene us; though I must confess, with much wrong to his other vertues; which deserve a more solide memoriall than among these vacant observations. So much of gardens.

Fountaines are figured, or only plaine water'd-workes: Of either of which, I will describe a matchlesse patterne.

The first, done by the famous hand of Michael Angelo da Buonaroti, in the figure of a sturdie woman, washing and winding of linnen clothes; in which acte, shee wrings out the water that made the fountaine; which was a gracefull and naturall conceit in the artificer, implying this rule, that all designes of this kind should be proper.

The other doth merite some large expression; there went a long, straight, mossie walke of competent breadth, greene, and soft under foot, listed on both sides with an aquæduct of white stone, breast-high, which had a hollow channel on the tope, where ranne a prety trickling streame; on the edge whereof, were couched, very thicke all along, certaine small pipes of lead, in little holes; so neatly, that they could not be well perceived, till, by the turning of a cocke, they did sprout overchangeably from side to side, above mans height, in forme of arches, without any intersection or meeting aloft, because the pipes were not exactly opposite, so as the beholder, beside that, which was fluent in the aquæducts on both hands in his view, did walke as it were under a continuall bowre or hemisphere of water, without any drope falling on him. An invention for refreshment, surely farre excelling all the Alexandrian delicacies and pneumatiques of Hero.

Groves, and artificiall devices under ground, are of great expence, and little dignitie; which, for my part, I could wish converted here into those cryptera, whereof mention is made among the curious provisions of Ticho Braghe, the Danish Ptolemie, as I may well call him; which were deepe concaves in gardens, where the starres might be observed even at noone. For (by the way) to thinke that the brightnesse of the sunnes body above, doth drowne our discerning of the lesser lights, is a popular errour; the sole impediment being that lustre, which by reflection, doth spread about us, from the face of the earth; so as the caves, before touched, may well conduce, not to a delicious, but to a learned pleasure.

In aviaries of wire, to keepe birdes of all sorts, the Italians (though no wastfull nation) doe, in some places, bestow vast expence; including great scope of ground, varie-

tie of bushes, trees of good height, running waters, and sometimes a stove annexed, to contemper the aire in winter. So as those chanteresses, unlesse they be such as perhaps delight as much in their wing as in their voice, may live long, among so good provisions and roome, before they know that they are prisoners, reducing often to my memory, that conceit of the Romane stoicke, who, in comparison of his owne free contemplations, did thinke diverse great and splendent fortunes of his time little more than commodious captivities.

Concerning ponds of pleasure neere the habitation, I will referre myselfe to a grave author of our owne (though more illustrious by his other [1] worke) namely *Sarisburiensis de Piscinâ.*

And here I will end the second part touching ornaments, both within and without the fabrique.

Now as almost all those, which have delivered the elements of logicke, doe usually conclude with a chapter touching methode, so I am heere seized with a kind of critical spirit, and desirous to shut up these building elements, with some methodical direction how to censure fabriques alreadie raised: for, indeed, without some way to contract our judgement, which, among so many particulars, would bee lost by diffusion, I should thinke it almost harder to be a good censurer than a good architect; because the working part may be helped with deliberation, but the judging must flow from an extemporal habite. Therefore, (not to leave this last piece without some light) I could wish him that commeth to examine any noble worke, first of all to examine himselfe, whether perchance the sight of many brave things before (which remaine like impressed formes) have not made him apt to think nothing good, but that which is the best; for this humour were too sowre. Next, before hee come to settle any imaginable opinion, let him by all means seeke to informe himselfe precisely of the age of the worke upon which hee must passe his doome. And if hee shall finde the apparent decayes to exceed the proportion of time, then let him conclude, without farther inquisition, as an absolute decree, that either the materials were too slight, or the seate is nought. Now, after these premises, if the house be found to beare his yeares well, (which is alwayes a token of sound constitution) then let him suddenly runne backewardes, (for the methode of censuring is contrary to the methode of composing) from the ornaments (which first allure the eye) to the more essentiall members, till at last hee be able to forme this conclusion, that the worke is commodious, firme, and delightfull; which (as I said in the beginning) are the three capitall conditions required in good buildings, by all authors both ancient and moderne. And this is, as I may terme it, the most scientificall way of censuring. There are two other, which I must not forget. The first in Georgio Vassari, before his laborious worke of the lives of architects, which is to passe a running examination over the whole edifice, according to the properties of a well shapen man. As whether the wals stand upright upon cleane footing and foundation; whether the fabrique bee of a beautiful stature; whether for the breadth it appeare well burnished; whether the principall entrance be on the middle line of the front or face, like our mouthes; whether the windowes, as our eyes, be set in equall number and distance on both sides; whether the offices, like the veines in our bodies, be usefully distributed, and so forth. For this allegoricall review may be driven as farre as any wit will, that is at leasure.

The second way is in Vitruvius himselfe, *lib.* 1. *cap.* 2. where hee summarily detemineth six considerations, which accomplish this whole art.

Ordinatio.	*Symmetria.*
Dispositio.	*Decor*, and
Eurythmia.	*Distributio.*

[1] "*De Nugis Curial. &c.*"

Whereof (in my conceit) wee may spare him the first two; for, as farre as I can perceive, either by his interpreters, or by his own text (which in that very place, where perchance he should be clearest, is of all other the clowdiest) hee meaneth nothing by ordination, but a well setling of the modell or scale of the whole worke. Nor by dispostion, more than a neate and full expression of the first idea or designement thereof; which perchance do more than belong to the artificer than to the censurer. The other foure are enough to condemne, or absolve, any fabrique whatsoever. Whereof *eurythmia* is that agreeable harmony betweene breadth, length, and height of all the roomes of the fabrique, which suddenly, where it is, taketh every beholder by the secret power of proportion: wherein let mee onely note this, that though the least error or offence that can be committed against sight, is excesse of height, yet that fault is no where of small importance, because it is the greatest offence against the purse.

Symmetria is the conveniencie that runneth betweene the parts and the whole, whereof I have formerly spoken.

Decor is the keeping of a due respect betweene the inhabitant and the habitation. Whence Palladius did conclude, that the principall entrance was never to be regulated by any certaine dimensions; but by the dignity of the master; yet to exceede rather in the more than in the lesse is a marke of generosity, and may alwayes be excused with some noble embleme, or inscription, as that of the *Conte di Bevilacqua*, over his large gate at Verona, where perchance had beene committed a little disproportion.

Patet Janua: Cor magis.

And heere likewise I must remember our ever memorable Sir Philip Sidney, (whose wit was in truth the very rule of congruity) who well knowing that Basilius (as hee had painted the state of his minde) did rather want some extraordinary formes to entertaine his fancie, than roome for courtiers, was content to place him in a star like lodge; which otherwise in severe judgement of art had beene an incommodious figure.

Distributio, is that useful casting of all roomes for office, entertainment, or pleasure, which I have handled before at more length than any other piece.

These are the foure heads which every man should runne over, before hee passe any determinate censure upon the works that he shal view, wherewith I will close this last part, touching ornaments. Against which (mee thinkes) I heare an objection, even from some well-meaning man, that these delightful craftes may be divers wayes ill applied in a land. I must confess indeed, there may bee a lacivious, and there may be likewise a superstitious use, both of picture and of sculpture: To which possibility of misapplication, not onely these semi-liberall arts are subject, but even the highest perfections and endowments of nature. As beautie in a light woman, eloquence in a mutinous man, resolution in an assasinate, prudent observation of houres and humours in a corrupt courtier, sharpnes of wit and argument in a seducing shcoller, and the like. Nay, finally, let mee aske, what art can be more pernicious, than even religion itselfe, if itselfe be converted into an instrument of art: Therefore, *ab abuti ad non uti, negatur consequentia.*

Thus having stitched in some sort together these animadversions touching architecture, and the ornaments thereof, I now feele that contemplative spirits are as restless as active; for doubting with myselfe, (as all weakenesse is jealous) that I may be thought to have spent my poore observation abroad about nothing but stone and timber, and such rubbage, I am thereby led into an immodestie of proclaiming another worke, which I have long devoted to the service of my countrey, namely, a philosophicall survey of education, which is indeed a second building, or repairing of nature, and, as I may tearme it, a kind of morall architecture; whereof such notes as I have taken in my foreigne transcursions or abode, I hope to utter without publike offence, though still

with the freedom of a plaine Kentish man. In the meane while, I have let these other gleanings flie abroad, like the bird out of the arke, to discover what footing may bee for that which shall follow.

The Politia of the United Provinces, MSS.

This tract, which mentions the celebrated Count Maurice, of Orange, as still alive, was probably written in the latter part of James the First's reign.

THE Netherlands, commonly knowne by the name of the Germanye inferior, doe consist of seventeen provinces; whereof seven have, for causes well knowne to the worlde, drawne themselves into one state, under the name of the United Provinces, viz.

1. Gelderland, which, being a dutchy, hath the precedency of the rest, and although there are twenty-two walled townes in this province, yet all do not belong to this government: but many of them are in the possession of the archdukes, in so much as the States accompte themselves lordes but of one half of this province.

2. Holland, an earledom, and far exceedeth any of the rest in power and oppulency; there are thirty walled townes in this province, besides villages, and many other dwellings; which are so frequent, as it is observed, that a man cannot be set in any part of this province, but with a musket may hit a house. This province is entirely the States.

3. Zealand, consisting principally of the three islandes, whereof the chiefest is Walkeclande, which hath four very fair townes, Midleborough, Flushing, Treveece, and Acunne.

4. Utrickt, in old time Ultrajectum, betweene the Locke and the Swider Sea.

5. Friseland, East and West, well knowne.

6. Overisell, or Transilvania, upon the Swider Sea, along the river Isell, in which province are these chiefe townes, Campen, Zwoll, and Deventer, that Sir William Stanley gave over to the Spaniards.

7. Groningen, upon the west of the river Emden. The only towne of note is Groningen, the rest are villages.

Besides these provinces, the States have gotten footing in some other of the provinces, as at Breda, Steenberg, Girtenberg, and Bergen op Zoome; in Brabant, Sluce, and Isendicke, in Flanders, &c. which are accompted part of these provinces, to which they are next adjoyning.

The chiefe seate of sovereigntie is the Hague, a village in Holland, where the graves of that province had a house, and where the courts and officers of state were now fixed.

States Generall.

To this place, each of the United Provinces send two deputyes or more, according to the exigent of tyme, and as they are disposed to be at charge; chosen for the most part out of the magistrates of their cities, to reside at the Hague, under the tytle of the States Generall, for so long time as each province shall think meete, which is com-

monly three years, upon small entertainment, not exceeding 200*l.* sterling *per annum* a man.

These States Generall represent the soveraignty of that government, and dispose of all things touching war and peace, as they find expedient; with relation neverthelesse to the opinion and advice of the provinces from whence they are deputed, especially in matters of importance: For few of these deputies come authorized with a commission *(ne quid respublica detrimenti capiat;)* but ever in matters of consequence or leavies of monies, they fetch their vote from the provinces, before they deliver it in the assembly of the States; whereby it falleth out, that, as their resolutions are slow and heavy, for almost every common man is a statesman, the point of government, from the highest to the lowest, may be learned in a passage boate, going from one towne to another, as well as in the assembly of the generall states: And these deputies are those whome their writers style *ordines illustrissimi procere eminentissimi amplissimi patres, &c.* And forasmuch as these deputies are of equal authority, and that some order is to be observed, as well concerning the addresses of forraigne ministers, as in propounding such matters as are to be debated, each of these deputies take their turn weekly, and are called, for the time, the president of the weeke.

The answers that are made by the assembly of the States Generall are slowe and colde; publique ministers of princes find tedious and wearisome delays: Private persons, after long pursuite, receive for the most part denyalls, and are to suffer in their particuler, in respect of consequence, to the public; for so runn their answers, it cannot be granted, *(per consequentium.)* They have disputed a long time (some say a month together) upon the payment of two shillings, when it hath concerned the contributions of the provinces.

This assembly of states hath a secretary that sitteth at the lower end of the board, and, when there is any thing to be read, he riseth and cometh to the midst of the table, and there readeth it, and so returneth to his place.

All the orders and resolutions of the States Generall are given out, signed by the president of the week and the secretary.

The assembly of the states have a receiver general, comptable for the monies contributed by the United Provinces, for the payment of the soldiers and other pensions.

They have likewise another chamber of accompt superintendant, where every province have their deputies to take their accompts of the receiver general; where it appeareth what issues are made of extraordinary contributions, either for war or other expences.

Besides the assembly of the States General, there is also resident at the Hague a councel of state, deputed likewise from the provinces; which, in the absence of the general states, represent a sovereignty, and was instituted to be continually resident at the Hague, when the States General did meet but twice a year: But of late times, the cause of state requiring the continual assistance of the general states, the said council of state is but a shadow, and resolveth of no important affairs without the directions of the States General: Of this council, the Counte Maurice is president, being otherwise none of the States General; and this councel giveth the oath to such deputies as are sent from the provinces to be admitted to the assembly of the States General.

The council of state hath a treasurer general, superintendant over the chamber of fynances; to which there belongeth three commissioners, besides clerks and ushers.

The commissioners charge is to perfect the muster rolles of horse and foote, to give out orders for the payment of companies, to take the audit of accompts both of receivers and others; all which, together with the answer of ordinary suits, have relation to the councel of state, but goeth out in the name of the States General.

The provinciall courte of Holland is likewise at the Hague; it is composed of diverse of the nobility of that province, assisted with civilians; of this courte, the Count Mau-

rice is president; it taketh cognizance of all causes, as well concerning title of lands as differences between cities for extent of jurisdiction. To this courte, Zealand doth appeale, and in former times, they appealed from this courte to Mechelin; but, not long since, those of Holland and Zealand have erected a new courte of men, eminent in learning and gravity, to which only they may appeal, and no further; nevertheless, upon petition to the States Generall, there are extraordinary judges assigned, to assist that courte in the reviewe of any cause.

The citties are governed by their own magistrates, who have power within their owne territorye, to make laws, to tax and impose for the necessary occasions of the city, as shall be expedient; the senate in each city is standing, but the magistrates are anuall; the sheriffs are judges in criminal causes, but with a difference, for all cityes are not allowed an executioner; but, in case of justice, do fetch that minister from the next city, of more absolute sovereignty, which is knowne by a stone-gallowes; petty states have it of wood.

The villages are governed either by the lawes of the province, or by the chiefe lords.

The province of Holland maketh, three or four times a year, another assembly at the Hague, consisting of twelve of their chiefest nobility, and such deputies as are sent from the townes. The towns that may send deputies are these, viz.

Dorte.	Horne.	Gorcum.	Alemary.	Medelmell.
Harlem.	Amsterdam.	Scyedam.	Encusen.	Pomerane.
Delfe.	Goude.	Sconethornen.	Edam.	Leoden.
Rotterdam.	Bryell.	Monichodam.		

These agree of all such charges and leavies as are to be made in that province for the support of the warr, and otherwise.

Their townes are uniform and fair to the eye, but thin of people; and their shopps, for outward shewe, like pedlars rather than tradesmen; only Amsterdam is populous, and hath the shewe of as famous a mart towne as any in Christendom, except very few.

The States General do keep in pay 26600 fighting men, horse and foot; besides 4000 French foot, and 140 horse paid by the French king, 30740 men: And yet they cannot conveniently bring into the field 15000 men; the rest are disposed into the frontier townes, which otherwise would be in danger, if they were left without garrison.

Of these numbers, there are 4000 English divided into sixty companies, and those under three regiments, and 4000 Scots under two regiments, the rest of the army are Walloons and Dutch.

Of this army, Holland payeth 12000 and 1800 horse, the rest are repartited upon other provinces.

Their ordinary revenue riseth either from the lands, anciently belonging to the graves, or and from their customes, and some other publicke duties, or from an imposition, which is called excise, which reachest to all things, and is laid in manner as followeth:

Every acre of land payeth yearly for the maintenance of the warre .	vi*s.*
For the maintenance of the dykes and watermills, ...	xiiii*d.*
Every horned beast, for six months of summer, . . .	ii*s.* vi*d.*
For six months of wynter, for every horned beast payeth, . .	xiii*d. ob.*
Besides there is paid for head money, for every beast yearly, . .	xii*d.*
Every bushell of wheate, besides the miller's fee, payeth before it be ground,	ix*d.*
Every bushell of rye payeth halfe as much, ...	iiii*d. ob.*
All the people of the land, being above eight years of age, pay yearly for head money, ...	x*d.*

All under eight years of age payeth, ... v *d.*
All houses sold or mortgaged, pay the 40th penny, and the 80th penny.
All lands sold, payeth for alienation accordingly.
Every house in citties or townes, payeth a yearly composition, according to the value, which is commonly the 15th part; as, if the house go at xv *l.* rent, it payeth one pound to the state.
Strong beere sold in tap-houses, payeth to the warrs, for every barrell, vii *s.* viii *d.*
Besides every barrell, payeth to the towne, for the maintenance of the ports, iii *s.* vi *d.*
And for the maintenance of the dykes and sluces, . . i *s.* viii *d.*
A barrell of strong beer, sold to the burger, for his ordinary expence, payeth iii *s.* v *d.*
The tappers payeth for every hoggeshead of French wine, . iii *l.* xv *s.*
The tappers pay for Spanish and Renishe wyne the hoggeshead, vii *l.* x *s.*
Every beast, sold in the shambles, payeth the seventh penny.
Every thing sold by weight payeth a rate according to the value of the commodity.
All fruit sold in the market, as apples, pears, plumbs, cherries, &c. payeth the viiith penny.
Every barrel of turfe, which is their only fuell, and is worth vi *d.* payeth one penny.

These impositions being generally laid upon all things whatsoever bought and sold doth raise to an infinite matter, and is such a *Nemo Scit*, as cannot be attained unto, but by such as be acquainted with *Arcana Imperii;* it is thought to exceed two millions sterling a yeare.

The Count Maurice is generall of the army, high admiral of the seas, president of Holland, and hath the choice of the burgo-masters in all the cities of the United Provinces, out of such nominations as are yearly made and presented to the state, for the election of these chiefe ministers: he hath the power of pardoning any criminall offence, both in the marshall and the civil government: In effect, *potestatem Vitæ et Necis*, which are ensignes of his authority; besides his owne revenue, which is great, he hath 20000*l.* sterling pension from the states. He liveth in a condition equal to most princes in Christendome, having an high and eminent place in a great state, and commanding a gallant army, without care or charge. He observeth order in all his proceedings, and is curious and exact in his actions; of great experience, and desirous to discourse with any man, that can either informe his judgement or better his knowledge; his frugality and husbandry in his perticuler, is no lesse than his endeavour for the publique; of all fforraigne nations in service with the states, he trusteth most of the English and Scots for point of performance, but favoureth most the French, and therein he doth patrisaze. And, forasmuch as these seven provinces, suffice not to maintain the vith part of the people, but that they must seek meanes in livlihood abroad, it falleth out that the inhabitants are generally either merchants or skippers: And for that cause, they insist altogether upon the freedom of navigation and trade, as upon a mayne point of state, without which they could not subsist; for which cause every man encourageth each other in advancing trade and navigation; no man shall make any extraordinary adventure or discovery, or do any other thing of note in foraigne partes, but it shall presently be published in print, and set out with types and figures, to enoble the action, and magnify the endeavour, though otherwise it be of no moment.

In consequence whereof, the shipping is infinite, exceeding all that can credibly be reported to such as knowe not the countrey: Upon a proposition of late, for an undertaking to the West-Indies, Monicodam, one of the meaneast townes in Holland, offerred to set out fifty men of war for their part; and upon the breaking up of the frost in March, 1614, there were at Amsterdam 4000 sayle ready to go to sea, whereof 1500

were good shipps of trade: It is likewise given out, to express the power of that town, that upon three weeks warning, they will sett out 100 men of warr, in three weeks after a 100 men of war more, and a 100 more within three weeks after that; and hence it is that their poets style them,

Frenatrix Maris.
Domitrix Tirannum Natio.

Every man seemeth to affect warr, as the meane to enlarge the generall and inrich every particular; peace hurteth and weakeneth.

It were not possible, without an enemy abroad, or an army at home, to keep these provinces thus united; every province, yea every towne, would be a soveraigne common-wealth, and take notice of no command, but their owne reason, whereof Utretcht may be an instance; which, after the truce with Spain, stood so much upon termes of private respect, as the States were forced to bring an army before the town, and so forced them to conformity, since which time, they have been ever yoaked with a governor. There are many exceeding rich, not only of merchants, but officers of state: The secretary of the council of state for Holland, now living, may dispend 2000*l.* per annum in revenew of land: Besides many other officers of great estate, and there are few very poor: Industry and parcimony attend upon all, from the highest to the lowest.

Their religion hath the shew of a reformed church; and their public services make a good face and presence of a Christian congregation; but otherwise they are receptacle both of Jewe and Gentile: All sects and schisms are as freely there as the religion publickly professed by the state; and a man may live there all his life-time, and be of no congregation, with impunity; for as there is no distinction of parishes, so every man may address himselfe to what church they list, or may stay at home: It was in deliberation at Roterdam, whether they should admit the building of a sinagogue; the Jewe children at Amsterdam going to the common schooles, do as confidently blaspheme in the presence and hearing of their schoole-fellows, the burgers children, as if they were in a sinagogue amongst their owne nation; which liberty, as it begeteth a confluence of all sorts of people, to the inlarging of trade and bringing profit to the publick, (for no man cometh thither, but by eating and sleeping increaseth the excise) so it portendeth distruction and confusion: That which may be said in their excuse is, that the cause for which they have spent so much blood, and yet fight for, being liberty of conscience, they should offend against the liberty which they have now gained, to think of any church discipline, or constraine any man further than his conscience doth lead him; and so by bowing the crooked stick as farr the contrary waye, hope to make it straight in the end. The ministers have all stipends from the States Generall, upon which they live, without asking any other duties; 120*l.* per annum is a usual stipend for the best: They go meanly and soberly, and shew themselves in the pulpit as in the streets, thinking it superstition to wear any other habit than a cloake.

The people have a pretty trick to turne covetousness into charity, for they build up hospitalls with lotteries, and maintaine them by lotteries.

The ordinary and maine bulk of victuall for the common sort, is of four sorts, viz. pickled herrings, turnepps, butter, rincle, and a kind of pancake, made of French wheate, called *Bucquey de Cocowa;* few or none of the better sort eat roastmeate, but their feeding is a hodge-podge of flesh and root, boyled in a pipkin; many pipkins on the fire is an argument of a feast; they know no name for a loyne of mutton or veale, or any other joint of meat, for they never have so much together; but what they buy is by the pound, and in small gobbitts for a hodge-potch: Their apparell is plain and decent, and generally black both for burgers and bores; their women go all covered

with a black vayle, which they call a huke, for the most part of cloath; the better sort have it of silk rash; there is no difference of habit between a burgomaster and an ordinary man, a private merchant, and one of the States Generall, not that all are gallant, but all plain.

Their greatest friend and greatest enemy is water; for, as they have the benefit of the sea for trade, and easy conveyance by inland rivers and ditches, that almost every man goeth round about his own ground by boate, which maketh the country so fertile and abundant; so doth the sea much endanger them; notwithstanding their dykes, which are maintained with great labour and charge, and the low flat levell of their countrey is such, as it would all be a sea, were it not for their mills that cast out the water.

Their greatest vanity, that draweth on a charge, is in pictures and flowers, every man's house is full of pictures, as they are the greatest part of their moveables, and they want not diverse among them, that will give 100*l.* for the root of an extraordinary tulip.

THE END.

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END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

EDINBURGH:
Printed by James Ballantyne & Co.

00093643

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018